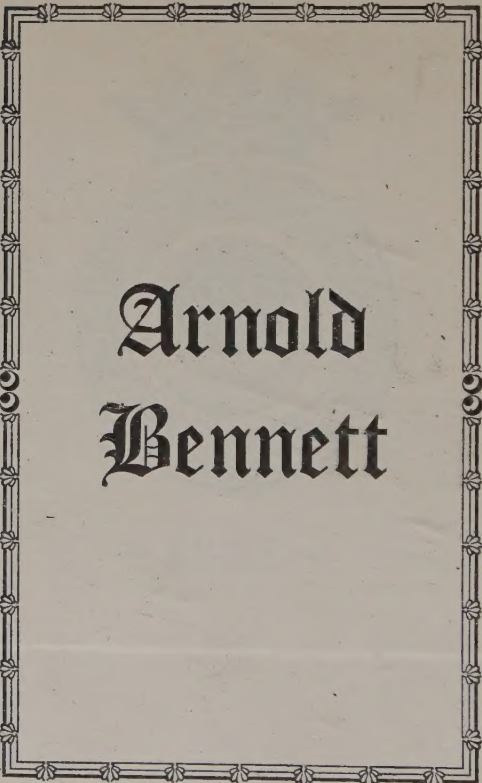




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1865.

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ERRATUM.

Page [339], line 21, *for* Madame Curadori Allen, *read* Madame Caradori Allen.



# ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR

1865.

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## PART I.

### ENGLISH HISTORY.

#### CHAPTER I.

Tranquil and prosperous state of the United Kingdom at the commencement of the year—State of trade and of the public revenue—Stability of the Government of Lord Palmerston—Progress of the civil war in America, and policy of England towards the belligerents—Hostilities in New Zealand—The Parliament summoned on the 7th of February for its last session—The proceedings opened by Commission—The Royal Speech—Debates in both Houses on the Address—Remarks of Lord Derby on the policy of the United States Government towards England—Explanations of Earl Russell—The Address voted *nem. con.*—Debate in the Commons on the condition of Ireland—Amendment moved and negatived—Further discussions upon Irish questions, the condition of the peasantry, the emigration, the tenure of land and tenant right, and the Church Establishment—Important debate on resolutions moved by Mr. Dilwyn—Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Irish Church.

THE year 1865 opened under favourable auspices for the United Kingdom. England was at peace with her neighbours, and might reasonably expect, under judicious guidance, to maintain friendly relations with foreign states. Only one remote corner of her own colonial possessions afforded employment to a military force. The desultory and inconclusive contest with the natives of New Zealand continued to smoulder on; a warfare in which a certain loss was incurred without any compensating honour or advantage. The internal condition of the country was prosperous and tranquil, and the continued increase of the national wealth was attested by palpable evidence on all sides. The benefit of an abundant harvest in the preceding year had been felt with all its customary effects. Trade was in a sound and healthy state; the revenue exhibited the same buoyancy which had been its characteristic feature of late years, and there was a total absence of

political agitation or other symptoms of popular discontent. The great calamity of the cotton famine, attended with so much suffering during the two preceding years, had now almost disappeared, and the manufacturing districts of Lancashire showed signs of revived industry and comfort. The long-protracted contest in America, which had been the source of these troubles, appeared now, after four years of its destructive continuance, to be drawing to a close. Signs of exhaustion on the part of the Southern States portended the termination of a struggle which had been maintained with extraordinary tenacity and great sacrifices on both sides. England adhered stedfastly to her avowed policy of neutrality,—an attitude not maintained without considerable difficulty, nor without incurring occasional outbreaks of jealousy and displeasure from each of the contending parties. The Administration of Lord Palmerston still maintained its ground, and did not appear to have in any degree lost its hold upon the confidence of the public. The spirit of party, indeed, though dormant, was not extinct, nor is it ever likely to become so in England, but there prevailed among persons of various political persuasions a general acquiescence in the opinion that the veteran Minister, whose career could not in the course of nature be long protracted, might be safely trusted, at least during the brief term of an expiring Parliament, to maintain the honour of the country and the security of her institutions.

The Legislature was summoned to meet for the despatch of business at the usual period, the 7th of February being the day appointed. To the regret of her subjects, the Queen did not appear to open Parliament in person, that duty being performed by Commission. Her Majesty's Message, delivered from the throne by the Lord Chancellor, was in the following terms:—

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

“We are commanded to assure you that Her Majesty has great satisfaction in recurring again to the advice and assistance of her Parliament.

“The negotiations in which the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia were engaged with the King of Denmark were brought to a conclusion by a Treaty of Peace; and the communications which Her Majesty receives from foreign Powers lead her to entertain a well-founded hope that no renewed disturbance of the peace of Europe is to be apprehended.

“The civil war in North America still unhappily continues. Her Majesty remains stedfastly neutral between the contending parties, and would rejoice at a friendly reconciliation between them.

“A Japanese Daimio in rebellion against his sovereign, infringed the rights accorded by treaty to Great Britain and to certain other powers; and the Japanese Government having failed to compel him to desist from his lawless proceedings, the diplomatic

agents and the naval commanders of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States of North America undertook a combined operation for the purpose of asserting the rights which their respective Governments have obtained by treaty. That operation has been attended with complete success; and the result has afforded security for foreign commerce and additional strength to the Government of Japan, with which the relations of Her Majesty are friendly.

"Papers on this subject will be laid before you.

"Her Majesty regrets that the conflict with some of the native tribes in New Zealand has not yet been brought to a close, but the successful efforts of Her Majesty's regular forces, supported by those raised in the colony, have led to the submission of the insurgents; and those who are still in arms have been informed of the equitable conditions on which their submission would be accepted.

"Her Majesty has had great satisfaction in giving her sanction to the meeting of a conference of delegates from her several North American provinces, who, on invitation from Her Majesty's Governor-General, assembled at Quebec. Those delegates adopted resolutions having for their object a closer union of those provinces under a central Government. If those resolutions shall be approved by the provincial legislatures, a bill will be laid before you for carrying this important measure into effect.

"Her Majesty rejoices at the general tranquillity of her Indian dominions, but Her Majesty regrets that long-continued outrages on the persons and property of subjects of Her Majesty, and for which no redress could be had, have rendered it necessary to employ a force to obtain satisfaction for the past and security for the future.

"Her Majesty deeply laments the calamity which has recently occasioned great loss of life and property at Calcutta and at other places in India. Prompt assistance was rendered by the officers of the Government, and generous contributions have been made in various parts of India to relieve the sufferings which have thus been occasioned.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—

"Her Majesty has directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you.

"They have been prepared with every attention to economy, and with due regard to the efficiency of the public service.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

"Her Majesty commands us to inform you that the general condition of the country is satisfactory, and that the revenue realizes its estimated amount. The distress which prevailed in some of the manufacturing districts has greatly abated; and the Act

passed for the encouragement of public works in those districts has been attended with useful results.

"Ireland during the past year has had its share in the advantage of a good harvest, and trade and manufactures are gradually extending in that part of the kingdom.

"Various measures of public usefulness will be submitted for your consideration.

"Bills will be laid before you for the concentration of all the courts of law and equity, with their attendant offices, in a convenient site; a measure which Her Majesty trusts will promote economy and despatch in the administration of justice.

"The important work of the revision of the statute law, already carried to a considerable extent by recent Acts of Parliament, will be completed by a Bill that will be laid before you. Her Majesty hopes that this work may be a step towards the formation of a digest of the law.

"Bills will also be submitted for your consideration for the amendment of the laws relating to patents for inventions, and for conferring on the County Courts an equitable jurisdiction in causes of small amount.

"Your assistance will also be invited to give effect to certain recommendations made to the House of Commons, after inquiry by that House into the operation of the laws regulating the relief of the poor.

"A Bill will be laid before you founded on the report of the Commission for inquiring into public schools; and Her Majesty has directed that a Commission shall be issued to inquire into endowed and other schools in England which have not been included in the recent inquiries relating to popular education.

"Her Majesty commits with confidence the great interests of the country to your wisdom and care; and she fervently prays that the blessing of Almighty God may attend your councils, and may guide your deliberations to the attainment of the object of her constant solicitude, the welfare and happiness of her people."

The debates on the Address were not marked by any peculiar features of interest, nor did they elicit any material opposition. The mover in the House of Lords, Lord Charlemont, dwelt principally upon the condition of Ireland and the state of public feeling in that country, which he maintained to be in the main improving and loyal, notwithstanding some drawbacks and dissatisfaction which existed in certain quarters. Lord Houghton, who seconded the Address, was more discursive in his observations. Referring to the treaty with France of 1852 and the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, he defended Her Majesty's Government from the charge of having violated its neutrality in the civil war now waging in America. He denied that in any one instance it had ever departed from the policy of non-interference it had declared it would observe. As to the relations of



England to foreign nations generally, he pointed out the important fact that wherever England was in arms it was entirely in self-defence. The domestic legislation in which they were asked to engage in the present Session would, he assumed, be of the same kind as that of former years. The measures to be proposed to them would mostly be of a practical character. He had hoped that in some manner they would have succeeded in broadening the basis of the Parliamentary representation; but that work was, perhaps, reserved for another and more ardent generation. He hoped, however, that some progress would be made in preparing a digest of the law of England, a measure that certainly ought to receive serious attention. In conclusion, Lord Houghton referred to the distress in the cotton districts. He said, "Her Majesty congratulates you upon the abatement of that distress. True it is that that abatement is very great, but still much distress exists. How great it has been can be appreciated only by those who have had some personal experience of that part of the kingdom, for we scarcely realize from statistics what it is for the pauperism of a certain district to rise from the usual rate of 50,000 to the extraordinary rate of 435,400 persons. That rate of pauperism has now diminished to something like 120,000, but still I must say there is no hope of its entire extinction. The American war has caused so great a disturbance of trade, and brought on so much unhealthy speculation, that it is impossible to say when things will be thoroughly right again. With such a condition of affairs as you have at this moment, when the very rumour of peace, the idea that peace is looming in the distance, is sufficient to cast a gloom over the whole Exchange of Liverpool, and when you know that although cotton may arrive in considerable quantities there will be large capitalists who will hold back till the time when it may become still cheaper, you will feel that the Lancashire distress is yet a reality, and that further demands may be made even upon the good counsel and energy of the noble earl opposite (Lord Derby), to whom Lancashire and England already owe so much."

The Earl of Derby, as the leader of the Opposition party, entered upon a critical, though not severe, animadversion on the Ministerial programme, as set forth in the Message from the Throne. He described it as being just the sort of speech that was likely to be addressed by an aged Minister to a moribund Parliament, whose dissolution no event could postpone; so that all its experienced advisers could do was to find it some gentle occupation, and take care that its dying moments were not disturbed by any unnecessary excitement; whilst its physicians held the usual consultations and pocketed their accustomed fees. Having invited the Foreign Minister to give some explanations with respect to our relations with Brazil, for the state of which he said the English Government was responsible, the noble earl adverted to the question of the civil war in America, and remarked that the idea of the conflict terminating in the subjugation by conquest of the

South was so repugnant to all humane and generous feeling, that every one would rejoice if steps could be taken to avert such a result. At the same time he did not blame the neutrality of Her Majesty's Government, though he regretted that that neutrality had not been regarded by the Federal party, to whom it had been unquestionably most advantageous, with the goodwill and gratitude that might have been expected. In saying this the noble earl had particularly in view the notices to terminate the Reciprocity Treaty with Great Britain and the agreement for securing the neutrality of the American lakes; both of which notices were clearly dictated by a spirit of hostility to England, and would not only entail considerable commercial loss on the Americans themselves as well as the Canadians, but open questions of a most delicate and dangerous character. "The American people," said the noble lord, "have derived, as they do not deny, great commercial advantages from the Reciprocity Treaty, and its termination is advocated only on the avowed ground that Canada derives still greater advantages. One effect of the termination of that treaty would be, if I am not mistaken, that the whole of the complicated question of the fisheries, from the settlement of which the United States have derived incalculable advantage, would at once be thrown open. I am old enough to remember what serious complications and difficulties questions connected with the fisheries occasioned, and how near to the point of war they led this country and the United States; and now all these questions are gratuitously, and apparently without the slightest reason, thrown open, at the risk and danger of war—than which nothing could be more deplorable—between this country and the United States. It is not a little significant, too, that at the same time when the abrogation of this commercial treaty lays open all these points of danger and difficulty there is another step taken to abrogate another treaty. For a long period the lakes have served as the means of peaceful and profitable commerce between the two countries lying alongside each other; but I can recollect a period in the late American war when there was a race of shipbuilding on the two sides of the lakes, and when the party obtaining the supremacy in that matter gained the control of the lakes. That state of things was put an end to by the treaty; but now America is the party who, without the slightest provocation or ground, breaks through that treaty and declares an intention of increasing its force on the lakes, thus rendering it necessary on the part of this country to take corresponding measures. I do not ask the Government what steps they have taken, but I do say this, that they will be deeply responsible if they are not awake to the peril in which the country is placed by these two acts of the American Government, followed up by an intention to employ a preponderating force on the lakes. That force can only be for aggression; for to speak of an attack by Canada upon the United States is to speak of a physical impossibility. Canada has a long frontier, peculiarly open to

aggression, being accessible by water as well as by land, and unless you have a preponderating power on the lakes, but above all, if you allow the neighbouring Power to have a preponderating force there, you place Canada at the disposal of the United States. Under these circumstances I see with additional satisfaction the announcement of a contemplated important step. I mean the proposed federation of the British American provinces. I hope I may regard that federation as a measure tending to constitute a Power strong enough, with the aid of this country, which I trust may never be withdrawn from those provinces, to acquire an importance which separately they could not obtain. If I saw in this federation a desire to separate from this country, I should think it a matter of doubtful policy and advantage; but I perceive with satisfaction that no such wish is entertained. Perhaps it is premature to discuss at present resolutions not yet submitted to the different provincial legislatures, but I hope I see in the terms of that federation an earnest desire on the part of the Provinces to maintain for themselves the blessing of the connexion with this country, and a determined and deliberate preference for monarchical over republican institutions." Turning to domestic matters the noble earl expressed his belief that the worst of the crisis in the manufacturing districts had been passed, and hinted a fear lest the Poor-law Board had sanctioned works more calculated to require the employment of skilled labour than the class for which the relief was intended. The noble lord concluded by saying, "As I have no intention to oppose this Address, I trust it will have the unanimous assent of your lordships."

Earl Granville expressed his satisfaction at the general tenor of Lord Derby's remarks, and briefly explained some points in the Royal Speech which seemed to require elucidation. He referred to the war in New Zealand, which he described in hopeful terms as drawing near to a close; and he touched upon the threatened hostilities in India, arising out of the outrages committed in the territory of Bhootan,—“There are certain districts called the Dooars, which belong partly to the natives and partly to Her Majesty's Government. For many years it has been the constant practice of the mountain tribes to pour down from their fastnesses and carry off into slavery men and women the subjects of Her Majesty. Mission after mission has been sent with a view to put an end to this state of things, but in vain, and Mr. Eden not only entirely failed in obtaining reparation, but suffered injury in health, and hardly escaped with life. An expedition was therefore sent; two forts were evacuated, and one was taken with hardly any loss beyond that inflicted by an accidental explosion in our own lines. We now hold those forts, and intend so to hold them, taking precautions at the same time against similar aggressions.” Of our domestic affairs Lord Granville spoke in most encouraging terms. Generally it must be most satisfactory to the country to know that it was in a state of almost unexampled



prosperity, and that our colonies, when forming a confederation, found no reason for adopting any new institution, but had copied as much as possible the Constitution under which we lived.

Earl Russell entered into some explanations in respect to our foreign relations, as referred to in the Royal Speech, and to the controversies with the Government of the United States. In reply to Lord Derby he denied that the rupture of diplomatic relations with Brazil was chiefly owing to the English Government. On the contrary it was a result of the refusal of Brazil to institute an inquiry into the plunder of a British vessel, and the murder of her crew. Ministers were willing to accept the good offices of the King of Portugal, and they hoped that amicable relations between the two countries would shortly be restored. The noble Lord then proceeded to describe the attitude which our Government held towards the belligerent parties in the American civil war, and to vindicate the course which his Administration had pursued towards them both. He said, "the injustice of the Government and Congress of the United States towards ourselves is this, that they seem to expect not only that we should do every thing which the law of nations demands, and which the municipal law of this country enables us to do, but they seem to expect that we should be altogether able to prevent any aid being given to the Confederate States, who are opposed to them. Now, Her Majesty's Government have used every means in their power from time to time to prevent war being carried on from this country as a basis against the United States of America, which are in peaceful relations with us. At the same time, it has been impossible to prevent acts which have caused, and naturally so, I think, great irritation in America. We have had ships fitted out here and afterwards sent to a distance, where they have first of all received armaments and a commission, and have then preyed upon the commerce of the United States. We have had in our hands correspondence which shows that the Confederate agents were continually employed either in building ships in this country or in buying merchant ships which might afterwards be sent to France and other stations for the purpose of being fitted out as cruisers against the commerce of the United States. Now, the authorities of the United States have, I think, naturally enough, felt greatly irritated at seeing a number of ships, which have come in some way or another from English ports or English rivers, afterwards fitted out as men-of-war for the purpose of acting against their commerce. But they ought certainly, at the same time, to ask this question—Whether Her Majesty's Government have done every thing which the law of nations authorizes, and which the municipal law of this country permits, to prevent this country from being made the basis of warlike operations, so as it were to involve the people of this country in war against the United States. I am not, however, at all surprised that they should feel annoyed and indignant when they find that those who

are the friends of the United States should have their territories chosen as the basis of those operations. So again with regard to Canada. The noble earl seems to imagine that the United States are influenced by no motive save that of mere hostility against this country, as he termed it, in determining that useful convention with regard to the lakes. The fact is, however, that the Confederate Government determined, if possible, to involve this country in the conflict, finding that their own resources were unequal to the task of waging a successful war. They sent their agents into these lakes, which are not in their territory, but which belong either to the United States or to the United Kingdom of Great Britain, to seize the ships which were navigating those lakes, and which belonged to the United States. I say again, I am not surprised that the United States, considering the Canadian lakes as the possession of a Sovereign friendly to themselves, should feel indignant at finding those lakes chosen as the basis of operations against their vessels. The United States now say that if they remain in those lakes without cruisers, the Confederates will seize their ships. It will be a very painful thing, and a matter of some danger to the two countries, if the United States and Great Britain are obliged to put an end to or suspend the convention which has been so useful, and which has contributed so much to the maintenance of peace between the two countries. It may be natural upon the part of the Confederate States, but for myself I think that in their attempt to make the Canadian soil the basis of operations, some of them bearing the character of a belligerent, but others resembling acts of robbery and murder, they do what is most unjustifiable, and I trust Her Majesty's Government will be able, as they have done hitherto, to preserve a neutrality in that part of Her Majesty's dominions. At the same time, accompanying that irritation to which I have alluded, there has been a tendency with respect to two questions to make the most unfounded imputations against the Government of this country. There have been complaints that we have acknowledged the belligerent character of the Confederate States. But, my lords, looking at the character of the contest, looking at the immense territory possessed by the Confederates, looking at the great war operations which they have carried on, what could Her Majesty's Government do but allow that the character of belligerents belonged to the Confederate States? I know no instance of so mighty a war being carried on without a belligerent character being allowed by neutral States."

The noble Earl in conclusion referred to a claim which it was understood was likely to be made by the United States Government, upon this country, for compensation for injuries inflicted upon the merchant shipping of American subjects by the *Alabama* and other vessels which had been clandestinely fitted out for that service in British ports. Looking at the precedents in international law, looking at the declarations made by the United States

themselves in the case of Spain and Portugal, when ships destined to prey upon the commerce of those two countries were more directly fitted out in their own ports, such a claim upon the Government of this country would be extremely unfair. Therefore, he thought, while we were bound to make every allowance for the irritation naturally engendered in the United States by these injuries, and while our Government would do all in its power to prevent infractions of its avowed neutrality, it could not on the other hand admit that there was any colour of justice for such demands.

The Address was agreed to by the Lords *nem. con.*

In the House of Commons the debate on the Address was marked by no features of importance. The condition of Ireland was the topic most dwelt upon by the speakers in the debate. The Address was moved by Sir Hedworth Williamson, and seconded by Mr. Hanbury Tracy. The Irish discussion was started by Mr. Scully, who disputed the accuracy of that paragraph in the Speech which referred to Ireland. He denied that manufactures were extending in that part of the United Kingdom, or that it had had the advantage of a good harvest. Ireland, he said, was not in a prosperous or satisfactory state, and he appealed to what he regarded as proofs of his assertion.

Other Irish members, among whom were Mr. Brady and Lord Fermoy, supported Mr. Scully's objections, and dilated on the unhappy condition of the agricultural population, who were leaving the country in swarms, because they were unable to get a fair remuneration for their labour. Mr. Long said he had been lately travelling in Ireland, and had been horrified at the destitution that he beheld there. He regarded absenteeism as the main cause of the evils of the country, and urged the expediency of sending a member of the Royal family to reside in Ireland.

Mr. Maguire said that the miserable state of that country was not attributable to religious differences or to the non-residence of a member of the Royal family in the country, but to the want of large, generous, and liberal laws which would stimulate the energies of the people, and give them such a hope for the future that the attractions of America would gradually fade from the national vision. During the last year 120,000 people had crossed the ocean from Ireland to a country in which trade was bad, commerce interrupted, and war raging, and all that notwithstanding the diminution of the Irish population. Now, did not that fact show the existence of something wrong which the Government ought to endeavour to remove? If the Government in this, or at least in the next Parliament, took up this matter, they would have the power to save the country and stop the tide of emigration, which was carrying away not merely the bone and sinew of Ireland, but a great deal of the strength and power of the Empire. He knew a case in which the whole side of a county had been in the hands of two proprietors who gave neither leases nor en-



couragement, and on one estate the habit was to keep the tenants in constant terror of notice to quit. Fortunately those estates were purchased by persons of a different mind, who gave liberal leases, and in one month after the leases were signed, money, which was never thought to exist, began to show itself in improvements. There was such discontent and dissatisfaction in that country that nothing but just laws could turn the hearts of the people towards the Government. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland deplored the other day that the people were leaving the country and carrying with them to another land a feeling of hostility towards England. He (Mr. Maguire) saw before him the man who before long would lead the great Liberal party, and he appealed to him and to those on the other (the Ministerial) side of the House not to shirk this question. The interests of India were important, but the interests of Ireland were more important still. The Lord-Lieutenant had spoken rightly when he said that the feelings which the Irish people carried across the Atlantic would influence the policy of American statesmen. The number of Irishmen by descent or birth in the Northern and Southern States of America was equal to the entire population of Ireland, and, energetic as they were and animated by a hatred of England, into what calamities might they not be the means of precipitating the two countries. Now, he, as a man wishing for the prosperity of his own country, and that no hostile foot might ever stand upon its soil, was anxious that the statesmen of England should look a little nearer, and, without troubling themselves so much about disorders abroad, try to heal the sore which was in the very bosom and heart of the empire. He did not believe that the visit of Her Majesty, welcome as that would be, would heal the wounds of Ireland. That would be merely applying a bit of Court plaister over a deep ulcer. The people would be glad to see Her Majesty; but, starving as many of them were, and hopeless of improvement, they did not want the mere sunshine of Royalty or the glitter of courtly pageantry. What they did want was just laws. Let the House give them just laws and it would liberate the arms of the people.

Sir R. Peel (Secretary for Ireland) replied to the remarks made upon the condition of Ireland, accusing Mr. Long, in particular, of exaggeration, justifying the statements made in the Royal Speech, and founding his vindication upon details of facts. He dwelt especially upon the very large increase in the quantity of land under flax cultivation, and insisted that a spirit of enterprise was now awakened in Ireland which fully justified hopes of the future. With regard to the emigration, it was proved, by statistical results, that in the past year there had been a small diminution in the number of persons who had left Ireland,—viz., 114,000 against 117,000 in 1863. At the present time the only district in which distress could be said to exist in any material degree, was in the county of Galway. Yet even in the Galway Union Workhouse which contains accommodation for more than 1000 persons, there were only

520 persons according to the last return, and only five persons receiving out-door relief. "I am convinced," said the right hon. baronet in conclusion, "that there is a spirit of enterprise now becoming manifest in Ireland, and that there is an improved feeling as regards what may be effected for the country, which justifies our best hopes for the future; and I only hope that during the present year we may see the prospects of the past year even improving, and that after the three years' suffering which she has just undergone, Ireland may arrive at that position to which certainly she was advancing before the date of those disastrous years."

Mr. H. Seymour upbraided the Government with their non-fulfilled pledges on the subject of reform, and expressed his surprise that the Royal Speech contained not one word on that subject, after the sentiments uttered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer last Session. He referred to other topics upon which the Royal Speech was not altogether silent—Education, Ireland, and India; to the prospect of a deficient revenue in India, and to the continued inferiority of the Indian cotton, which he attributed to the poverty of the ryots.

Mr. Kinglake, after a short statement of facts, expressed a hope that papers would be speedily laid before the House showing the grounds upon which the Government had recognized the Archduke of Austria as Emperor of Mexico. Sir Charles Wood gave some explanations as to the reasons of the proposed operations against Bhootan, similar to those stated by Earl Russell in the House of Lords, after which the Address was agreed to without a division.

On the report being brought up, however, Mr. Scully renewed his protest against the paragraph relating to the state of Ireland, and moved that the following be inserted in lieu thereof:—"We regret that the general condition of Ireland cannot be regarded as prosperous or satisfactory, and that multitudes of the inhabitants continue to emigrate to foreign countries through the want of remunerative employment at home." This amendment was opposed on the part of the Government by Sir R. Peel and was rejected, on a division, by 67 to 12.

A more general discussion on the condition of Ireland took place shortly after the commencement of the Session, upon a resolution moved by Mr. Pope Henessey, which led to an adjourned debate in which several of the leading members of the House took part. The motion was in these terms:—"That this House observes with regret the decline of the population of Ireland, and will readily support Her Majesty's Government in any well-devised measure to stimulate the profitable employment of the people; and that an address to the Crown be prepared, founded on the foregoing resolution." He observed that during the recess Mr. Gladstone had made a speech in which he said that the condition of Ireland was deplorable. At the time of the Union Mr. Pitt said that the nature of a united kingdom was that all parts should be united in

laws, in interests, and in prosperity, but the facts had not realized the description thus given. The Acts passed in regard to Ireland differed from those passed for England. Earl Russell admitted that the Irish Poor-law was the reverse of the English Poor-law. In Ireland labour was checked because there was no security for the return of a tenant's outlay. In England the right of the tenant was secured, not only by law, but by the custom of the country, which was equivalent to law. Judge Longfield had suggested that this difference of usage, which had the force of law, should be remedied in Ireland by legislative enactment. He proposed that there should be a Bill securing to a tenant compensation for improvements by giving him power to summon the landlord before the court of quarter sessions, and get an order to make improvements, unless the landlord showed good cause to the contrary. The hon. gentleman also said that measures should be taken for the reclamation of the land, the execution, upon a large scale, of artificial drainage, and other measures to check the enormous emigration now going on, and to stimulate the productive power of the fertile but neglected soil of Ireland.

This resolution was supported by a considerable number of speakers, both Irish and English—among whom were Sir P. O'Brien, Col. Dunne, Col. French, Mr. Monsell, Lord R. Cecil, Mr. Maguire, and Mr. O'Reilly. It was opposed on the part of the Government by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Robert Peel, the Lord Advocate, and Sir George Grey.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer suggested reasons why it would be very inconvenient and most inexpedient to call upon the House to vote a resolution embodying the propositions that the population of Ireland had declined, and that the House would sanction any well-devised measure to stimulate their profitable employment. He disputed the accuracy of the illustrations drawn from Scotland, and he showed the difficulties attending the application of public expenditure, raised from taxes, to local wants. Ireland, he remarked, was exempted from certain taxes, and exemption from public taxes should be viewed as public grants, and regarded with great jealousy as concerned the classes benefited thereby. He referred to the considerations which should govern grants of public money for reproductive works, and insisted that it would be most unjust to the House and to the Government to force a division upon the motion.

Colonel Dunne, in reply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, maintained that Ireland was not equally taxed; that she paid, in proportion to valuation, much more in taxation than England, in violation of the treaty of Union. What was said by some visitors to Ireland as to its prosperity, was, he said, a fiction.

Sir R. Peel contended that the real state of Ireland did not justify the representations which had been made during the debate; that the number of cattle and sheep had very considerably increased during the past year; and as to emigration, there had



been an actual decrease in the number of persons who had left Ireland in 1864. The produce of potatoes had been unusually large, the growth of flax had greatly increased, and the wheat crop had been abundant. The only crops that had been in any way disappointing were hay and oats. The funds in the savings'-banks had increased, and works of improvement were in progress, though he admitted there were districts in the country which had no share in the general prosperity. He was satisfied that the House would not deny to the Government the credit of an honest endeavour to bring about a state of things favourable to the material prosperity of Ireland.

Mr. Roebuck said he had listened with attention to the course of this debate. He himself had for many years been what is called a friend of Ireland, but it was with pain and sorrow that he had heard a number of gentlemen, who at least for thirty years had enjoyed constitutional government, advancing such statements as they had made. There was nothing suggested as a remedy for the alleged evils, but the whole debate on the part of the Irish members was a whine for money, a mendicant whine, if he might so call it. But what was the real difficulty of that country? That she was divided against herself. She had three great parties opposed to one another. The first was the old Protestant party, which had for so many centuries domineered so cruelly over Ireland, and which was represented in that House by Mr. Whiteside and Sir Hugh Cairns. The next was the Roman Catholic party, which was brought into political existence in 1829. And the last was the Republican party, which called itself the Fenian Brotherhood, and wanted to separate Ireland from England, and set up a national government for itself. With the two first he could discuss the question of the state of Ireland; but with the last he could hold no parley, and was prepared to put it down with the sword if necessary. Now, what was the actual condition of Ireland? At the beginning of the century she was as badly governed as Poland in our own day; but since the measure of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 it had been the endeavour of Parliament to do justice to her, and at this moment she was as well-governed as any part of the three kingdoms. Referring then to the administration of affairs by Sir R. Peel as chief secretary, the hon. gentleman observed that the Protestant party had made a great mistake in turning their backs upon the right hon. baronet; and he considered the best proof of the excellence of his administration was to be found in the circumstance that he was attacked by all parties. To the Catholic party he would say, "Accept your position; you are not a province of England; you are one-third part of this great empire; we want you to be governed as well as we are, and to be one with us, one in happiness, one in greatness, one in virtue, and one in love."

Lord Dunkellin denied that the Irish members had come forward as "mendicants whining for money."



Sir H. Cairns said that although he regretted that the youngest, the strongest, and the most energetic of the Irish population were leaving the country, he could not regret that the population had been numerically diminished, as the sufferings of the people would have been greater if the population had reached to eight or nine millions. But his (Sir H. Cairns's) chief object in rising was to make some observations on the speech of Mr. Roebuck. That hon. gentleman they all knew was an adept at pouring oil upon the waters. The hon. gentleman had also done him the favour of referring to him personally, and had said that he represented the Protestant population of Ireland. He repudiated the assertion. He represented Belfast, the population of which was both Protestant and Roman Catholic, and he represented both the one class and the other. The hon. gentleman then adverted to some criticism on him in reference to a recent debate on the Belfast Riots uttered by Mr. Roebuck, and proceeded to reply in emphatic terms to those personal observations; and vindicated the people of Ireland, of all parties, from the charge which had been made against them, of coming with mendicant whines to Parliament for public money.

The Lord Advocate, in showing the inadequacy of the causes assigned by Irish members for the distress of Ireland, compared its condition and circumstances with those of Scotland. As to the emigration from Ireland, it was an event beyond the power of the House to control, nor was it desirable to attempt it. If it was more advantageous for men to go than to stay behind, they would go.

Mr. Lowe observed that he could not agree with the first part of the resolution, calling upon the House to lament the decline of the population of Ireland. This was not meant as an abstract proposition, but was to be taken with all the attendant circumstances. If the statements made in the course of the debate were true, that the people of Ireland were in a state of poverty and destitution, ought the House to lament that any of them availed themselves of the means of escape? He looked upon emigration as an immense good to those who left the country, and a benefit to those who remained. The evils of Ireland, he showed, were not taxation, or absenteeism, or the tenure of the land; it was quite impossible, he said, that these could be the causes of the present state of things in Ireland, or even the discords of the people, which were not peculiar to Ireland. In considering the evils of Ireland the principal cause, in his opinion, had been undervalued—namely, the climate, which had a material influence upon the economy of a country that had set its heart upon agriculture. He suggested other co-operating causes, with hints for remedying those evils which admitted of remedy, some, he observed, being susceptible of no remedy at all.

Sir S. Northcote questioned the doctrine that the emigration as it took place in Ireland, was an equal benefit to those who left and

to those who remained, contending that much suffering and misery must be connected with it. As to the condition of Ireland, it should be remembered that Ireland had been crippled by our legislation, and Parliament ought to approach this question with a feeling of tenderness towards Ireland, and a desire to see how far it was possible to meet her evils. He enumerated some of the difficulties with which Ireland had had to contend, and urged that the pressure she had suffered rendered it incumbent upon Parliament to consider the possibility of relieving her, suggesting that the question as to the mode might be submitted to a Committee.

Mr. Caird observed that the test, as to whether the emigration in Ireland was excessive or not, was the rate of wages, and emigration had not yet affected the rate; they were still very low. He believed, therefore, that the emigration was no evil.

Lord Palmerston concluded the debate with a conciliatory and judicious speech. He observed that the foundation of the motion was, that great distress existed in Ireland. It did so, but it was the occurrence of three unfavourable seasons in succession which had thrown the country back from that state of progressive improvement, which, four years ago, had been considered a matter of congratulation. The last season had been a much better one, and some degree of recovery had taken place. With regard to the decline of population, it was no doubt, in the abstract, a painful thing to see multitudes flying away from their native shores because they could not obtain employment at home. But they should look a little deeper into the causes of this movement. "A few years ago the great evil of Ireland was represented to be a redundant population, and the chief remedy which was then universally recommended was an extensive emigration. It is undoubtedly painful to contemplate the causes which lead to emigration. Emigration in itself is no evil. If those who emigrate find in another country a better condition than they enjoyed in their own, they become happier, their welfare is increased, and besides that, the condition of those who stay behind is improved by the circumstance that a smaller number of persons are left to enjoy the advantages which their native country may possess. That which we lament with regard to the emigration, is that, unfortunately, the condition of Ireland is such that the people are able to find elsewhere a better state of things than exists at home. Various reasons have been assigned for this. I believe that one great and almost paramount reason is—the peculiarity of the climate. Ireland is said by many to be a most fertile country. No doubt, there are in it great tracts of very fertile land, land far more fertile than many parts of either England or Scotland. I know land on which it is said that grain crops have been raised for sixteen years in succession, which cannot be said of any part of Great Britain. But there are also in Ireland great quantities of land which are wholly unproductive, bog and mountain, and that ought to be taken into consideration when you calculate the population which the superficial area of the

island is able to support. You cannot expect that any artificial remedies which legislators can invent can counteract the laws of nature, and keep in one country a population which finds it to its advantage to emigrate to another. Things will find their level, and until by some means or other there shall be provided in Ireland the same remuneration for labour, and the same inducements to remain which are afforded by other countries, you cannot by any laws which you can devise prevent the people from seeking elsewhere a better condition of things than exists in their own country. We are told that tenant-right and a great many other things will do it. None of these things will have the slightest effect. As to tenant-right, I may be allowed to say that I think it is equivalent to landlords' wrong. Tenant-right, as I understand it to be proposed, would be little short of confiscation; and although that might cause the landlords to emigrate, it certainly would not keep the tenants at home. The real question is, how can you create in Ireland that demand and reward for labour which would render the people of Ireland willing to remain at home, instead of emigrating to England or Scotland on the one hand, or to the North American States on the other? Nothing can do that except the influx of capital. Ireland has many advantages for the employment of capital, but hitherto manufactures have taken but little root there." Now what was the cause of this absence of capital. One great obstacle was the opinion which prevailed, that there was not the same security for property in Ireland as elsewhere. Hitherto the political and religious feuds which have prevailed in that country have engendered alarm and distrust. If English and Scotch capitalists could only be convinced that their money would be safely employed in Ireland, where they had the advantages of cheap labour and power for working their machinery, nothing would prevent capital, which seeks employment for itself in the most distant regions of the earth, from finding its way into Ireland. Agricultural improvements could not prevent emigration, but they would, if judiciously adopted, afford increased employment for labour; and it was well worth considering whether, by means of advances of money to be repaid within a certain number of years, landlords might not at once improve the value of their property and afford an increase of wages to the population. With regard to the first part of the resolution, therefore, it was impossible for the Government to adopt the naked proposition that the decrease of population in Ireland was to be lamented. That was a complicated question. "We lament that the population of Ireland should find it more to their advantage to emigrate than to remain at home; but if that is the result of a state of things such as I have described, we cannot lament that those who are in a bad condition at home should find a better state of things by emigration. With regard to the second part of the question, as to grants, I think that the feeling of the House has been decidedly expressed against gratui-



tous advances of money by the State for the purpose of local improvements. With reference to advances to be repaid, there are companies which have been established for the very purpose of making loans for agricultural improvements; and I apprehend that if good security were offered to them, and a fair prospect were shown of the remunerative employment of capital, from these private companies assistance might be obtained. It has been suggested that the Committee of last year should be re-appointed for the purpose of inquiring how far reproductive advances from the public funds might be extended in Ireland to purposes of local improvement. I am not prepared to give a decided opinion upon a proposal of this sort until the particular terms are specified, and Government are able to understand exactly its bearings. But it is a proposal fairly entitled to consideration. I can only say that the Government fully share the feeling of deep interest and sympathy that has been expressed towards Ireland by all who have spoken in this debate. It is impossible for any man to know any thing of the Irish people without wishing them every happiness which can be conferred upon them. They are a light-hearted and a warm-hearted race; they are most industrious too, wherever they can see the prospect that by industry they will get the reward to which industry entitles men. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Irish are an idle race, unwilling to labour, and not prepared to make great exertions for the sake of accomplishing any legitimate object. They are a people for whom every man who knows them must entertain the utmost sympathy and must feel the strongest desire that they should enjoy every advantage which can be conferred upon them by legislation or by any artificial arrangements which it is in the power of the Government or of Parliament to make. Therefore, it is unnecessary for me to say that the Government of this country would be most anxious to consider any proposals that were founded upon a reasonable prospect that they would tend to improve the condition of Ireland. Though undoubtedly much that has passed in this debate must inspire pain to those who have heard it, still I think that no man can look at Ireland without entertaining feelings of hope. It is demonstrable that if you compare the state of the country now with what it was thirty or forty years ago, there is a great, a visible, and a general improvement, and that improvement is calculated to inspire a reasonable hope that in the course of time that progress will be accelerated and rendered more rapid than it has hitherto been." Mr. Hennessy, in reply, having declined to adopt the proposal of Lord Palmerston for the re-appointment of the Committee of Inquiry of the preceding session, a division took place upon his resolution, which was negatived by a majority of 107 to 31.

The agricultural and social condition of Ireland again came under discussion in the House of Commons on the 31st of March, upon a motion brought forward by Mr. Maguire for a Select Committee to inquire into the laws regulating the relations between land-

lords and tenants in Ireland, with a view to their more equitable adjustment. The hon. member described the melancholy state of Ireland at the present moment. The country was of a peculiarly agricultural character; consequently, upon a good or bad harvest depended the prosperity or misery of its people. But the condition of agriculture was backward, the great body of the farming class were housed in miserable dwellings, the food was mean, and their prospects dismal. The reason there was no improvement, was the absence of all security of tenure. If the tenant held on lease, he had no security that on the termination of that lease he would get the land at the same rent, or at such a rate as would enable him to live, or that the improvements which he effected would not be confiscated by eviction. It was this want of security of tenure that had given the principal impulse to the tide of Irish emigration, and he thought that inquiry should be instituted, in order to see if any thing could be done to arrest it, and prevent the continuance of what was an undoubted danger to the empire. He wanted to keep the people at home by securing to the farmer that, if he improved his land, he should not have his rent raised to a ruinous standard, or if he built a house, it should not become the property of the landlord; in short, he desired to offer to the people an inducement to improve, and to root them, as it were, in the soil. He disputed the accuracy of the maxim proclaimed by Lord Palmerston on a former night, that "tenants' right meant landlords' wrong;" and in simply asking that the rights of labour should be respected, he asked for nothing that would injure the landlords or interfere with the rights of property.

Mr. W. E. Forster seconded the motion, and earnestly entreated the Government to concede what was a most moderate request. Property had its duties as well as its rights, and nothing was a clearer duty of the owner of land, if he neglected his duty and did not improve, than that he should not prevent the tenant from improving it, and so increasing the growth of human food.

The motion was supported by several Irish members, among others by Mr. Monsell, Col. Vandeleur, Col. Dunne, and the O'Connor Don, as well as by Viscount Courtenay, Mr. Cox, and Mr. Roebuck. Several of these speakers described the landlord and tenant question as being the root of the Irish difficulty. Mr. Roebuck expressed, in his usual plain and downright terms, his views as to the tenant-right question. He said, "I believe that those Irishmen who talk about tenant-right wish really to divest the landlord of his land. They wish that the tenant should be placed in the position of his landlord; and thus, what they call the right of the tenant would be nothing but the landlord's wrong. In this belief I may be mistaken; but, if so, I want a Select Committee to disabuse me. What astonishes me is, that all the misery inflicted on the people of Ireland should be put upon the back of England. It is caused by Irishmen. Who are the landlords that do the mischief? They are Irish landlords. Well, then, don't

turn round and say, as I have heard hon. gentlemen do, that it is all owing to bad government. There is not bad government in Ireland. I am here, Sir, to maintain that the Government of Ireland is as good as the Government of England. As far as my knowledge of the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland goes, that law is not very different from the law of England. I want a lawyer to point out to me the peculiar difference between the two. I don't believe that difference is very great. In England the law of landlord and tenant works well. Why? Because the tenant in England is a provident man; he does not bid against his neighbour for land, and so put himself in great difficulty. He makes an agreement or contract with his landlord, which he believes he can fulfil, and which he does fulfil. But the Irishman—I say it boldly, without meaning offence—is improvident in these matters; and the real cause of the misery of the Irish tenant is his own improvidence. There may be—doubtless there are—bad Irish landlords; there are bad English landlords; but I don't believe that the Irish landlords as a race, are worse than the English as a race. England flourishes in spite of that relation subsisting between her tenants and her landlords, and I want to know why it is not compatible with the same prosperity in Ireland. The cause of the mischief is, as I have said, the improvidence of the tenant in Ireland, who enters into a contract which he can't fulfil."

Viscount Palmerston said that if there were one thing which a nation ought to respect, it was the rights of property; and if laws were passed infringing those rights, they might depend upon it that in the end such laws would be injurious to the nation, however tempting the advantages which might be expected to arise from them. He could not bring his mind to the conviction that there would be any justice, and therefore any permanent benefit to a country in giving to one man the right of determining what should be done with the property of another. When, on a former night, he spoke of tenants' rights as landlords' wrongs, he meant tenants' rights as he apprehended them to be understood in many parts of Ireland, and especially the rights proposed to be conferred on the tenant of dealing with the property of the landlord, not only without, but against his sanction, coupled with the condition that at some future period the tenant might compel the landlord to pay for alterations which he would not himself have made, and to the making of which he had objected when they were made. Referring to the effect of the relation between landlord and tenant on the emigration from Ireland, the noble viscount observed that the manner in which any change in those relations was to check emigration had not been satisfactorily explained. It was the system of leases granted in the last century for sixty-one years, determinable on the death of three lives, that had prevented improvement. The tenants who held under those leases were the least improving in the world, and, speaking from his own experience, it was not until they became tenants at will that they began to im-



prove. No doubt it was desirable to encourage improvement, and, for this purpose, that the tenant should have security that, on a change of occupation, he should be reimbursed for improvements of a certain kind; but the fundamental basis of any such right or claim ought to be a mutual agreement between the parties.

The noble Lord then recurred to the question of tenant-right. "Now, Sir, I hold that to establish that which is commonly called tenant-right—namely, to give the tenant the power of making alterations without the consent of the landlord, and even against his consent, and then of charging the landlord arbitrarily with the cost of those alterations which he never wished to be made, would be a great injustice, and, in many cases, would really amount almost to a confiscation of the landlord's property. But, upon the other hand, it is no doubt to the advantage, not only of Ireland, but of the United Kingdom, that encouragement should be held out to the tenant to make those real improvements which, according to the practice in Ireland, the landlord is not in the habit of making, as the landlord here is. No doubt, for that purpose, the tenant should have security that, upon a change of occupation, he should be reimbursed for improvements of a certain kind which he might have made upon his holding. But then I say that the fundamental basis of that right ought to be mutual agreement and consent; and when hon. gentlemen say that these agreements are not made, I really cannot imagine why. It seems to me to be the natural course of affairs between landlord and tenant, that if the latter should wish to make material improvements either in buildings, drains, or fences, he should go to his landlord and say, "The holding which I have wants these alterations, which you do not or cannot afford to make. Well, then, I will make them, provided you, in the event of your turning me out, will repay me a certain portion of my expenses before I quit your farm." What reasonable landlord would object to that? And what reasonable tenant would ask for more? Such an arrangement should be sufficient to provide for the improvement of the country, and adequately to guard the rights of property on the one hand, and the just expectations of the tenant on the other. That was the principle of the Act of 1860. It was the result of long discussions in this House—of several Bills that were brought in, which were modified and altered, but did not succeed. We did bring in that Bill in 1860 which passed into a law, and which provided for mutual and spontaneous agreements between landlord and tenant, calculated, we thought, to secure the rights of property on the one hand, and to encourage the agricultural improvement of Ireland and the prosperity of the United Kingdom. We are told that Act has not produced the results we were entitled to expect from it. That is a fair and legitimate subject of inquiry." To the more extensive inquiry asked for by Mr. Maguire, which would involve all the relations between landlord and tenant, and would necessarily be a most protracted investigation, the Government



could not consent, believing that no practical good could result therefrom.

After some further discussion, Mr. Maguire agreed to adopt Lord Palmerston's suggestion for the appointment of a Committee with the limited object of inquiry into the tenure and improvement of land in Ireland under the Act 23 and 24 Vict. Cap. 153. Another important debate which took place on Irish affairs was upon a motion made by Mr. Dilwyn on the subject of the Irish Church Establishment. The discussion produced no positive results, for it terminated in an adjournment of the debate, which, owing to the difficulty of finding time for continuing it, was never resumed, but it elicited some remarkable declarations, especially from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and produced a vigorous defence of the Establishment from Mr. G. Hardy, and Mr. Whiteside. The motion of Mr. Dilwyn was, that the House should adopt the following resolution:—"That the present position of the Irish Church Establishment is unsatisfactory, and calls for the early attention of Her Majesty's Government." His motion was, he said, not, as had been suggested, a covert attack upon the outworks of the Church of England, of which he professed himself an attached friend and supporter, and which rested upon a different foundation from the Irish Establishment. The latter was based on injustice, while the former rested upon the affectionate attachment of the English nation. He stated that there were in Ireland 5,798,574 inhabitants, of whom 5,106,692 had no religious provision whatever from the sum of 586,484*l.* which was the revenue enjoyed by the Church Establishment. He contended that the Irish Church was theoretically unjust, and that no practical success counterbalanced this grave fault. It was not founded on right, for in parishes where there were hundreds of Catholics there was often not a score of Protestants. It did not afford a bright Apostolical example, for its prelates died enormously rich after a life spent in comparative idleness. Having these defects, it was almost unnecessary to say that it had not been successful as a Missionary Church. In 1736 it appeared that the population of Ireland consisted of 1,417,000 Roman Catholics and 562,000 Protestants. A century later, out of a population of 7,754,000 the Roman Catholics numbered about 6,436,000, and the Protestants about 800,000. The last Census showed that the Established Church was making no progress.

On the other hand, Mr. Dilwyn urged that the existence of the Establishment tended to create ill-will and disaffection among the Catholic population, increased by the nepotism and unfairness with which ecclesiastical patronage was administered, and the exorbitant revenues of the higher clergy. In conclusion he referred to recorded opinions of the House as to the unsatisfactory character of the institution, and to the various motions made and petitions presented to Parliament on the subject.

The motion was seconded by the O'Donoghue, who insisted on

the injustice and unreasonableness of appropriating the whole ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland to a small minority of the nation.

Sir George Grey said the Government did not consider it their duty to assent to the motion. If they did, it would be equally their duty to introduce a Bill giving effect to the meaning of the resolution, the terms of which, though ambiguous, raised the real question, not as to a reform of the Irish Church, but as to the continuance of its existence. That being the case, he would frankly say that Government were not prepared to undertake the responsibility of proposing any measure having such an object. That object could not be attained without inflicting great disasters upon Ireland, exciting much religious animosity, and postponing the period when, irrespective of creeds and politics, Irishmen would unite in promoting the moral and social improvement of their country. In the abstract, he admitted that an Established Church representing a small minority was indefensible; but the Irish Church was an institution resting on the unbroken prescription of centuries, and it could not be subverted without a revolution, accompanied by all its attendant horrors. The clergy performed their duties faithfully, unobtrusively, and zealously, with charity and an earnest desire to give no offence to their neighbours. True, there were side by side with them the unendowed clergy of the Roman Catholic Church; but they repudiated the wish to possess themselves of the property of the Established Church. As a matter of mere feeling, he allowed that the majority of the Irish people, professing another faith, had a grievance, but it was not a practical grievance, calling for any sweeping measure of legislation, such as that which the mover and seconder of the resolution had in view.

Mr. G. Hardy said the maintenance of the Protestant Church in Ireland was part of the compact made at the Union. He denied that the Irish Church was a badge of servitude. By the act of Union, every Churchman in Ireland had a vested right to find in every parish a pastor, a church, and the means of grace in connexion with the church. That was the principle upon which the Irish Parliament, itself a Protestant institution, had given its assent to the Union. It was confirmed by the Roman Catholics themselves in 1829; and it would be unfair and unreasonable now to turn round upon the Protestants of Ireland, and tell them that they should not be treated as Churchmen were in this country, but that an entire separation should be made between the conditions of the two Churches. If there were abuses, let them be remedied; but they had no right to take the property of the Church for the purposes of providing a remedy. They had no right, as the resolution proposed, to violate—first, the principles of the Reformation; secondly, the Act of Settlement; thirdly, the Act of Union; and fourthly, the settlement of 1829. The hon. member concluded by referring to statistics

tending to show the progress of the Church in Ireland, and the spread of free religious doctrines.

Mr. Whiteside concurred with Sir G. Grey that, to carry the motion in the sense of the speeches by which it had been supported, would tend to civil confusion in Ireland, the excitement of the worst feelings, and the general disturbance of society in that country. He argued that the Irish Church did not constitute a practical grievance to the Roman Catholics, because, although the endowments belonged to the Establishment, the Roman Catholics had 30,000*l.* a year for the College of Maynooth, 240,000*l.* a year for secular education, and, in addition, chaplains in the army and navy, workhouses, reformatories, and prisons, making a total money payment equivalent to 300,000*l.* per annum. The property of the Established Church, he maintained, was secured against invasion by the Act of Settlement and the Act of Union; the day the fundamental article in the last Act was withdrawn, the Union itself would be at an end. His argument for the Irish Church was not founded upon numbers, but upon the ground that the property of that Church belonged to it as an ancient corporation.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer entered fully into the various aspects of the question, and discussed the arguments which had been urged by Mr. Hardy and other advocates of the Irish Church in defence of the institution. He began by conceding some of the grounds on which its defence had been rested, especially with reference to the personal character and merits of the clergy. He agreed with Mr. Hardy that that Church did not present such an amount of flagrant abuse as would justify a violent interference with its existence. Its clergy were an earnest, zealous, and devoted body of ministers, faithful to their sacred functions in a degree not inferior to that of the clergy of any other branch of the Christian Church. With regard to its prelates, too, there were those among them who were known to be men of great learning, the highest character, and the most extensive charity both in act and opinion. And the general effect of the evidence was, that there was great social utility in the presence of a body of educated Christian gentlemen, such as the Protestant clergy of Ireland; and that if they were unhappily precluded from ministering to the wants of their neighbours in the most important respects for which they were appointed, yet in their social and moral influence they rendered valuable services to the community. All this, however, did not touch the essence of the question; and the object of Mr. Hardy was to put a negative not only upon the motion, but on the proposition contained in it, that the present situation of the Irish Church was unsatisfactory. Now, although the Government were unable to agree to the motion, they were not prepared to deny the abstract truth of that part of the resolution. They could not assert that the present position of the Establishment was satisfactory.



Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to deal with that portion of Mr. Hardy's argument which was founded upon the Act of Union, regarded as a perpetually binding contract. That position he held to be untenable. "His doctrine is, that by the Act of Union the Protestant people of England bound themselves to the Protestant minority of Ireland perpetually to maintain the Established Church in that country, with a view to supply the spiritual wants of that Protestant minority. I am bound to say that I must differ from the doctrine to which the hon. member appears to incline—that the Protestants in Ireland or the members of the Established Church in any one of the three kingdoms—for I believe them to be all on the same footing—are solely entitled to have provision made for their spiritual wants, without any regard being paid to the requirements of the remaining portion of the population. Neither our Constitution nor our history will warrant such a conclusion. There is not the slightest doubt that if the Church of England is a national Church, and that if the conditions upon which the ecclesiastical endowments are held were altered at the Reformation, that alteration was made mainly with the view that those endowments should be intrusted to a body ministering to the wants of a great majority of the people. I am bound to add my belief that those who directed the Government of this country in the reign of Queen Elizabeth acted on the firm conviction that that which had happened in England would happen in Ireland; and they would, probably, be not a little surprised if they could look down the vista of time and see that in the year 1864 the result of all their labours had been that, after 300 years, the Church which they endowed and established, ministered to the religious wants of only one-eighth or one-ninth part of the community. Before quitting the Act of Union, I may say that I do not deny the importance of such great statutes. In one sense they may be regarded as the landmarks of our Constitution. But the first responsibility of every Legislature in every age must be to adapt the laws and institutions of the country to the wants of the country which it governs, and it would indeed be a miserable excuse if we were to say that, although we did not think an institution was beneficial, we thought it ought to be maintained, and we would maintain it, because it was made by a parliament of men now dead, who while alive were not gifted with second-sight, and who were unable to foretell the circumstances in which we should be placed."

A view of the subject much more tenable than that just referred to was that of regarding the Protestant Establishment in the light of a Missionary Church. Viewing it in this aspect, which was far more rational than the theory of an exclusive privilege guaranteed to a certain section of the community by law, it was material to inquire what progress had been made by the institution in the course of years towards attaining its professed object.

"In the latter part of the 17th century an estimate was made

by Sir W. Petty of the relative strength of Protestants to Roman Catholics in Ireland. I now take all classes of Protestants together for the purpose of more convenient comparison, and I find the result he arrived at was—Roman Catholics, 800,000; Protestants, 300,000. The date of that estimate was followed by a century of application of most rigid penal laws. There is not, I apprehend, the least doubt that as regards particular classes of society those penal laws to a certain extent did their work, but yet they failed to impress the mass of the population. And now we come to the year 1834, the first year of any trustworthy and accurate religious enumeration of the people of Ireland, and we find that those who were represented in the time of Sir W. Petty by 800,000 and 300,000 had come to be respectively 6,400,000 of Roman Catholics and 1,500,000 of Protestants of various denominations. If the proportion between Roman Catholics and Protestants that existed in the time of Sir W. Petty had been maintained, the Protestants of 1834 ought not to have been 1,500,000, but ought to have been 2,400,000. So far, therefore, under the operation of the system of law then established, although aided by the severest pressure of the power of the civil Government,—so far were we from making progress in the direction in which upon every religious ground we might desire, that much ground had actually been lost, and the proportion of Protestants to Roman Catholics was more unfavourable than it had been 150 years before. Mr. Hardy adverted to the census of 1861, and undoubtedly we find that the proportion of Protestants to Roman Catholics in 1861 is somewhat less unfavourable than it had been in 1834; for now, while the Roman Catholics are 4,500,000, the Protestants are 1,300,000. This apparent increase, however, may probably be set down to the fact that the emigration which so much reduced the whole population of Ireland, has been almost wholly a deduction from the Roman Catholic community.”

After discussing the other topics which had been urged in behalf of the Protestant Establishment, the right hon. gentleman declared himself unable to come to any other conclusion than that the Church, as it now stood, was in a false position; nor could he refuse his assent to so much of Mr. Dilwyn's resolution as declared that its condition was at present unsatisfactory. With regard to the practical conclusion, however, it was much more difficult to decide: no one had ventured to propose the remedy required under the existing state of things. The consideration of this portion of the question raised a whole nest of political problems; for while the vast majority of the Irish people were opposed to the maintenance of large and liberal endowments for a fragment of the population, they repudiated any desire to appropriate those endowments, and firmly rejected all idea of receiving a State provision for themselves. In these circumstances, how, he asked, could the Government substitute a satis-

factory for an admittedly unsatisfactory state of things? If the Administration could see their way to a settlement of this vexed question, they ought to grapple with the difficulty and cast their responsibility and influence into the scale. But if they could not do this, they ought not, by supporting the motion, to declare that the state of the Irish Church called for their early attention.

The adjournment of this debate was carried, upon a division, by 221 to 106; but, as before stated, was not resumed during the session.

## CHAPTER II.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS—Resolution moved by Sir Fitzroy Kelly in favour of a reduction of the Malt Duty—Arguments urged by the representatives of the agricultural interest against the tax—The President of the Board of Trade opposes the Motion—The “Previous Question” moved and carried against Sir F. Kelly by a majority of 251 to 170—Mr. Sheridan moves a Resolution in favour of a further reduction of the duties on Fire Insurance, which is opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but carried by a large majority.—*The Budget*—Mr. Gladstone makes his Financial Statement to the House of Commons on the 27th of April—He takes an elaborate survey of the finances and commerce of the country, and of the changes made in our fiscal system during the course of the existing Parliament—Highly favourable result of these changes upon trade and revenue—The estimates for the ensuing year show a considerable surplus—Appropriation of this balance—Reduction of Tea Duties, of Income Tax, of Fire Insurance Duty, and some other minor changes—Prospective views as to the Income Tax—Arguments against the abolition of the Malt Duty—The proposals of the Government are favourably received by the public—The Bill for giving effect to them passes without opposition, but with a protest from the opponents of the Malt Duty—Mr. Denman introduces a Resolution for relieving solicitors from the Licence Duty—It is opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is carried by a small majority, but produces no practical result.—*Reduction in the Public Expenditure*—The Army and Navy Estimates for the year exhibit a considerable decrease—Effects of this economy on reduction of taxation—The Army Estimates are moved and explained in full detail by the Marquis of Hartington—Numerous topics embraced in his statement—Expenditure, barracks, discipline, recruiting, improvements in ordnance small arms and general efficiency of the service—The statement is received with satisfaction by the House—The Naval Estimates are moved by Lord Clarence Paget, who states the expenditure required for our maritime establishment, the number of ships in commission, the number of men and boys required, and enters fully into the subject of iron-plated vessels, and of the improvements in the dockyards—The details of the Estimates undergo much discussion in the House.—*COLONIAL DEFENCES*—Bill introduced by the Colonial Secretary for enabling the Colonies to provide themselves with means of maritime defence—Statement of the provisions of the measure, its favourable reception by Parliament, and passing of the Bill.—*THE INDIAN BUDGET*—Sir Charles Wood makes his annual Financial Statement at a late period of the session—The Resolutions are adopted with little discussion.

THE financial statement of this year was preceded by two motions made by members of the House of Commons for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary pledge for the remission of duties which they considered it of urgent importance to remove from our fiscal system. The first of these was the Malt Tax, for the repeal or modification of which a sort of desultory agitation had been



going on for some time in the agricultural districts, and which had been a prominent object at some of the county elections occurring from time to time. It could not be said indeed that any strong or widely-diffused feeling prevailed on the subject, nor had the effects and consequences of parting with so large an element of the public revenue been very accurately measured by those who demanded the relief; but in some localities meetings had been held and pledges exacted from members by their constituents, and throughout the agricultural body generally a feeling prevailed that out of the superabundant means which the Revenue now afforded, the cultivators of the soil were entitled to some mitigation of burthens in preference to other classes which had more directly benefited by recent legislation. One of the chief spokesmen of the Malt Duty repealers was Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Q.C., one of the representatives of the Eastern Division of Suffolk; and in fulfilment of the pledges which he had given to bring the question fairly to issue before the House of Commons, the learned member moved, on the 7th of March, a resolution in the following terms—"That in any future remission of indirect taxation, this House should take into consideration the Duty on Malt with a view to its early reduction and ultimate repeal." In introducing the subject to the House, Sir F. Kelly said that it was not his intention to interfere with the present views of the Government as to the Income Tax or any other indirect tax; he wished to call attention, in the first instance, to the principles of policy on which eminent authorities and public writers on finance proceeded in discussing questions of taxation. Applying these principles and those of free trade to the Malt Tax, he pointed out the real features of this tax, showing that it conflicted with the first of the principles in being a tax upon a raw material or an article in the first stage of manufacture. He then entered into a series of calculations to prove that, assuming the consumption of beer to cost 60,000,000*l.* per annum, if the Malt Tax did not exist, the consumers would pay only 40,000,000*l.*; so that the public really paid for the Malt Tax 20,000,000*l.*, of which less than one-third found its way to the Exchequer. And upon what classes, he asked, did the tax fall? Three-fourths of it fell upon the humbler and labouring classes. He went on to show that malt, an article of home produce, had all the elements which entitled it to freedom from taxation; yet, in spite of the large remissions and reductions of taxation and the multitude of articles relieved, the tax on malt was unmitigated, though entitled to mitigation upon the same principle as that on which the corn laws were repealed. He compared the claims of malt with those of other articles, especially tea, sugar, tobacco, and wine—none of them home productions—the duties upon which had been largely reduced; and he insisted that, in denying the same relief to malt, the financial Minister had acted in the very teeth of the first principles of just taxation. In conclusion, he dwelt upon the beneficial effects of a remission



of the tax upon farmers and the brewers of beer at home; and the tendency it would have to improve the quality of beer and enable a million of the people to drink a wholesome beverage which they could not now afford to taste. The taking away of this tax, in his opinion, would not increase intemperance, but effect, on the contrary, a social revolution among the labouring classes.

The motion was seconded by Sir B. Lytton, who urged the impolicy, in various aspects, of the Malt Tax, its oppressive effect upon the agriculture of the country, and upon stock, influencing the price of meat, and thus reaching every class of consumers. He urged likewise the effect of the tax upon the quality of beer, and that its removal would enable the working man to get the best drink at the lowest price. It was objected, he observed, that the whole tax could not be given up; but this was not a reason why no part should be remitted. It was only asked that a beginning should be made by such an instalment as could be spared, thus recognizing what was a logical consequence of the repeal of the corn laws.

Mr. Neate moved, as an amendment, to substitute the following resolution:—"That, considering the immunities from taxation now enjoyed by the owners and occupiers of land, they are not entitled to any special consideration on account of the pecuniary pressure of the Malt Tax; and that if, on other grounds, that tax should be reduced or abolished, compensation to the revenue should be sought, in the first instance, by withdrawing from landed property the advantage it now has over other property in the shape of total exemption from probate duty and partial exemption from succession duty and Income Tax." He examined the alleged burdens upon agriculture, some of which were, he said, no special burdens, and compared the remainder with the large immunities and exemptions from taxation enjoyed by the owners of landed property, which he considered a benefit commensurate with the Malt Tax.

Sir F. Kelly's arguments were supported by speeches from several members representing agricultural constituencies, among whom were Mr. Du Cane, Mr. Morritt, and Col. Barttelot. On the other side of the question were Mr. Thompson, Mr. Hardcastle, and Mr. Milner Gibson, President of the Board of Trade. It was argued by these gentlemen that the repeal of the duty would not afford any material relief to the consumer, nor would it be of much benefit to the grower, if accompanied by the repeal of the Custom duty on foreign malt. It was also urged on the part of the Government that the resolution of Sir F. Kelly bound the House to give a preference to the Malt Tax over every other direct tax, so as to tie down the present and all other Administrations, whatever might be the circumstances of the country, to turn a deaf ear to all other claims till the Malt Tax was totally abolished. It was not wise or prudent so to pledge Parliament. As to the policy of the tax falling upon beer, Mr. J. S. Mill

was cited in favour of taxing stimulants, and it was asked why spirits should be highly taxed, and beer, which contained the same alcoholic principle, should be exempted? The distillers would ask, "Are you going to do nothing for us?" The effect of exempting beer from tax would give an advantage to England over Scotland and Ireland in respect to their several stimulating drinks. It was not alleged there were not evils in the Malt Tax; but the Excise regulations had been so modified that the manufacture was now relieved from embarrassment. As to the difference between the cost price of beer and the retail price, there would always be a considerable difference, arising from various causes. This was improperly called a farmers' question; it was more of a landlords' question. But it really was a financial question, affecting extensively the sources of the public revenue. No case had been made out to show that the barley-growers were suffering such distress as to entitle them to relief, and it was hoped the House would not bind itself by the proposed resolution, which would oblige it to retrace its steps.

Mr. Henley, treating the question as one of revenue, said that all previous experience showed that reductions of duty had been accompanied by an increased consumption, and there was no reason why a similar result should not ensue from the abrogation of the Malt Tax. Comparing the operation of the duty on malt with that on wine, the right hon. gentleman contended that to the person who bought by retail the former was a charge of 30 per cent., as against only 7 per cent. upon the latter. He looked upon the question as equally affecting producer and consumer—farmer and labourer; and seeing that the duty on wine and brandy had been reduced, he thought the claim of the poor man to a remission of at least one-half the Malt Duty was an act of justice, whilst in the course of a year or two the revenue would be completely recouped.

Mr. Neate having withdrawn his amendment, the House proceeded to a vote on "the previous question," and it was decided by a majority of 251 to 170 that Sir F. Kelly's resolution should not be put to the vote. The other duty upon which an appeal was made to the decision of the House of Commons prior to the Budget was that upon Fire Insurance, a subject which Mr. B. Sheridan had in former sessions taken up with considerable success. The tax was unpopular and generally disapproved of, its amount was not, like the Malt Tax, so considerable as to make it difficult to deal with; and it was also anticipated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be impelled by the manifest disposition of the House, to include this duty among his intended remissions. Mr. Sheridan accordingly, with little preface in the way of argument, asked the House to adopt his resolution in these terms:—"In the opinion of the House, it is expedient that the reduction of fire-insurance duty made in the last session should be extended, at the earliest opportunity, to houses, household goods, and all descriptions of insurable property."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved as an amendment, "the previous question." He argued that the time chosen by Mr. Sheridan for making his proposal was inopportune, and said there was no precedent for a Government acceding to such a motion before the expiration of the financial year. It would be contrary to the duty of the Government, indeed, to come to an irrevocable decision on the repeal of any tax until they knew within certain limits the revenue and the charge for the year.

Notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's remonstrance, however, several members urged that a vote of the House should be taken on the subject. Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Malins, and Sir R. Clifton spoke in favour of this course, and, upon a division being taken, the Government was defeated by a majority of 72, and the resolution was declared to be carried.

The public had been informed by the Royal Speech at the beginning of the session that the receipts of the Revenue realized the estimated amount, but this information rather understated the fact. The prosperity of the finances, in truth, had exceeded the calculations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Some remissions of taxation were consequently looked for when the annual statement came to be made, and speculation was, as usual, busy with conjectures as to the quarter in which reductions would be proposed. The 27th of April was appointed for the Financial Statement, and on that day Mr. Gladstone presented to a very crowded House the accounts of the past, and the calculations and plans for the ensuing year. The right hon. gentleman began his speech with an interesting retrospective view of the financial position of the country on the commencement of the Parliament, six years before. "There is," he said, "upon the whole, a somewhat remarkable contrast between the opening and closing circumstances of the present Parliament. When the Parliament met, we had been involved, although we did not know it at the time, in a costly and difficult war with China. The harvest of the year which succeeded was the worst that had been known for half a century. The recent experience of war had led to extensive, costly, and somewhat uncertain reconstructions. And clouds hung over the continent of Europe, while the Italian war had terminated in such a manner as to occasion vague but serious alarms in the public mind. Since that period those clouds have moved westward across the Atlantic, and have burst in a tempest, perhaps the wildest that ever devastated a civilized country—a tempest of war distinguished, indeed, by the exhibition of many of the most marvellous and extraordinary qualities of valour, heroism, and perseverance; and on the whole, perhaps, no scenes have been so entirely painful as that of which the intelligence has last reached us, which now causes one thrill of horror throughout Europe<sup>1</sup>. But so far as this country is concerned, we have been mercifully

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the assassination of President Lincoln.



spared. We see the state of the public mind tranquil and reassured, and the condition of the country generally prosperous and satisfactory. The financial history of the Parliament has been a remarkable one. It has raised a larger revenue than, I believe, at any period, whether of peace or war, was raised by taxation. After taking into account the changes in the value of money within an equal time, the expenditure of the Parliament has been upon a scale that has never before been reached in time of peace. The amount and variety of the changes introduced into our financial legislation have been greater than within a like number of years at any former time. And I may say, lastly, that it has enjoyed the distinction that, although no Parliament ever completes the full term of its legal existence, yet this is the seventh time on which you have been called upon to make provision for the financial exigences of the country. I will now proceed to state the figures of the case which relate to the year which has just expired." The right hon. gentleman proceeded to say that in the year 1864-5 the expenditure was estimated at 66,890,000*l*. The estimate was afterwards slightly increased in the Appropriation Bill, but the actual expenditure was 66,462,000*l*., being 611,000*l*. less than the estimate; making allowance for various matters, such as the lapse of the Long Annuities, it would be found that the expenditure of 1864-5 was 65,951,000*l*., while that of 1859-60 was 67,471,000*l*., so that the reduction was 1,514,000*l*. As compared with 1860-61, the year of our highest expenditure, the decrease was 6,547,000*l*. Compared, however, with 1858-9, before the greater expenditure on the army and navy began, there was an increase of 3,442,000*l*.; and going back to the period before the Russian war, the increase last year was 12,459,000*l*. Comparing the expenditure of last year with the revenue, he found that, by the Exchequer accounts up to March 31, 1865, there had been paid 66,462,000*l*., the revenue to the same date being 70,313,000*l*., showing an apparent surplus of 3,231,000*l*. The estimated revenue was 66,128,000*l*.; the actual revenue being, as stated, 70,313,000*l*. The increase extended to every material head of revenue. The most remarkable was the Customs, where the increase was 752,000*l*.; and Excise, where it was 1,538,000*l*. The duty on corn was less by 184,000*l*.; but wine showed a steady growth, the increase being 75,000*l*. Sugar, however, was the most remarkable item in the Customs. It had been estimated that, owing to the reductions made, there would be a loss on that item of 1,330,000*l*. The actual loss had only been 926,000*l*. In Excise the malt duties had yielded 6,377,000*l*., instead of 5,800,000*l*., as estimated, and spirits had yielded a total increase over the previous year of 741,000*l*. It had been estimated that there would be a total loss on the year of 3,080,000*l*. whereas there had been altogether a gain of 147,000*l*. This showed the growth in the prosperity of the country. The right hon. gentleman entered into an elaborate comparison between the year 1840



and the present time. From 1840 to 1852, just before the Russian war, taxes had been imposed amounting to 6,285,000*l.*, and taxes had been reduced amounting to 13,597,000*l.* The revenue in the same period showed an increase of 5,051,000*l.* The revenue from 1840 to 1852, taking the increase and the reductions of taxation into account, thus improved at the rate of 1,030,000*l.* a year. From 1853 to 1859 the average growth of the income was 1,240,000*l.* From 1859 to 1865 the increase of income had been at the rate of 1,780,000*l.* These facts showed the progress of the country. The balances on the 31st of March, 1864, were 7,352,000*l.* while on the 31st March last they were 7,690,000*l.* The debt paid off during the year had been: Exchequer Bonds, 300,000*l.*; Exchequer Bills, 2,100,000*l.*; stock purchased with surplus revenue, 939,000*l.*; capital redeemed in terminable annuities, 2,000,000*l.*; total, 5,340,000*l.* Deducting the amount raised for fortifications, viz., 726,000*l.*, the real reduction of the debt was 4,614,000*l.* The total debt on 31st March, 1859, was 825,934,000*l.* In 1865 it was 808,288,000*l.*, or a diminution of 17,646,000*l.* He did not think that this, considering all things, was a very brilliant result, or that they had risen to a sense of the full extent of their obligations as to the reduction of the National Debt. Turning to the trade of the country, and especially to the paper trade, he said it showed not only that it did not mean to leave the country, but that it would strike its roots deeper and deeper. The importation of paper had risen to 477,000*l.*, but the importation of raw material had also increased from 13,700 tons in 1859 to 67,000 tons in 1865. The supply of cotton waste, which in 1861 and 1862 was low, had lately been much increasing. Our trade with France had increased from 26,431,000*l.* in 1859 to 49,797,000*l.* in 1864. He mentioned incidentally that our expenses were greater than those of France. The whole trade of the country in the year ending September 30, 1864, was:—Imports, 274,000,000*l.*; exports, 487,000,000*l.*; showing an increase since 1854 of 219,000,000*l.* The right hon. gentleman pointed out how this increase stood relatively to the increase in other countries, and contended that most of it was due to the removal of bars to commerce. He pronounced a glowing eulogy on Mr. Cobden, as having borne a larger share than any other man in bringing about this result. Coming to the estimate of the income and expenditure of the current year, he stated the latter as follows:—

Charge for unfunded debt . . . . .	£26,350,000
Consolidated Fund charge . . . . .	1,900,000
Army . . . . .	14,348,000
Navy . . . . .	10,392,000
Collection of revenue . . . . .	4,657,000
Packet service . . . . .	842,000
Miscellaneous civil service (about) . . . . .	7,650,000

Total . . . . . £66,139,000

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or 1,110,000*l.* less than the estimate in 1864-5. The estimate for the revenue for the current year was—

Customs . . . . .	£22,775,000
Excise . . . . .	19,030,000
Stamps . . . . .	9,550,000
Taxes . . . . .	3,350,000
Income Tax . . . . .	7,800,000
Post Office . . . . .	4,250,000
Crown lands . . . . .	315,000
Miscellaneous . . . . .	2,650,000
China indemnity . . . . .	450,000
Total . . . . .	£70,170,000

showing an estimated surplus of 4,031,000*l.* The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to describe how he proposed to dispose of the surplus. It was proposed, first, to equalize the stamp duty on scrip certificates and receipts in the case of English and Foreign money transactions. The stamp on agreements for letting houses would be reduced to a penny. The tax on appraisements would be graduated, so that property amounting to 5*l.* would not pay 2*s.* 6*d.* but 3*d.*, and so on upwards. Special pleaders and conveyancers would have the same allowance of licence duties as attorneys. The Stamp Duty on ecclesiastical licences in certain cases would be reduced. The Stamp Duty on charter parties would be reduced to 6*d.*, subject to certain conditions. There were also alterations in regard to marine insurance stamps, and stamps on accidental death, personal injury, and plate-glass insurances. Coming now to greater things, he proceeded to discuss the very important question of the Malt Duty, which required, he said, a careful and laborious consideration. The Government had been reproached, he remarked, with having done nothing for the class of agriculturists, but they disclaimed any design of looking to the interests of classes; they looked to the interest of the community; the revenue of the country was the public property of the country. He examined the charges brought against the Malt Duty, observing that the question was as to its abolition or its reduction. The total abolition of the duty would, he said, be the death-warrant of our whole system of indirect taxation, and transfer the burden to property; and as to its reduction, the practical question was, what amount of reduction could be made. He would allow that the tax upon beer from the Malt Duty was 20 per cent. How much of the Malt Duty must be taken off to reduce the price of beer one farthing a quart? A little less than one-half. The loss to the Exchequer by such a reduction would be, in the first year 2,489,000*l.*; in the second year 3,360,000*l.* Figures were far more eloquent than comments. It was said that there would be an increase of consumption; but there would be no real recovery

of revenue; if there was any large increase in the use of malt for beer, there would be a proportionate diminution in the consumption of spirits, and demands would be made on the part of Scotland. On the other hand, the additional duty on spirits increased the consumption of malt. So much for consumers: with regard to the producers of barley, he showed that the price was progressively going up. Looking at the relative taxation of malt, as compared with other potable articles, he found that, while beer was taxed 20 per cent., the common wines which entered into competition with beer were taxed 50 per cent. If beer ought to be taxed more lightly than wine, tea ought not to be taxed more heavily than beer, whereas the tax on tea was not less than 40 per cent. The Malt Duty, however, was levied upon the measure, which seemed unfair to barley of different qualities, and he proposed to give the maltster the option of paying the duty by weight. He did not presume to give any opinion as to the indefinite continuance of the Malt Tax, a question which was connected with the Income Tax. But it was the intention of the Government now to propose a reduction of indirect taxation by a partial remission of 6*d.* per lb. on the Tea Duty. Mr. Gladstone entered at some length into the statistics of this article. The consumption in 1865-6 was estimated at 92,000,000 lbs. The loss of 6*d.* a pound on that would amount to 2,300,000*l.* On that he estimated the recovery would be about 225,000*l.*, and as part of the year would have passed before the change would come into operation, he estimated that the loss in 1865-6 would be 1,868,000*l.* With respect to the Income Tax, it was thought that they ought to do all they could for its reduction. It was at present at the lowest point, practically, at which it ever was. It had not been lower than 6*d.* in the pound; but they proposed to remove one-third, reducing the tax to 4*d.* In this state they would hand the tax over, at the amount of 5,200,000*l.*, to the new Parliament, which could deal conveniently with that amount. By so doing we should accomplish a double object. If it should be the pleasure of that Parliament and the desire of the country that it should be dealt with, with a view to its extinction, the amount of the tax would have been brought within such limits that it would not be beyond reach to adopt measures which would enable that object to be gained. But if, on the other hand, it should be the view of Parliament and the people permanently to retain the Income Tax at a low rate, as part of the ordinary financial provision of the country, then that rate of 4*d.* in the pound is the rate at which he believed the tax could be most justly and most wisely retained in time of peace, and in the absence of special exigences. Measuring the penny on the Income Tax as producing the sum of 1,300,000*l.*, the final loss to the Exchequer by the reduction of 2*d.* would be 2,600,000*l.*, of which about 1,650,000*l.* would fall upon the current year. The last proposition which he had to make to the House related to the Fire Insurance Duty. The House had passed a resolution de-

claring it to be desirable that the duty should be reduced. In accordance with that decision, it was proposed to reduce the duty to a uniform rate of 1s. 6d. from the 25th of June, and to this would be added the substitution of a Penny Stamp in lieu of the 1s. duty on insurance policies. The net loss on the financial year in consequence of these changes he estimated at 260,000*l.*, with a further loss of 260,000*l.* next year. The relief given by the proposed reductions would be:—On tea, 2,300,000*l.*, on Income Tax, 2,600,000*l.*, and on Fire Insurance Duty, 520,000*l.*, making a total of 5,420,000*l.*, of which 3,778,000*l.* would fall on this year. Deducting this latter sum from the estimated surplus, 4,031,000*l.*, there would be a surplus of 253,000*l.* They were by the measures he proposed laying a burden of 1,160,000*l.* on the resources of next year. “It may,” said the right hon. gentleman, “be asked whether levying this burden on next year’s resources be a prudent measure? My answer would be twofold. In the first place, when you deal with taxes on property, it is absolutely unavoidable that you shall, to a considerable extent, affect the balance of the year succeeding that for which you immediately legislate. That is my first answer. But I likewise answer, looking to the state of this country, and to the fact that we have an increase of revenue not for one year but for two years to look forward to, which, in our natural and ordinary state of things, will be a much larger sum—that I feel no scruple upon the score of prudence in asking the Committee to accede to that proposition. There is, however, another request which I have to make of the Committee, and which I trust they will feel disposed to grant. It is that they will join with us in shielding from invasion the modest sum of one quarter of a million which I ask that we be permitted to retain. We have been like persons enclosed within a certain precinct, and outside the door we have seen crowds of hungry claimants. The more prosperous the country is, and the larger the surplus there is for remission of taxes, the greater always is the number of demands for relief, even in proportion to the enlarged surplus. We see them on all sides, and of all kinds. We have let in those who we thought had the strongest claim, and those whom we were able to satisfy; but there remain many behind. There remain many Customs’ Duties with which it would still be desirable to deal. It is not necessary to name them all, but there are duties upon raw materials, and other duties with which, undoubtedly, it would be most desirable to deal. I hope, however, that the Committee will think we have acted wisely in giving a reduction upon the great article of tea, rather than distributing that relief which we were able to afford in smaller and less perceptible amounts. There is a claim for the reduction of the duty on public conveyances. That is a claim for which there is much to be said in favour, and I shall be glad, when the time arrives, to give a favourable hearing to the applicants on that subject. There are also powerful claims from those connected with marine



insurance. I cannot say that I think their case is by any means so urgent, but at the same time it may, within certain limits, be a fair subject for consideration at some future time. There are other claims immediately hanging over us, with regard to which I trust the House will support us in declining to make further inroads upon our surplus; and I wish particularly to refer to a proposal which will be made for the relief of a particular class from a duty which for some generations they have been accustomed to pay. I am quite sure that, if the House is prepared to enter upon the question of relief of one particular class from duties which they now pay, whether in the shape of annual licences or stamps for admission, it must be prepared to deal with the whole body of these interests, in order to satisfy the demands of justice; and to deal with the whole body of these interests—if indeed to deal with any of them—is not compatible with financial prudence, or with the elementary principles upon which our fiscal economy is based. I trust, therefore, that we shall have that support which I have asked from the House, if they consider our proposals on the whole to be reasonable and just, and that their character and extent are wise in regard to the circumstances in which we at present stand. I confess I cannot entertain any sanguine hope as to their universal acceptance and approval; but I am sanguine enough to believe that the immense difficulties which I have stated as to any effectual dealing with the Malt Tax may have made an impression even upon minds previously disposed to deal with it. It is a great satisfaction to myself and to my colleagues to think that the proposals we make may not be unacceptable to gentlemen upon either side of the House. They are few, they are simple, they are intelligible, though they might probably have been imparted in fewer words than those of any Budget which has ever dealt with an extensive remission of taxation. I am sure and strong in the persuasion, first of all, that they are likely to win the approval of this House; and secondly, that they will likewise obtain the favourable verdict of the nation over the interest of which it is our duty to watch."

The propositions of Mr. Gladstone were favourably received by the House, with little exception. The advocates of the repeal or reduction of the Malt Duty, indeed, were not satisfied with the Budget, and protested against the omission of that tax from the schedule of remissions. Mr. Du Cane, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Barrow, and other representatives of the agricultural interest, thought the Government had not done justice to that branch of the community, in overlooking their claim to an alleviation of burthens. With regard to the taxes selected for reduction, no absolute objection was made—indeed the case in favour of most of them was obvious, and the proposals of the Government had been to a considerable extent anticipated by public conjecture. Out of doors, accordingly, the Budget was accepted with general satisfaction, and scarcely any

manifestation of opposition was made. The reduction of the tea duty was felt to be a very general relief, extending to almost every rank of the community, and not least appreciated by the poorest class. It was approved also as a continuance of the same policy which had produced such fruitful results in replacing the revenue by means of increased consumption. The diminution of the Income Tax also was a popular measure. Those who had felt the burthen of 7*d.*, and even for a time groaned under 14*d.*, experienced a lively sense of relief in being made subject only to the deduction of 4*d.* in the pound from their incomes. Moreover, this last descent appeared to bring the abolition of the tax, hitherto despaired of, within the bounds of possibility. It may at least be anticipated that no further reduction will be made in the amount short of entire abolition. Whether it would be expedient, in case the state of the revenue should admit of it, thus to get rid of the tax, or to retain it at the present low amount as a permanent part of our financial system, is a question which must be left to the wisdom of the future Parliament to determine.

The various fiscal alterations comprised in the Budget being incorporated in a Bill, passed through the House of Commons with little delay. Upon the question of the reduction of the Tea Duties being raised in Committee, the advocates for the repeal of the Malt Tax again urged the preferential claims of their agricultural clients to relief, and complained of the little favour shown in the financial arrangements of late years to the landed and rural classes. In reply to these remonstrances, the Chancellor of the Exchequer vindicated the grounds on which he had reduced the duty on tea instead of that on malt, and he reminded the members for agricultural districts that their constituents participated in common with the rest of the community in every remission of taxation he had proposed; and they would do so in the present instance by the removal of twopence on the Income Tax, the reduction of sixpence a pound on tea, and the abolition of half the duty on fire insurance.

Only in one case was an attempt made after the financial proposals of the Government had been adopted, to induce the House of Commons to sanction further inroads upon the revenue. A motion was made by Mr. Denman having for its object to obtain a resolution of the House in favour of relieving attorneys and solicitors from the payment of the annual certificate duty. The tax originated in the time of Mr. Pitt, since which it had continued unaltered, and it was represented by the members of the profession as an anomalous and exceptional impost, to which other employments of skill and industry were not made subject.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed the motion because he objected to all attempts to pledge the future by an abstract resolution, and contended that there was nothing in the circumstances of the present case to justify a departure from that course, and that the surplus in the hand of the Treasury would not admit

of the proposed remission of taxation. He did not view these exceptional imposts with favour; but there was no reason why the large, wealthy, and powerful class of attorneys should be relieved from the licence duty, unless such relief were also extended to other classes, such as auctioneers, hawkers, and pawnbrokers. Under these circumstances the sum at issue on this question was not less than 600,000*l.* a year. Auctioneers paid 10*l.* a year, and pawnbrokers paid 30*l.* a year, while attorneys paid only 9*l.*

On a division, Mr. Denman's motion was carried by 146 votes against 143; majority for the motion, 3.

The passing of the resolution, however, led to no practical result.

The reduction of burthens which the Government was happily enabled to make this year in favour of the tax-payer was no doubt mainly due to the increased productiveness of the revenue under the operation of free trade, but it could not have been carried to its full extent had not this increase of income been accompanied with a diminution of expenditure. The tranquil state of our foreign relations fortunately enabled the Government to propose a considerable reduction in the estimates for the military and naval services, without compromising the efficiency of either. This reduction amounted for the army to 495,641*l.*, and for the navy to 316,427*l.* The mode in which the saving in the former department was to be effected was fully explained by the Marquis of Hartington, in proposing the Army Estimates for the adoption of the House of Commons on the 16th of April. On that occasion the noble lord entered very fully and with much ability into the details of the military organization and expenditure. Referring in the first place to the financial part of his subject, Lord Hartington explained that, although the saving upon the estimate was as above stated, yet, striking from the gross estimate the sum expected to be paid into the Exchequer for extra receipts, the net estimated charge was 12,645,007*l.*, while in 1864 it was 13,519,646*l.*, showing a saving in the total estimate for army purposes of 874,639*l.*

The noble lord proceeded to point out in detail the amount of saving effected since the year of the highest expenditure on the army services.

"The year 1861-2 was really the year of the highest military expenditure, but in the year 1862-3 the Estimates for the army reached their highest point. In 1862-3 the estimated expenditure was 16,060,350*l.* In the next year there was a reduction amounting to 591,413*l.*, and in 1864-5 the reduction had been increased to 1,216,262*l.* In the present year the reduction on the Estimates of 1862-3 will be 1,711,903*l.* These reductions of nearly 2,000,000*l.* from the year of the highest expenditure are not all I have to mention. I should like to call attention to the fact that we have now reduced the Army Estimates from the year of the highest expenditure to a point below that of 1859-60, being the year before the Governments of Europe were alarmed by the Italian war—



before the feeling became so prevalent in England that our defences were not in the state they ought to be in, and before our armaments assumed the dimensions they subsequently did. In the year 1859-60 the Army Estimates were prepared by the right hon. gentleman opposite (General Peel), and I will compare with them the Estimates for the present year. In the former year the vote for the disembodied militia was not included in the Army Estimates, and, therefore, I have to deduct from the Estimates of the present year the charge for that force. The amount voted in 1859-60 was 12,859,297*l.*, not including the disembodied militia. To that sum 700,000*l.* should be added, being the sum due by the India Government, making a total of 13,559,297*l.* The total amount estimated to be the expenditure for the army for the present year is 13,533,047*l.*, so that the amount in 1859-60 was greater by 26,250*l.* The charges now included in the Army Estimates, in addition to those voted in 1859, the cost of which is met by contributions from the Indian and Colonial funds, amount to 648,000*l.*; and, therefore, in addition to the saving of 26,250*l.*, there is a real, though not apparent, saving of 648,000*l.* Since 1859 the Volunteer force has almost entirely sprung up, involving a charge of 354,000*l.* There are several other new charges, some of them in consequence of the recommendations of the Commission on Recruiting, and 94,500*l.* are expended upon additional clothing issued on their recommendation. I mention these things to show that during the last few years the Government have been working steadily in the direction of a reduction of military expenditure."

The total force in the British establishment to be voted for this year was 141,518 men, being a reduction, compared with the last year, of about 4000 men. Lord Hartington explained the manner in which this reduction had been effected, and certain prospective reductions, and made some remarks on the subject of recruiting. On this topic the noble marquis said there was no good ground for the apprehensions which had been expressed, and as for the fact of the establishment being 4000 men under the numbers on the paper, "every body must know that at no time do the real numbers of the army absolutely correspond with the establishment as given in the returns, because in some places they somewhat exceed, and in others are slightly below the numbers stated on the paper. There is frequently some uncertainty as to the exact time when men are to get their discharge, and recruiting at particular periods is more rapid than at others. For these reasons it is considered sufficient if the total average, the maximum, is not exceeded. Last year he had stated that there was considerable difficulty in ascertaining what the exact number of recruits required would be, as an accurate calculation of the number of men entitled to take their discharge could not then be made. However, the calculation was not very much in fault, for he estimated that we should require 17,000 men, and at the conclusion of the year ending the 31st of March, assuming that recruiting would go on at the same rate during the



next two weeks, 15,600 recruits will have been raised. By some oversight the returns hitherto had not been properly tabulated, but in future they would show the number of men entitled to take their discharge each year, so that they would be able to make their calculations accurately. He estimated that in the coming year 14,500 recruits would be required—a number less by 1000 than that raised without any great exertion during the current twelve months. he said ‘without any great exertion,’ because the Committee must recollect that the bounty, which then stood at 1*l.*, was as low as it had been at any time.”

Explanations were then given respecting the barrack establishments, the improvement of the soldiers’ quarters, the management of canteens, and the alterations adopted in the system of clothing the army. Turning next to the important question of ordnance, which had afforded matter for so much controversy, Lord Hartington made the following statement:—

“I certainly hoped when I introduced the estimates last year, that we should by this time be in a more advanced position in that respect; but I must repeat again what has been very often stated, and what seems to me to be a very material point—though we have heard contradictions with regard to it in this House,—and that is, that I believe no other nation is more advanced as to this question of heavy guns than ourselves. The only nation which, under the pressure of war, has been obliged to provide itself with guns of large calibre is America, and the Americans have resorted to the use of cast iron; but that material for heavy guns has been long abandoned by the best military authorities, and is, I believe, entirely untrustworthy in the case of any gun with which it is intended to use a heavy charge of powder. The system which Her Majesty’s Government have adopted is the coil system introduced by Sir W. Armstrong, which has been adopted for all the smaller guns up to 100-pounders, and we see, so far, no reason to regret having determined to proceed on that principle. Sir W. Armstrong has also made a series of experiments with guns constructed on the coil principle larger than 110-pounders, and of course there are always difficulties in such cases, but we have reason to think that a 20-ton gun and a 9-inch and 12-ton, and a 10-inch and 6-ton gun made upon that principle are perfectly satisfactory, and that they may be safely manufactured in considerable quantities. So much difference of opinion, however, existed in the matter between men who are thoroughly conversant with the subject, that it was, as the Committee are aware, thought right, now nearly two years ago, to afford Mr. Whitworth, who had accomplished so much, and Sir W. Armstrong an opportunity of fully and fairly testing before an independent Committee the merits of their respective systems. The trial lasted, no doubt, a good deal longer than was expected, and it has ended, to a considerable extent, in the production of a heavy service gun; but so much uncertainty prevails on the subject both in this country

and in others, that the Government have come to the conclusion that they would be hardly justified in asking the House to vote a very large sum of money for guns which may not next year be the best which it would be in our power to obtain. When the guns which are now being manufactured are constructed, we shall in all probability be better able to judge what a heavy service gun ought to be. We have not altogether postponed operations, having rifled 64-pounders for the immediate requirements of the navy, and we are making heavy 12-ton and 6-ton guns for the same purpose. It is, I may add, quite true that we have not any reserved store of heavy guns. We have not made guns for ships which are not likely to be armed this year,—wishing to spend as small a sum as possible until a final decision is arrived at on the general question of what is to be the future armament of our navy. While upon this point I may say I quite admit,—as was stated by the right hon. gentleman opposite last year,—that this reduction of our estimate is not likely to be maintained for any long period of time, because as soon as this important question is fully and finally decided, it will, no doubt, be necessary for the country to spend a large sum for the construction of heavy guns, both for the navy and the armament of our fortifications. A very exaggerated impression, I may here observe, seems to prevail as to the number of such guns which will be necessary, and their probable cost. I have heard it said that the armament for the new forts alone, together with the ammunition required, will involve an outlay of 17,000,000*l*. The hon. gentleman who made the estimate is not, I believe, now in the House; but I shall be quite ready to meet him here on any future occasion, and to show him that the cost is not likely to exceed 3,000,000*l*. Still 3,000,000*l*. for our forts, in addition to the cost of heavy guns for our navy, is no doubt a very large sum, and I think the Committee will be of opinion that we are right in not going this year beyond our actual requirements.”

The noble marquis vindicated the Select Committee on Ordnance from the charges which had been made against them. With regard to small arms, he expressed his hope that it would be found practicable to convert the Enfield rifles into serviceable breech-loaders; at the same time he did not pretend that when so converted they would become a perfect military weapon. After referring to some other points, and especially to the reorganization of the War Office, with a view to which a Committee was then sitting, Lord Hartington concluded his statement by expressing a favourable opinion as to the general condition of the service: “I am able to say that, both as to health and as to discipline, the army is in a state which leaves nothing to be desired. We have lately had no great military operations to test the qualities of either our officers or our men. In New Zealand, however, almost all our operations have been successful; and although there occurred one unfortunate reverse which caused the loss of a considerable num-

ber of men, the circumstances of that very repulse showed that the gallantry of our officers was as conspicuous as ever, and that, led by those officers, our men were as determined as ever to retrieve any disaster which might occur."

The statement was favourably received by the House. General Peel offered some general remarks upon the expenditure for the two services, and the present state of the national defences. He said that the present Parliament had expended upon the naval and military services the enormous sum of 160,808,023*l.*, exclusive of the estimates of the present year, the votes of credit for the Chinese war, and the money raised by loan for the fortifications. Much of this had no doubt been rendered necessary by the reconstruction of the navy and by the outlay upon the dockyards, which was an economical expenditure. He feared, however, that after reading the debate of the last few days the public would be disposed to think that, in spite of this vast expenditure, we had not yet built vessels that were fit to go into action, and did not possess guns efficient for the service for which they were required. Indeed, as to guns, it appeared that not only had we not got the best, but the War Office could not make up their minds as to what were the best. He approved of the form in which the estimates were now placed before the House as a great improvement. With the clear explanation, too, by which the noble marquis had accompanied them, there was little left to be desired.

The Navy Estimates, moved by Lord Clarence Paget, as Secretary to the Admiralty, occasioned longer and warmer discussion. The noble lord began his statement by exhibiting the financial effects of the proposed estimates. "Her Majesty's Government," he said, "propose that the total amount to be voted for the Navy Estimates for the coming year of 1865-6 shall be 10,392,224*l.* Those of the current year 1864-5, including two supplementary estimates that I brought forward late last session—one being for 220,000*l.*, for the purchase of the two steam-rams at Liverpool, and the other of 61,000*l.* for additional pay to the officers and petty officers of the fleet—amounted to the gross total of 10,708,651*l.* Therefore there is a net decrease on the gross estimate of the present year of 316,427*l.* Excluding, however, the purchase of these steam-rams, which may come under the head of extraordinary service, and including the additional item for increasing the full pay and the extension of retirement of the officers, which the House in its generosity granted to the navy, and taking that vote for the whole year instead of for five months, the decrease of the estimates for the coming year over the ordinary estimate of last year is 116,000*l.* That is the decrease on the ordinary estimates as compared with the votes of the current year. I propose to deal, first of all, with certain votes which have reference to the pay, allowance, victuals, clothing, and medical comforts of our officers, seamen, and marines in the various services, and which are comprised in votes 1, 2, 12. The votes for the coming year



1865-6 are somewhat remarkable in this respect, that they show an increase over those of the current year in the items I have mentioned, although we ask the House to vote a less number of men. This is what I now wish to explain, and I will deal first with the numbers. The numbers that were voted for the current year were 71,950 men, while for the year 1865-6 we propose to maintain 69,750 men, being a decrease of 2200 men. That decrease is carried out in the following way:—The decrease of seamen of the fleet is about 700 men. There will be a decrease of officers and seamen of the Coastguard of 500 men, a decrease of Marines on shore of 1000 men, and a decrease of civilians of 200 men. With regard to civilians, there are some aged persons who have been employed under the Customs who are fast disappearing, and whose places are supplied by the Coastguard men. While we have the decrease in the number of men which I have stated, we have an increase in the number of officers. The result of these figures is a decrease on the whole of 2200 men.”

Lord Clarence Paget proceeded to state that the number of sea-going ships in commission on the 1st of December last, as compared with the 1st of December, 1863, showed a decrease of six, and there was no change in the number contemplated. But against these were four more armour ships; so that while there had been a reduction in the number of ships, there had been an increase of force. Referring to the dockyards, the noble lord stated that the Admiralty were endeavouring to carry out many of the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1861, and he hoped soon to lay a regular balance-sheet on the table, accompanied by a perfect capital account. It was intended to construct during the coming financial year, 15,115 tons of shipping, against 18,952 in the current year. As to the armour-plated fleet, it now consisted of thirty ships, either complete or in course of building, and all of these, with the exception of the “Northumberland,” would be ready by the end of the present calendar year. It was also proposed to construct, in addition to other ships, a turret ship on Captain Coles’s principle, which would be a thorough sea-going vessel. After passing in review the several heads of expenditure, the noble lord said the rumours that the naval discipline rendered the service unpopular were groundless, and to correct such a mistake he would lay on the table annually a statement of the crime and punishment in the navy; and he mentioned it as an interesting and important fact, illustrative of the improved *morale* of the service, that, year by year, since 1861, there had been a gradual but marked diminution of crime and punishment among the class who were liable to corporal punishment.

In reference to the statements sometimes made in the newspapers, that men could not be got to man the ships, that the class of men obtained was of inferior description, and that there was a dislike on the part of men to enter for continuous service, Lord C. Paget adduced facts which afforded, in his opinion, conclusive answers to



these charges. He concluded by saying :—"These facts, I think, show not only that the navy is year by year improving in character and conduct, but that it is being manned by a higher class of men. As for education, I have no doubt that in a short time every man in the service will be an educated man. We are most anxious to lay on the table statistics as to the education of the navy, and also as to the health of the navy. We have already excellent reports on that subject, but they are not brought close enough up to the present date to be of much practical value except to medical men. We are told that the discipline of the navy is not so good, but who has risen from reading the account of that dreadful catastrophe the burning of the *Bombay*, without a feeling of admiration for the discipline of our men? The Admiral reports that the men were hoisting out the boats in the middle of the flames, that they were working at the pumps until ordered into the boats, while they were expecting every moment that the magazine would blow up. These are proofs of discipline. I may also mention the case of the "*Racehorse*," where the crew behaved with equal courage and discipline. These are things which would be causes for rejoicing were it not for the loss of so many brave men; but, at least, they entitle us to say with confidence that our navy is equal to what it ever was, and that it may still be relied on for the defence of the interests and honour of the country." Some of the points comprised in the above statement elicited considerable criticism.

Sir J. Pakington disapproved of the proposed reduction of 500 Coastguard men, as that arm of the service constituted our best reserve of experienced sailors. Owing to the information which had reached him, he was not free from alarm, and he asked was it true that if we had now the misfortune of being involved in a maritime war, England could not send an effective fleet to sea? He had been told that the "*Defence*" and "*Resistance*," both armour-plated ships, were not safe to go into action, for if wounded in their unprotected parts they would inevitably sink. If that were true, then the Admiralty had assumed a degree of responsibility that he could hardly think any Government department would undertake; and he wished to know whether the statement was well or ill founded, and whether these ships had been built with or without the concurrence and advice of Sir Baldwin Walker and Mr. Watts?

Sir J. Elphinstone censured the enormous outlay in constructing ships which were unequal to ocean navigation in bad weather.

Sir M. Peto reviewed the whole system of naval administration and dockyard management, the system of accounts, the absence of stock-taking, the treatment by the Admiralty of new inventions, and the generally inefficient state of the service. In reference to the land fortifications, he said that 1944 guns would be required to arm these forts, that the cost of supplying these at 4066*l.* a-piece, would amount to 7,904,304*l.* without carriages, and that, allowing 100 steel shells for each gun, a further sum would be

required of 9,720,000*l.*, thus making a total of 17,624,304*l.*, for gunnery alone. He further remarked that engine construction did not proceed *pari passu* with the building and fitting out of vessels, as he had been informed that it would take four years to put the steam-engines into the vessels now at Portsmouth.

Admiral Walcot deprecated the proposed reduction in the number of men, and the small sum proposed for the construction of dockyards.

Sir J. D. Hay also regretted the reduction in the number of men; but approved of the proposed increase of pay. He complained of the reticence of the Admiralty respecting the reports furnished on the experiments made with the "Royal Sovereign" and other ships. He said that on the West African station we had only one tolerably fast ship and fifteen sluggards to catch the swiftest steamers in existence built at New York expressly for the slave trade. On the North America and West India stations, in the event of war breaking out with the United States, which was now the most formidable naval power in the world, we had not a single ironclad, nor a single gun capable of piercing iron plates.

Lord C. Paget replied to the statements made by Sir J. Pakington, and in reference to the complaints made by Sir J. Hay, he justified the non-production of the reports on the experimental iron fleet by stating that they were in the nature of confidential communications. He warned the House that if they insisted upon these reports being placed on the table, instead of getting confidential reports, going into the minutest details, and offering the opinion of the officers in the most frank and open manner, they would have a system of reports framed for the House of Commons, and to a certainty these would be accompanied by private and confidential reports. The noble lord then generally described the performances of the several ships of which the experimental squadron consisted, defended the measures taken by the Admiralty in the matter of construction, and declared that the criticisms upon the department, so far as Capt. Coles's cupola ship was concerned, were both unjust and ungenerous. He reminded the House that it was the Admiralty, and not Capt. Coles, who were responsible; and readily admitted that the reports as to the seagoing and other qualities of the "Royal Sovereign" were perfectly satisfactory; that she was a great success, and that if the Admiralty could see their way they were desirous of having good seagoing turret ships.

Mr. Laird approved of the contemplated docks and basins, and said that in the present advanced state of naval science, what we wanted was great speed in a ship and large guns for her armament, but not so large as to be unworkable. The best mode yet known of carrying heavy guns with advantage was the cupola, which, combined with the double screw, would make a perfect man-of-war.

After some further discussion, Mr. Stansfeld said the reduction in the number of men might have been safely carried to a still further extent. It was of the highest importance, in these days of

transition, that ships should not be allowed to remain three or four years on the stocks, so that by the time they were launched they might become obsolete. It was far better to concentrate our energies on a few ships, and turn them out rapidly, than to make slow progress with a larger number of vessels. He thought, too, that some saving might be made in the expenditure upon our cruising vessels, which really did not contribute to our fighting strength, and that the money thus economized might be usefully applied to the construction of additional ironclads, upon which, after all, our power and *prestige* must depend. The hon. gentleman then described the qualifications which were most requisite in a ship of war in these modern times, and said he entirely disbelieved the prognostications of danger or evil to this country when that great civil war came to an end; but that was no reason why they should not take a leaf out of the American book, and learn lessons from their own kindred. Our workmanship was safer, for we had not worked under such tremendous pressure, and our resources were incomparably superior to theirs. Before the end of the session his noble friend, he hoped, would attempt to solve the interesting problem they had been discussing, and would show that we were likely ere long to be possessed of a class of vessels which more than others were wanting to our naval power, which would make absolute, in case of need, our defence, and which, he confidently predicted, while enormously increasing the efficiency, would tend also to keep down the costliness of this service to the country.

The votes proposed were ultimately agreed to by the House.

In connexion with the subject of our national armaments, it is a satisfaction to refer to a step taken in the present session, which was received with general approbation, as tending to afford an important security to our colonial possessions, and at the same time to relieve the home Government from a burthen which ought not to be laid upon it. A Bill was introduced early in the session by Mr. Cardwell, Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, to enable certain of the colonies to make provision for their own defence by sea. In introducing this measure in the House of Commons, Mr. Cardwell observed that hitherto attention had been chiefly paid to land defences, but it was evident that defence by sea was of far greater importance, and that subject had attracted considerable attention both at home and in the colonies. The first Parliamentary record of the wishes of the colonies on this subject was to be found in the correspondence laid on the table when Sir W. Denison was Governor of Sydney. The colony of Victoria had shown a great desire to make provision for its own defence in case of a sudden attack. The question of raising a colonial navy was not a simple one. If it was to be purely a colonial navy, it was obvious that it would not have the rights and privileges of an international navy, and would not be acknowledged by foreign nations in time of war; and if there was to be a divided command, questions might arise between a colonial officer and the senior



Queen's officer of the station, which might lead to serious practical difficulties. The question had been considered by successive Governments in 1857 and 1858, and the conclusion they had come to was, that for local defence against a sudden incursion by sea, a local force was the most natural; but that for general defence in a great foreign war, the defence of an Imperial navy would be most effectual. From these conclusions he did not differ; but up to this time nothing had been done on the subject. Since that time a considerable step had been taken in the maritime defence of this country. In consequence of the difficulty experienced in getting seamen in the Russian war, and again in 1858, when there was a great extension of our navy, a Commission was appointed to consider the subject of manning the navy, and the result was the establishment of the Royal Naval Reserve. That experiment was most successful. The force numbered now 18,000 men, and three years ago, when there was a sudden alarm, the men flocked in not merely for the service for which they were engaged, but volunteered for service which their engagement never contemplated. In examining the conditions on which the force was to be constituted, it was found that even the limitation of 100 leagues from the shore, to which the services of the Naval Coast Volunteers was confined, was a serious practical obstacle to its efficiency, and accordingly an arrangement was made by which, while the men in time of peace belonged to the merchant navy, in time of war they were to become, to all intents and purposes, sailors of Her Majesty's navy, and to be as available as the seamen of the Royal navy. It appeared to the Government that there was no reason why the same principle should not be extended to our colonies possessing a maritime population, so that colonies like those of Australia and British North America might be able in time of peace to train their maritime population to the use of guns, subject to conditions like those of the Royal Naval Reserve, and that in time of war those trained seamen should be available, under the control of the Government of the colony, for all the purposes of maritime defence. In preparing this measure he had had the advantage of the assistance of the Secretary to the Admiralty, and also of the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, who, having been connected with the colonies, was well aware of the measures which were likely to be acceptable to them. Accordingly, the object of the Bill which he sought to introduce was to extend the principle of the Royal Naval Reserve to all the maritime colonies of the empire. One maritime colony had been desirous of having a ship of its own. It had a ship of its own; but that ship, being merely under colonial authority, possessed none of the rights, and, in presence of foreign nations, could have none of the privileges of a ship of war. Those rights and privileges could only be secured by putting the ship under the control of the Admiralty. The second purpose of the Bill was, therefore, to enable a colony, either in time of peace or in time of war, to place



its ships under the control of the Admiralty. The object of the Bill was not only to enable a maritime colony, if it should so think fit, to take effective measures for its own protection at sea, but to enable several colonies to combine for mutual protection under the Admiralty—to enable all the colonies under the British Crown to be united in one body, and to combine their ships so as to form, with the navy of this country, a naval defence for the whole of the British Empire.

The Bill was brought in, and, meeting with general approbation in both Houses, it passed into a law at the termination of the session.

The subject of the Colonial defences and of the relations between the Colonies and the mother country was on another occasion brought specially before the House of Commons on a motion by Mr. Marsh, when the policy henceforth to be pursued towards the dependencies of the empire, was distinctly stated by the Colonial Secretary. Mr. Marsh having referred to the cost now incurred in protecting our Colonial possessions, and to the advantages derived from them to the mother country, observed that if England had no colonies, she must have arsenals all over the world. Our exports to China and Japan amounted to 3,327,000*l.*, and for the protection of that commerce there was a garrison of 1300 men at Hong Kong, a regiment at Japan, some troops at Shanghai, and eighteen ships. The exports to Australia were 9,000,000*l.*, and the garrison did not exceed 500 men, and three ships mounting thirty-nine guns. The Colonial Naval Defence Bill was one of great importance, and he believed it would have the effect, in time, of enabling the colonies to raise a naval brigade of their own, and he thought the best means of defence would be floating batteries of light draught, and mounting heavy guns.

Mr. Cardwell said the policy adopted of late years towards the colonies had established as a principle that they were to be self-supporting; and with regard to the civil service especially, if any vote were taken for them it must be justified upon strictly exceptional grounds. As to the colonial military expenditure, a Committee had sat and reported in 1862, and in making certain recommendations they had distinguished between such places as Gibraltar, Malta, and Bermuda, which were the strongholds of England, maintained for purposes not strictly of colonization, and those possessions which were termed colonies proper. Since 1862 arrangements had been made by which New Zealand was to contribute a substantial sum towards its military expenditure. In the Australias there were scarcely any troops, and similar arrangements were being made there. The number of troops on the West Coast of Africa and in the West Indies had been diminished. Hong Kong, Mauritius, and Ceylon were in like manner required to contribute towards their military protection. So that there was scarcely one of the recommendations of the Committee which had not engaged the practical attention of the Government, and in which some progress had not been made.

The annual exposition of the state of the Indian finances was, as usual, postponed till within a few days of the end of the session, and consequently was made to a very thin House, and excited but languid interest. Complaints were made, as before, of the inconvenient arrangements which caused this important branch of public administration to be so postponed as to make the Indian Budget a merely formal ceremony, and the same excuses were again alleged for the delay. Sir Charles Wood, Secretary for India, in laying before the House of Commons the financial results of the past year, traced the progress of the Indian revenue and expenditure during the last three years, and said the improvement in the income showed the general advance of prosperity from one end of the country to the other. At the same time the charge had gone on increasing, especially in the army, owing to the increased price of provisions, the half batta, the Bhootan war, increased pay to medical officers, and increased outlay for public works, law, justice, education, and superannuations. Although there was an extraordinary and satisfactory increase in the revenue year after year, it was necessary to enforce the strictest economy, as the safety of Indian finance depended upon that. As to the important subject of encouraging public works, the people of India were willing to expend any amount in that direction, and he was prepared to borrow money for the purpose, when any sound plan was presented for the execution of really necessary and useful works; but he would not go hand over head to raise loans for every project that was started. During the last six years there had been an enormous expenditure on this account, namely, out of public funds 30,000,000*l.*, and from local funds 4,500,000*l.*; whilst there had been expended for railways 38,500,000*l.*, making a total for the six years of 73,000,000*l.* Taking the last two years only, the outlay for the same object was from public funds, upwards of 11,000,000*l.*, and from local funds upwards of 2,000,000*l.*, together 13,200,000*l.*, and that exclusive of the railroads constructed. As to the cultivation of cotton in India, the increased price, and the measures adopted to stimulate this branch of industry had been attended with great success; and he was informed that capitalists at Bombay were introducing at the various railway stations establishments and machinery for cleaning, pressing, and packing cotton, and to a certain extent weaving a class of goods that would not compete with English manufactures, but displace the wasteful process of hand-loom weaving, and divert the persons so employed to useful agricultural pursuits and the culture of the cotton plant. He also adverted to the questions lately in dispute with the talookdars of Oude, and stated that the rights of this class of proprietors had been established; that a very good feeling existed between them and the ryots, and that there had been no necessity for appealing to a judicial decision. After stating the present position of the Bhootan difficulty, the right hon. gentleman moved a series of resolutions setting forth that the

total net revenues of the several presidencies for the year ended the 30th day of April, 1864, amounted to 35,636,898*l.*, and the charges thereof to 26,018,388*l.*, leaving a surplus revenue of 9,618,510*l.*; that the interest on the registered debt of India, paid in the same period, amounted to 3,093,250*l.*, and the charges defrayed in England, on account of the Indian territory, including interest on debt incurred in England and guaranteed interest on the capital of railway and other companies, after deducting net traffic receipts of railways, amounted to 6,446,913*l.*, leaving a surplus of Indian income for the year, after defraying interest and charges, of 78,347*l.*

Mr. H. Seymour criticized the items in the Budget, and said proper economy had not been used. He recommended the reviving of the Indian Finance Committee, and the instituting of a rigid examination into the number of troops really required without too great a strain on our recruiting service. Only two things, he said, were requisite to ensure the continuous and permanent prosperity of India. These were to respect the systems found existing there, without endeavouring to carry out theories of our own, and next to leave the religion of the natives entirely uninterfered with.

After a long and desultory discussion, the resolutions as proposed by Sir C. Wood were agreed to.

## CHAPTER III.

COLONIAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Relations of the British Government with the United States—Situation of Canada—Notice given by President Lincoln's Government for the termination of the Convention respecting armed force on the Canadian lakes—Apprehensions arising from this event—Report made to the Government by Colonel Jervis on the defences of Canada—The question is raised by Sir John Walsh, who asks for information from the Ministers—Cautious answer of Lord Palmerston—Debate on the subject in the House of Lords originated by Lord Lyveden—Speeches of the Earl of Derby, Earl Granville, and Earl Russell—Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald introduces the same question in the House of Commons—Important debate on the possibility of defending Canada against invasion, and the policy to be pursued in that event—Views of Mr. Lowe, Mr. Bright, and Lord Palmerston—A vote of 50,000*l.* for the fortifications of Quebec, proposed by the Marquis of Hartington, leads to a renewal of the discussion—Mr. G. W. Bentinck opposes the vote, but declines to press his Motion, and after much discussion the vote is carried by a large majority—Conclusion of the Civil War in America—State of public feeling in England on that subject—Questions addressed to the Government in both Houses respecting the withdrawal of belligerent rights from the Southern States—Misapprehensions entertained on that subject—Lucid explanations given by Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell—Mr. Cardwell announces the withdrawal by the United States of the notice for terminating the Convention respecting the Canadian lakes—Observations of Lord Derby on the policy of the United States after the termination of the war.—*Affairs of Poland*—Motion by Mr. Pope Hennessy condemnatory of the conduct of Russia towards that country—Lord Palmerston deprecates the



expression of any Parliamentary judgment upon the case—The Motion withdrawn.—*The war in New Zealand*—Observations by Mr. Arthur Mills on that subject in the House of Commons—Mr. Roebuck expresses his views on the right mode of dealing with the natives—Mr. Cardwell states the new policy proposed by the local Government, and expresses his approval of it—His anticipations as to the conclusion of the war.—*Ill treatment of British subjects in Abyssinia*—Lord Chelmsford brings the case of Consul Cameron and the imprisoned missionaries before the House of Lords—Lord Russell vindicates the course taken by the Foreign Office—Lord Chelmsford's Motion for papers is carried against the Government by one vote—Further debates on the subject in the House of Commons on the Motion of Sir Hugh Cairns—Explanations given by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

THE state of the relations of the British Government with that of the United States, and the consequences which might arise out of the civil war in America to the interests of this country or its possessions abroad, were topics which, during this year, engaged a good deal of public attention, and thereby naturally led to occasional discussions in Parliament. Under the various phases which that eventful contest assumed, the diplomatic embarrassments which sometimes arose, and the demonstrations of feeling towards England which the incidents of the war occasionally evoked, the position of Canada was such as could not but be regarded with some anxiety in this country. The uneasiness felt as to the security of that province was not lessened by the circumstance that shortly before the meeting of Parliament the Government of the President gave formal notice to our Minister of their intention to terminate the convention under which England and the United States had mutually agreed not to fit out naval armaments upon the Canadian lakes. Some steps had also been taken which indicated an intention on the part of the American Government to terminate the treaty of commerce between the States and the Provinces of British North America. These proceedings, coupled with the unfriendly and even menacing language sometimes vented by the Press of that country against England, were regarded by many persons as unequivocal indications of a hostile policy on their part, and as a warning to us to strengthen those points on which we might be most vulnerable. The defences of Canada thus became a prominent subject of consideration, and the Queen's Government, while they disavowed and discouraged the language of alarm which was used in some quarters, did not consider the matter as undeserving of attention. They had directed a Report to be prepared by an engineer officer, Colonel Jervis, upon the existing state of the province as to the means of defence against invasion, and as to the measures and expenditure required to place the frontier in a complete state of security. The Report when published attracted much attention, and was freely commented upon in the public journals. No sooner had Parliament met than the subject was broached in both Houses; the first occasion being an appeal to the Government for information by Sir John Walsh, who referred to the steps already mentioned as having been taken by the United States' Government, and which he regarded as almost equivalent



to a declaration of war. That view of the subject was, however, earnestly combated by Lord Palmerston, who deprecated the discussion of these questions, as not conducive to the public interests at the present time. There were two arrangements between Great Britain and the United States. One was that of the year 1817, under which the two parties agreed to limit their naval force upon the Canadian lakes. That, however, was not a treaty, but rather an informal arrangement between the parties. In November last an intimation was received from the United States' Government that they intended to put an end, which they had a right to do, to that agreement; but the papers showed that the intention was only temporary in its nature, and was founded on certain transactions which had taken place on the lakes. The abrogation of the arrangement was not considered a final decision, but one that was open to revision. The House was not justified, therefore, in looking upon it in the light in which Sir J. Walsh regarded it, namely—as an indication of contemplated hostilities between the United States and this country. It could not be denied that events had occurred on the lakes which the United States had a right to complain of, and if the measures they had recourse to were simply calculated, as they said they would be, for the protection of their citizens and commerce, he thought they were perfectly justified in adopting them. The other arrangement was the regular treaty of 1854, bearing upon the commercial intercourse of our North American colonies with the United States and the fisheries on the two coasts. A proposal had been made in Congress to put an end to that treaty; but the notice could not be given until the 15th of March, and no official communication had yet been made to the British Government on the subject. Under these circumstances, he entreated the House to abstain from discussion of these topics at the present moment, and not gratuitously to assume that the people of the United States were hostilely disposed towards this country.

Very shortly afterwards the same matter was formally brought under debate in the House of Lords by Lord Lyveden, who directed attention to Colonel Jervis's Report, which, he said, proved unmistakeably the utterly defenceless condition of the Canadian frontier. He contended that we ought not to rely upon the conciliatory intentions of the American people, as it was well understood, when, a few weeks ago, there was a prospect of peace being concluded between the Northern and Southern States, that peace and union meant war with England. At present there were 21,700 regular British troops in Canada, and it was estimated that the militia force would amount to 88,200. He wished to know when the Government would be in a position to take the militia ballot; whether any thing had been agreed upon between the colonies and the mother country as to the portion of the defences to be undertaken by each, and what provision had been made for placing gun-boats upon the lakes, and especially upon Lake Ontario.

Earl De Grey and Ripon regretted that any doubt should have been expressed with regard to the disposition of the United States' Government towards this country. It was the intention of Ministers to ask Parliament and the Canadian Assembly to take their share respectively in providing for the efficient defence of the colony, and the estimates for the present year would include a sum of 50,000*l.* for the fortifications of Quebec. Government also proposed that Canada should undertake the fortification of Montreal and the important territory to the westward. In addition, 88,000 men would be balloted into the militia of the colony, and Her Majesty's Government would afford every encouragement for the establishment of schools for the training of officers.

The Earl of Derby said this subject was more worthy of being noticed in the Speech from the Throne than any of the comparatively unimportant questions which formed the staple of that document. The communication made in Colonel Jervis's Report was not likely to afford any information of which their lordships had not been already in possession, but at the same time it was humiliating to set forth officially the utterly unprepared and defenceless state in which one of our most important colonies was kept at a moment when the question of peace or war depended, not on the calm consideration of friendly Governments, but on the excited passions of popular assemblies in a nation which, whether rightly or wrongly, entertained, to a very great extent, hostile feelings towards this country. The Government now admitted the necessity of fortifications, to which they had never turned their attention during the whole period that the war was going on, although they must have known that in certain events the amicable relations between Great Britain and the United States would be interrupted. As far as he understood, our Government intended to ask 200,000*l.* for the defences of Quebec. "Then I want to know from the noble earl when he thinks this danger threatens us. Is it imminent, or is it one which may be apprehended in three or four years? You ask for 50,000*l.*, and you say that the works will cost 200,000*l.*, and the Canadian Government are to expend 400,000*l.* or 500,000*l.* more upon the fortifications of Montreal, which you say are more urgent and more pressing than those of Quebec. And then the noble earl astonishes us by telling us that, seeing this threatening aspect of affairs, the Government are about to erect works which will cost 200,000*l.*, but that only 50,000*l.* will be asked for this year. I do not know that even 50,000*l.* will be asked for, perhaps it will drop to 20,000*l.*, so that in the course of ten years these fortifications, upon which the safety of the province depends, may possibly be constructed; whereas the danger which threatens you, if danger there be, is one which may be realized, not in the course of years, but of months. My lords, I deprecate as much as any man can do the utterance of language which could increase the exasperation or any ill-feeling which may, or, as I am afraid, does prevail on the part of the United States

towards this country, but it is the part of common prudence to be prepared against a danger absolutely and imminently threatening; and I must say that neither in any thing Her Majesty's Government have done, nor, as far as I understand, in what they propose to do, have they taken adequate steps to meet that which they consider to be a great and impending danger."

Earl Granville said this was not only an important question, but it ought to be treated with the greatest delicacy. As to the complaint that Government had been guilty of indiscretion in placing this Report before Parliament, he did not see how Government could ask money from Parliament without laying the official documents before them, and the production of such documents was also necessary to enable the Government of Canada to make an application on the subject. The defences of Canada had been long a matter of anxious consideration, and Canada was bound to take a considerable part in the defence of her frontier. At one time the Government of Canada declined that duty, and it was only recently that they had a Government in Canada which would really deal with the subject. The noble earl proceeded to say—"I do not know any better proof of the good feeling which now exists than one of the clauses of the resolution of the delegates of the North American provinces, which says 'that all the engagements that may be made before the union with the Imperial Government should be assumed by the general Government.' Nothing could be more satisfactory as showing the honourable conduct of these delegates. With respect to the naval force to be maintained on the lakes, the noble earl says we should have adopted measures before, but we did not hear till last November of any question of the lakes, or of the desire of the United States to put an end to the treaty. The noble earl says there was a great violation of the treaty. That is a very strong expression to use. The American Government have gone a little farther than they ought in maintaining a revenue cutter on the lakes more than they ought to do. But the American Government maintain that they have not violated the treaty. I am sure the wisest and most patriotic course to follow in treating these questions is to treat them with the greatest moderation and the greatest calmness. I believe such a course would not prevent us from affording all necessary aid to Canada if the contingency—which may God avert—arose of an aggression being made on that colony. If Canada still wishes to remain united with this country, and to keep up the relation of mother and child—if she should be prepared to take her full share of the burden of her own defence, I think that a great country like England ought to come forward and assist her in repelling the wanton aggression of any foreign power."

Earl Russell said he much regretted that his noble friend had brought this matter before the House. The course taken by Government was this :—Having to provide a remedy for the weak-



ness of Canada they produced a document, showing what it was to which the remedy should be applied. The noble earl had complained of the delay in presenting this vote. But if Government had proposed it three years ago, would not the House of Commons have asked what had the Canadians done towards their own defence? The answer then must have been that the Canadians had done nothing, and no Government could have expected a large vote from the Commons under such circumstances. The noble earl said that Government ought to have made these propositions silently and quietly. What, procure 200,000*l.* silently and quietly! From what source could the First Lord of the Treasury obtain 200,000*l.* silently and quietly without mentioning it to the House of Commons? During the past year, however, a different disposition had been manifested by Canada, and Her Majesty's Government at once came forward to assist her. The noble lord then proceeded to say—"I cannot think that the Government of the United States have been wanting in moderation of conduct. And when the American Minister asks me, as he frequently does—supposing you were at war with any European power, and that it was found that out of the ports of New York cruisers were continually sent forth against your commerce upon the high seas, do you believe that the English people would have borne it so patiently as the American public have done—it is extremely difficult to give him an answer. I think that in point of law and reason they have nothing to complain of against us; but in point of feeling and in point of impressions, it is humiliating and provoking to them to think that a friendly and neutral power has had a succession of ships fitted out from its ports by which their commerce has been injured and destroyed. I think it becomes us, instead of thinking every thing British to be right, and every thing American to be wrong, now and then to consider what has been our conduct towards a people who are engaged in a most dreadful war; and to reflect how far we ourselves should have acted otherwise than they have done had we been in their situation. And now with regard to the question of slavery. Whilst I quite admit that the Americans have been fighting for empire, yet I think it is a most fortunate circumstance, if it be nothing more—if you give them no credit and no praise for it—I think it a thing to be thankful for, to see that Congress, by a majority of two-thirds, have agreed that for ever slavery shall cease to be part of the constitution of the United States—and that hereafter no slavery—no compulsory servitude—shall be admitted by that constitution. I don't ask your lordships to give them any praise or credit, but I do rejoice for the sake of a cause in which this country at least in former years took a deep interest—for the sake of the abolition of slavery, which I believe is conducive to the highest interests of mankind—I rejoice that that law has passed the Congress of the United States, and that whether they become a great united country, or whether they form a sepa-



rate Northern State, there is at least one great nation—one great republic—in which the stain of slavery will not exist.”

After some further discussion, the subject dropped.

The question, however, was not allowed to rest, nor was the interest which the critical situation of Canada excited by any means abated, when early in the month of March Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald called the attention of the House of Commons to the same subject. He said he considered the American Government to be fully justified in giving notice of their intention to terminate the convention with England for limiting the force on the Canadian lakes. But our Government were not free from blame. When the United States gave that notice, our Government should at once have offered to enter into an arrangement for a temporary increase by both sides of the naval police on the lakes; and then they would probably not have received notice of permanently terminating a convention which had been most beneficial to both countries. As to the Reciprocity Treaty, that might have been terminated in a moment of irritation, owing to the Confederate raids from Canada; but the English Government should have said, “Do not precipitately terminate this treaty, but assist us in modifying and amending it.” Had they said that, he believed that the treaty would not have been terminated, and those numerous questions regarding fisheries and other subjects, which had over and over again brought the two countries to the brink of war, would not again be re-opened. He acquitted the United States’ Government and the educated portion of their people of any feeling of hostility towards this country. On the contrary, so far as the Government were concerned, within the last few months the feeling had greatly improved. He was happy to acknowledge this; and it was owing to the wise, discreet, and prudent conduct that always marked the American representative in this country, who had done more than any man to maintain the peace between the two countries, and had conferred equal obligations upon his own countrymen and on ours. But it would be worse than madness to shut our eyes to what might happen under certain circumstances. The Americans were a high-spirited and boastful race. Their rulers had told them that the vital strength of the rebellion had been encouraged by our Government having set the example of acknowledging the Confederates as belligerents, and papers produced by their Government showed that Canada was an easy prey. We should therefore look to what Col. Jervis set forth on the defences of Canada, where the alternative was stated to be whether we should withdraw the British forces to save them from defeat, or increase them so as to constitute an effective defence. As to withdrawing the forces, no course could be more disastrous or disgraceful, and therefore measures for effective defence ought to be taken. The hon. gentleman then referred to the propriety of strengthening Quebec and Montreal, fortifying Kingston, constructing earthworks, and providing an

efficient force of gun-boats on the lakes and the St. Lawrence. Whilst the United States were actively engaged in making preparations for the worst, he feared that the Government of this country were taking the chance of the chapter of accidents; and that if we avoided a quarrel with the American people, it would not be from the feeling on their part that we had put ourselves in a state of defence, but the lucky accident of their own forbearance, or there not arising at the particular moment any excuse justifying a war.

Mr. Cardwell said our relations with the United States were perfectly friendly. As to the Convention limiting the number of vessels on the lakes in time of peace, our Foreign Secretary had intimated to the United States' Minister his desire to substitute another agreement for the old one. As to the defences of Canada, our Government had for the last three years urged upon her the necessity of making preparations on her own behalf, and the moment that she showed the proper spirit this House was invited to give them assistance. Quebec and Montreal were the cardinal points. Earthworks would be raised in the course of the first year, and the sum of 50,000*l.*, as part of the sum of 200,000*l.*, was as much as could be properly expended during the working period of the year. The first step towards the defence of the lakes was to have a port for coaling and repairing, and that was a question for the colonial, not the imperial Government. What was contemplated in any future contingency he declined to state; but if the time ever came that Canada was at war, war with Canada would be war with England. The imperial defence would be brought to her aid; and wherever that defence would be most effective in destroying the power of the enemy, there it would be exerted.

Mr. Israeli did not impugn the conduct of the United States' Government, nor did he see that there was any immediate danger, in case the war between the Northern and Southern States were terminated, of our being placed in collision with the Americans owing to our connexion with Canada. If there were a sincere and deep desire on the part of the North American colonies to develop their resources under the patronage of England, it would be one of the greatest political blunders conceivable if we renounced, relinquished, or avoided the responsibility of upholding and maintaining their interests by placing them in a state of proper defence. He did not ask that the British Government should defend the whole frontier of 1500 miles, but that Her Majesty's troops in Canada should not be placed in a position in which the utmost bravery and skill would be of no avail. The right hon. gentleman also animadverted on the conflicting views expressed by different members of the Government upon the contest in America, which had really led to the great perplexity that existed in the public mind on the subject.

Mr. Lowe thought that the most effective way to defend Canada would be to withdraw our troops, and, in the event of a war, to

concentrate our forces on some vital point in the United States.

Mr. Bright believed that if there came a war in which Canada would be made a victim, it would be got up between the Government at Washington and the Government in London, and that he considered was a most improbable event. For at the present moment there was the greatest calm on the frontier; the United States had nothing to complain of the Canadians, and there was not a man in Canada who had the slightest idea that the United States would attack them on account of any thing that had yet transpired. No Government that had ever existed in America had been so favourable to peace with all foreign countries, and especially England, as the Government of which Mr. Lincoln was at the head. What then was the origin of the public anxiety that prevailed in this country? He apprehended that there was a consciousness in our heart of hearts that we had not behaved generously to our neighbours—a twitching of the conscience that tended to make us cowards at this particular juncture. As a reason for this he observed that the Government had accorded belligerent rights to the Southern Confederacy with unfriendly haste; they had acted in the case of the "Trent" in a manner that was not likely to remove difficulties and improve the feeling between the two nations, and had permitted the "Alabama" to be built, supplied with munitions of war, and manned in this country. If the bond of unity between England and the United States remained unbroken, we should have to thank, not the wealthy and the cultivated, but the laborious millions whom statesmen and historians too often made little account of. There was, no doubt, a war party in the United States; but that was the Irish party. In his (Mr. Bright's) view of the matter, the root of all the unfortunate circumstances which had occurred lay in the feeling of jealousy which had been cherished in this country towards the American nation.

Viscount Palmerston denied that there was any jealousy on the part of England towards the United States, and although there might be irritation against us amongst the American people, it arose from a natural cause that, as between two parties who had quarrelled, we had endeavoured to maintain a perfect neutrality, and had therefore satisfied neither. He was happy to confirm the statement of Mr. Cardwell, that the relations between the two Governments were friendly and satisfactory. Her Majesty's Government had no complaint to make of the Government of the United States. The latter had acted towards us in a fair and honourable manner in all matters that had been in question. No doubt there were claims put forward by both Governments, but these were not urgent, and could be made the ground of discussion at a future time. He trusted, however, that the two countries and Governments would both feel it to be their interest by every



honourable means to preserve peace, and that subjects of that sort were not such as to be incapable of amicable adjustment.

The intentions of our Government with respect to the fortification of Canada were more fully explained, and the various plans for securing that territory against aggression were discussed, upon a vote being proposed by the Marquis of Hartington in Committee of Supply for that purpose. In the meantime a statement of considerable importance, respecting the relation of the two Governments, and the policy of the British Cabinet towards the belligerent parties in the United States, was made by Earl Russell in the House of Lords, upon the occasion of his laying on the table the formal notification from Mr. Adams, the American Minister, of the intentions of his Government to terminate the reciprocity treaty and the convention regulating the force to be maintained by each country on the Canadian lakes. The noble earl observed that the treaty would terminate within twelve months of the day on which the receipt of the notice was acknowledged. After the acts of conspiracy and violence which had taken place on the frontier, he could not deny that the United States were perfectly justified in putting an end to the convention, and taking steps to prevent their recurrence. The noble lord then referred to the irritation which had been caused by the fitting out of the two steam-rams at Liverpool, and stated that, with the consent of Lord Palmerston, he had taken strong measures to prevent their being engaged in hostile operations against the United States. He believed that the evidence which they possessed would have secured the condemnation of the rams, but at the same time the Government thought it better to prevent all risk of failure in a court of law by purchasing them for the Crown. It would not only have been an unfortunate but an ignominious course, had we gone to war, not for the honour of England, for the honour of England was not at stake—not for the interests of England, for the interests of England were not involved—but for the sake of protecting the private profits of Messrs. Laird the ship-builders. Nor could he help expressing his regret that Lord Derby had, by the course he then took, done all in his power to prevent the Government from taking steps to stop those vessels. There was every reason to hope that as the ports of the Southern States were captured by the United States, the difficult questions which had arisen between England and the United States with respect to the exercise of maritime rights would diminish, both in number and importance. As to the reciprocity treaty, there might be circumstances to induce the United States to desire its renewal with certain modifications which might be deemed advantageous and just towards them. On a previous occasion he had expressed to Mr. Adams the hope that the United States would agree to an arrangement by which a small and limited armament might be kept up on the lakes for police purposes, and also to the renewal of the reciprocity treaty on terms to be eventually agreed upon, and



which might be negotiated before the notice had expired. He had since been informed by Mr. Adams that he was not authorized to give any assurance on the subject at present, but he had used words which encouraged the hope that such a course would be pursued. Their lordships, he felt certain, were anxious to preserve friendly relations with the United States, but he could not help thinking that expressions had been used in the House of Commons that were calculated to excite an unfavourable feeling in America. In particular he alluded to speeches declaring that this country had acted improperly towards the United States' Government. This he regarded as a wrongful accusation, and considered there was nothing in the relations between the two countries that justified an apprehension of war. At the same time the impartial course taken by Her Majesty's Government had been impeded and endangered on one side by the partisans of the North asserting that the country was unfriendly and hostile to the United States, and on the other by persons constantly violating the neutrality of England, and for their own pecuniary advantage carrying on acts of hostility against one of the belligerents. Within a few days Sir F. Bruce would set out to represent this country at Washington, and in his hands the honour and dignity of England would be safe.

The vote proposed by Lord Hartington was for the sum of 50,000*l.* for the fortification of Quebec, being part of a sum of 200,000*l.* which would be asked for the defences of Canada. In proposing this step, Lord Hartington said there was not the slightest expectation entertained by Her Majesty's Government that the United States were contemplating an immediate attack; but in the changed circumstances of the two countries, there was every reason why we should do what all continental nations had done, and put our frontier in a position of security. He explained that the number of men required to garrison Quebec and Montreal was 12,000; but in case of attack it would be desirable to have at least 35,000, and a further moveable force of 25,000 to act upon the enemy. Thus the total force for Montreal and Quebec would amount to 60,000 men; in addition to which the colony had 20,000 enrolled volunteers. Of course, he did not deem it possible to defend the whole frontier, but only the more vital points.

The debate which took place on this proposition elicited a great variety of opinions, both as to the policy of defending Canada by fortifications, and the best mode of resistance in the event of invasion from the United States. Of the views propounded by the different speakers, the following were the most important. Mr. G. P. Bentinck, who moved to omit the item of 50,000*l.* for commencing the works at Quebec, thought that even admitting it to be our duty to defend Canada against invasion, that was not the right mode of defending the frontier. Canada could only be defended by sea; and any attempt to defend her by land was

nothing more than a wasteful expenditure. Moreover, he regarded the construction of fortifications as likely to create irritation, and precipitate rather than prevent hostilities. Ironclad gun-boats were, no doubt, an essential part of the scheme of defence, and he called upon the Government to give an assurance that these were in preparation, so that when the fortifications were completed, we should have at least a sufficient force in the lakes to play their part in the defence of the colony.

General Peel was opposed to the policy of abandoning the Canadians to their fate, and seeking some other battle-field on which to avenge their cause. So long as they were faithful subjects, and were prepared to defend themselves, we were bound to assist them. The value of the proposed vote was, that it was a declaration by that House, and therefore by the country, that if Canada were attacked she would not be left to bear the brunt alone.

Major Anson said that, in order to keep open communication between the several forts, we must have, instead of 60,000 men, 100,000 men between Quebec and Montreal, and another 100,000 for the Upper Canadian frontier. As to England's ability to protect Canada, the United States would have hundreds of thousands of veteran troops ready to pour over the frontier at any moment, and a force of artillery that we could never think of competing with. If the Canadians wanted a standing army, let them provide it for themselves, and be content with the maritime and other aid with which we could furnish them; but we were not called upon by our honour or any other considerations to fight with our soldiers in Canada.

Mr. Haliburton, having lived sixty years in Canada, wished to disabuse the minds of hon. gentlemen with regard to the probability of an American war. For his part he had not the least idea that the Americans either desired or intended a war with England. They were too sagacious a people for that. They knew their own interest too well, and their utter inability to achieve the annexation of the British provinces.

Mr. Lowe contended that, as the Americans had the power by several lines of railway to fling any number of men they pleased upon the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and thus to carry on a winter campaign, our troops would have no chance of long holding out in those fortifications against such means of aggression as the Americans possessed. He considered, then, that it was not the duty of this country to expose its soldiers to certain destruction. We ought to tell Canada that we saw no chance of efficiently defending her on her own ground; and that if she chose to maintain British connexion, it would be at the risk of having to protect herself against American invasion, but that if success crowned our arms she should be our first object in making a treaty of peace; that it was open to her, if she pleased, to establish herself as an independent republic, or, if she thought it more for her

interest and safety, to join the American republic itself; and that whichever of these courses she adopted she should have in England a friend, protector, and ally to the utmost of our power. The right hon. gentleman, nevertheless, intimated his determination to support the vote.

Mr. Disraeli replied to Mr. Lowe, and said that if any hesitation were exhibited on the part of the House at this critical moment, it would be most discouraging to the Canadians. Whether Canada could be defended or not, was a matter of opinion, and he was not prepared to admit that it could not. If we had a war with America, it would be carried on not in Canada only, but on both oceans; every where, in short, that the enemy could be weakened or annoyed. The proposition of the Government was that our troops should not be placed in a position of humiliation or ignominious discomfiture. Canada had a great future. She had all the elements that made a nation. We ought to recognize and be proud of the feelings by which she was actuated; and it was not for the House critically to consider the mere proposal of the Government, whether it was ample enough or had been introduced in the happiest manner. They were to consider whether, practically, it was not, on the part of the Government, an appeal to Parliament to cherish the connexion with the North American provinces, and to believe that in point of honour and interest they were bound to do it, and that, unaided by this country, the provinces had not the means of establishing their independence of any foreign foe. But if ultimately they became an independent country, we should not find in such a circumstance a source of mortification but of pride.

Lord Elcho thought that the House ought to have more information as to the understanding between the Home Government and Canada with respect to the mode in which the cost of defending the latter was to be shared between the Imperial and the Colonial Treasuries. He believed that the plan of defence expected by Canada to be carried out was much more extensive and comprehensive than that which had been stated by Her Majesty's Government. On the whole, it seemed to be the opinion in Canada that, unless a very different system of armament than that which had been proposed by Her Majesty's Government were adopted, it would be better to have no armament at all. A clear understanding should be come to as to what it was possible for this country to do for Canada. That country could not be defended by England against America; at the same time he did not propose that England should desert Canada, but that the same policy which was pursued to check the attacks of Russia on the Danubian provinces of the Porte should be adopted, and that the contest should be carried on at other points than in Canada itself.

Sir John Hay considered that the defence of Canada was, in a military point of view, impracticable. He thought the proper



course would be to render Halifax and the province of Nova Scotia impregnable as a base of operations.

Mr. Bright rested his objections to the vote, not upon the fact that he was not a believer in the probability of war, or that the amount was too large, but that its expenditure would be taken as a menace; the most that it could do was to show that some people here, and the Government itself, had some little distrust of the United States. So far, it might be productive of injury. His objection was, that the vote was the commencement of a policy which we should have to abandon, because it would entail on the Canadians a burden in respect to fortifications that would make them dissatisfied with this country, and ultimately lead to their separation from us. To that separation he did not object. It would be better for both. But of all the misfortunes that could happen to Canada, this would be the greatest, that their separation should take place after a period of irritation and estrangement; and that we should have on the American continent another element hostile to England. He regretted the proposition, but after all it was like every thing else that was done by the Government, who appeared to be divided into two parties, one pulling one way and one the other. The result was that they pleased nobody, and failed to produce a good effect in any direction.

Lord Palmerston was sorry he could not have the vote of Mr. Bright; but he thought, after the course the debate had taken. Mr. Bentinck should not divide the Committee. This was not a colonial question nor a local question; it was an Imperial question, and it was of the greatest importance that it should not go forth to the world that on a question of this sort the House was not unanimous. He thought there was no danger of a war with America, and he did not place his defence of this vote upon the ground of expectation of war. But the placing our colonies in a state of defence argued no apprehension of war, and he thought it was right to propose this vote in order that Canada might be put in a state of defence.

Mr. Bentinck then asked leave to withdraw his motion, but the House insisting upon a division, he quitted the House. The numbers were—for the vote 275, against it 40. About ten days after this discussion had taken place Mr. Cardwell (Secretary for the Colonies) made an important announcement, which was warmly received by the House, as an indication of a more amicable disposition towards this country on the part of the United States. He said that since he had come into the House he had received a despatch from the Governor-General of Canada, to the effect that a telegraphic message had reached him from Mr. Burnley, our Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, stating that the "Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) had informed him that his Government intended to withdraw its notice for the abrogation of the treaty of 1817, and that the passport system would cease immediately."



Mr. Cardwell further stated, in answer to Lord Elcho, that he had received an official announcement that four members of the Executive Council of Canada would proceed to England to confer with Her Majesty's Government on the arrangements necessary for the Canadian defences in the event of war with the United States, and the extent to which the same should be shared between the mother country and the colony. In any conference with the Commissioners it would not be in the power of Ministers to bind this country without the knowledge and full consent of Parliament. They would take care to do nothing except that which properly belonged to the duty and responsibility of the executive, and as soon as the conference had arrived at a result, it would be his duty to take the earliest opportunity of communicating it to the House.

The events which led to the sudden termination of the long struggle in America will be found fully related in another part of this volume. The policy which it became the duty of this country to pursue towards the United States' Government, after the submission of the Confederate States had put an end to the war, became the subject of discussion in both Houses shortly after that result was known in England. On the 15th of May, Lord Houghton addressed questions to Earl Russell in the House of Lords with respect to the intention of Her Majesty's Government to withdraw the recognition of the belligerent rights of the (so called) Confederate States.

Earl Russell, in reply, expressed his regret at the misunderstanding of the true state of the case which Lord Houghton's inquiry implied, and which, notwithstanding repeated explanations, still seemed to perplex many persons both in this country and in the United States. We did not concede belligerent rights to the Confederate States. We simply recognized a state of war which existed beyond any doubt between the Federal and the (so called) Confederate States. The United States' Government, in fact, recognized the existence of such a war, by the proclamation which the President issued in March, 1861, under which he declared the ports of the Confederate States under blockade. As soon as that proclamation was issued, the English Government had only the alternative, either to acknowledge the belligerent rights of the North, and on the other hand of the South, or to refuse to acknowledge the blockade. The English Government took the former course, which followed inevitably upon their acknowledgment of the rights of blockade claimed by the United States. That war had now been carried on for four years, and the present question was asked at a most unfortunate time, for it was very difficult to say what was the state of facts at the present moment. His noble friend said that the Government of the United States had closed the Southern ports. Well, they might exercise that authority over ports which were in their possession or occupation. But the port of Galveston, in Texas, was still in the possession of the Confederates, and therefore the only power which the

United States could exercise in respect of it was that of blockade. We did not know whether the United States intended to give up the further exercise of the belligerent right of search on the high seas. Of course it was impossible for us to allow the exercise of such a right in time of peace. What the Government were anxious to ascertain, and what they had asked of the Government of the United States, was, what was the present state of things. They had already told the United States' Government that it was not necessary to maintain any restrictions upon the resort of their vessels to or their stay in British ports. But they could not go further until they knew whether the United States intended to give up the further exercise of the belligerent right of search on the high seas. The Government would rejoice sincerely at the termination of the civil war which had so long been going on in America. If the United States' Government declared the war at an end, it would become his duty to take the opinion of the law officers as to the course which our Government ought to pursue.

The real effect of the recognition of belligerent rights, and the necessity in which this country was placed of acknowledging them, was further explained, in very lucid terms, by Lord Palmerston on the same day, in answering a question addressed to the Government by Mr. White in the House of Commons. The noble lord said, "The course of the transactions with regard to the belligerent rights of the two parties was this:—The President of the United States issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of all the coasts and certain ports of the Southern Confederacy, in accordance, as he said, with the law of nations. Now a blockade, according to the law of nations, is a belligerent right which can only accrue to a State which is at war, and, of course, I need not say that if there is one belligerent there must be two at least, and, therefore, the fact of the President of the United States declaring that he established a blockade in accordance with the law of nations, gave him all those rights which belong to a belligerent—the right of capture and condemnation, and the right of search with regard to neutral vessels. The British Government had only one of two courses to pursue. First, to refuse to submit on the part of British vessels to those belligerent rights, on the ground that there was no formal belligerent on the other side. Now, that was not a course which it was at all expedient to pursue, and, therefore, the only course to take was to acknowledge and submit to those belligerent rights, and that necessarily involved a recognition of the other party as a belligerent. Whenever the Government of the United States shall declare that it ceases to exercise in regard to neutrals those rights of search, capture, and condemnation which belong to belligerents, then of course the war, as far as neutrals are concerned, ceases, and there will necessarily neither be an acknowledgment of belligerent rights on the one side nor the other."

It may be feared that even the above perspicuous explanations have failed to eradicate from some minds on both sides of the Atlantic the misconception that in acknowledging the existence of two belligerent parties—in other words, the fact of a war—the British Government were in effect conceding a privilege to the Confederate States, and inflicting a grievance upon the United States' Government.

The conclusion of the civil war which had produced such terrible and widespread calamities to the country in which it was carried on, was hailed with much satisfaction in this country. At the same time the difficulties to be encountered in re-adjusting the political and social relations of the different sections of the Union so rudely deranged by hostile passions, and in healing the wounds inflicted by their deadly strife, were regarded as very serious, and such as would require no ordinary sagacity and moderation to surmount. Nor is it surprising that when the Government of the United States became suddenly transferred to new and untried hands, some distrust was felt as to the wisdom with which the re-settlement of the political system of the States and the conduct of their external relations might be conducted. The first steps taken by President Johnson were consequently observed with some anxiety, and his declarations criticized with considerable jealousy, until further experience gave grounds to hope that moderation and forbearance would be the characteristics of his policy. The feelings entertained by many persons in this country with reference to America were expressed by Lord Derby, in some observations addressed to the House of Lords with reference to one of the first public documents which emanated from the new President. "It may not be out of the way," said the noble lord, "that I should express a hope, entertained not only by myself, but by the noble earl opposite, not only by this House, but by the country at large, and by the whole civilized world, that the party which has achieved so signal a victory will follow a course not directed by revenge or violence—that they may seek not to exasperate the feelings of their former antagonists, which have been already too much embittered; but will endeavour, by deeds of conciliation and of mercy, to re-cement, if possible, a union so nearly dissolved; and that they will consent to treat those whom the fortunes of war have placed at their disposal, not as revolted subjects, but as vanquished, though not dishonoured, enemies. On the course taken by the United States will materially depend the estimation in which they will be held by the civilized world, so that this is a subject which cannot fail to be of vital importance to them."

Lord Derby then proceeded to call attention to the documents sent by Lord Russell to the heads of departments, withdrawing our recognition of the belligerent rights of the American Confederates, and also to a proclamation of President Johnson, declaring the ports of the Union, with certain exceptions, to be open



to commerce, and denouncing the penalties of piracy against persons trading with the excepted ports. The noble earl expressed a hope that the Washington Government would treat the leaders of the late Confederacy with forbearance and lenity: and as to Lord Russell's letter, said he did not see how it could be reconciled with the answer given by the noble earl to Lord Houghton some time since. In that answer the noble earl had stated that the withdrawal of belligerent rights would depend entirely upon the United States ceasing to exercise such rights, which was not done when the letter was written, as General Kirby Smith was still in military possession of territory and forts west of the Mississippi. It was no doubt in the power of President Johnson to blockade ports in the United States, to treat them as Federal ports, and make any municipal arrangements he chose with regard to them; but neither by international nor municipal law could he treat merchants trading with such ports as pirates. At the utmost, they could only be regarded as smugglers, and the proclamation of President Johnson ought not to go without protest. He wished to ask, therefore, whether that proclamation was genuine; whether it had been communicated officially to Her Majesty's Government; and whether they had taken any notice of it by remonstrance or otherwise.

Earl Russell, in his answer, expressed his concurrence with Lord Derby in the hope that there might be no appearance of passion on the part of those who had now the guidance of the affairs of the American nation. In reply to the particular question addressed to him, he stated that when his letter was written the war in America was practically ended, and only two Confederate vessels remained afloat, one of which was about to surrender to the authorities of Havana. Having first ascertained from Mr. Adams that the United States had determined upon abandoning their belligerent rights, he at once brought the question before the Cabinet. The war had now entirely ceased, and the other maritime powers of Europe had expressed concurrence in the decision of the British Government. With regard to the proclamation of President Johnson, it was certainly a curious document, and that portion of it which denounced as piracy the attempt to trade with ports not blockaded was somewhat startling. Sir Frederick Bruce had immediately sought an explanation, but could get none, and his opinion was that the threat was merely meant to be suspended *in terrorem*.

The Earl of Derby suggested that the Government would do well to make some protest against such an illegal threat.

Just before the termination of the Session, Earl Russell laid on the table of the House of Lords despatches from the United States' Government, announcing the termination of the war, and expressing satisfaction at the withdrawal by England of the concession of belligerent rights to the Southern States.

But a small portion of the time of Parliament was devoted this



year to the consideration of foreign affairs. In 1864 they had afforded frequent and exciting subjects of debate, but in the present Session public opinion busied itself in a much less degree with foreign transactions. One of the few debates that took place in the House of Commons upon foreign politics was on the treatment of Poland, which was again introduced by the same member who had warmly advocated her cause in the preceding Session, Mr. P. Hennessy. He now once more appealed to the honour of England, which was, in his view, deeply concerned in supporting her rights and alleviating the oppression under which she suffered. The Resolution which Mr. Hennessy asked the House of Commons to adopt was in these terms:—"Whereas the Russian Government shows its determination to set at naught the engagements it contracted in 1815 respecting Poland, and whereas the respect of those engagements was the condition on which the Powers of Europe consented to recognize as lawful the possession by the Russian Czar of the greatest part of ancient Poland; this House cannot any longer abstain from proclaiming that the violation of those engagements implies the forfeiture by the Czar of all right to such dominion, and also of all right to any further payment by this country of the annual sum conceded to Russia under the name of the Russo-Dutch Loan, that payment having been, in 1815, undertaken to be paid during the space of 100 years in consideration of Russia faithfully co-operating in the maintenance of the stipulations of the same Treaty of 1815."

Mr. Cave shared in the sympathy expressed for the wrongs of Poland, believing, from what he himself had witnessed, that the Russian rule in Poland was extremely severe. But, he asked, what good could be effected by the present debate, or by any interference by this House? He believed it would be as useless as previous debates and the protocols of Lord Palmerston had turned out to be, and that so far from being beneficial, it would prove injurious to the Poles, and discreditable to ourselves.

Several other members followed with the same course of observation—avowing their sympathy with Poland, but expressing their belief that the adoption of the Resolution by the House would have no practical result, while it might encourage false hopes and lead to disappointment.

Viscount Palmerston said the present discussion of the subject could be only intended to obtain an expression of opinion which might influence events, or obtain from Government some action to give effect to the opinion expressed in the Resolution. As to the first point, our Government had repeatedly expressed an opinion on the conduct of Russia towards Poland, and nothing could now be added to what had already been recorded in the history of Parliament on the subject, which any additional expression would only tend to weaken. It would be better, therefore, for the interests of Poland, to let the matter rest, and not give occasion to any one to say that the interest excited in the fate of

Poland was less than it had previously been. As to the second point, there were two ways in which the Government, acting upon the promptings of the House, might have interfered in the affairs of Poland: the one was diplomatically, the other the employment of force. But, as to the latter, the mover of the Resolution himself disclaimed any wish to go to war, and had always recommended the Government to use every possible diplomatic action in behalf of Poland, and induce other Governments to join them in persuading Russia to execute her treaty engagements faithfully. Well, the Government had resorted to negotiation; and negotiation had failed, not simply when exerted by the British Government, but when it had been supported by the representations of almost all the powers of Europe. Not deterred by his own disclaimer and the previous failure of what he had recommended, Mr. Henessy now proposed, as a third measure, that the House should make a declaration of forfeiture, and withhold a payment which had been expressly stipulated by treaty with Russia. What would be the value of a declaration of that sort? The House of Commons was not a treaty-making power, and could not be a treaty-breaking power. And if any treaty which the Crown had contracted had been broken by the power with which it was concluded, it rested with the Crown to represent that, and, if necessary, to make war in vindication of a violated right. But it did not belong even to the Crown, nor to any one power, to disengage itself from treaty obligations contracted with another power. The hon. member proposed that, in consideration of the violation by Russia of her treaty engagements of 1815, the payment of the annual sum on account of the Russo-Dutch Loan, stipulated, not by the Treaty of Vienna, but by that of the May preceding, and, therefore, not connected with the Polish arrangements, should be discontinued. That engagement having no reference whatever to Poland, to say that, because Russia had misconducted herself in Poland, and broken her engagement under the treaty of June, 1815, we were, therefore, to break our engagements founded on a different treaty and relating to a different transaction, was a lame and impotent conclusion. Any such course the House and the Government should be ashamed even to contemplate adopting, as it would be equally unworthy of Parliament and unbecoming to the country.

The motion was ultimately withdrawn.

The desultory and unsatisfactory war in new Zealand which had now for a considerable time employed our troops in a petty yet harassing contest with the natives, having caused much complaint and dissatisfaction in this country, Mr. A. Mills brought the subject before the House of Commons early in the present Session. He said we had not yet got out of our difficulties there, and he believed that the Colonial Secretary would be glad if it could be guaranteed that the war would be over in five years, although it had been predicted that it would be over in five months. The opinion of some

persons was, that the Maoris, or "brown men," were destined to be exterminated. But the heroism of these people showed that they had considerable vitality. But the question was not so much the destiny of the brown man as the duty of the British Government. There were now only two alternatives, either to suspend the New Zealand Constitution—that is, revoke the colonial policy—or take the colonists at their word, accept the policy which they had initiated, and let them understand that they could not have the privileges of freedom without its burdens. His firm belief was, that the policy which was now about to be inaugurated would be for the promotion of the interests of the aborigines; and he earnestly hoped the day was not distant when the colony would no longer be a serious drain upon the resources of England, and a constant source of perplexity to her statesmen, but when all classes and both races would enjoy an era of prosperity and peace.

Mr. Roebuck, with that unflinching frankness of speech which distinguishes his utterances in Parliament, entered his protest against what he called "a great sham." England, he observed, was a great colonizing country, and in proportion to her colonization had been the extension of civilization, followed by an outcry on the part of certain parties, who accused the Government of injustice because colonization meant dispossession and an undying feud between the aboriginal race and the new comers. New Zealand was colonized, not by Government, but in spite of the Government, and he vindicated the conduct of the original settlers, which, in the interest of England and of civilization, was, he said, wise, right, and just. They had extended the reign of civilization over the wild aboriginal men, whom they did right in dispossessing, for the more civilization was advanced, the better for mankind. He traced the existing war to the sordid act of those who supplied the natives with arms and the materials of war. The proper course to be taken by the Imperial Government was to allow the colonists to do what they liked.

Lord Stanley thought that, in the natural course of things, the Maori race must disappear, as all other aboriginal tribes had done who had ever come into contact with European civilization. What we ought now to do was to satisfy ourselves that the colonists did all they could in their own behalf; then to continue to them such temporary military aid as they needed, on the understanding, however, that it was kept down to the lowest point, and that it would not be similarly given after the termination of the present war.

Mr. Cardwell said there was ample room for civilized culture, the growth of population and property, and for both races to live side by side in New Zealand without the necessity of dispossessing the Maories. And he added, that if ever there was a native race capable of profiting by the advantages of civilization, it was the natives of New Zealand. It might have been wise or not to make the treaty of Waitangi; but having made it, it was equally



just, wise, and honourable to observe its provisions. As yet the rebellion had not been extinguished, but if the war was dying out, and we withdrew the ten thousand troops we had there, and intimated our desire no longer to be made the instruments of perpetuating hostilities, he thought we might safely conclude that no war policy would be pursued by the colonists. He did not believe it possible to subjugate the Maories without the assistance of the power of England; and that being so, he presumed the colonists of themselves would not be ambitious to attempt it. He readily accepted, then, the new policy which the Colonial Ministry and Assembly had recently offered to adopt. The Resolutions passed by the Assembly were before the House, and contained in the papers on the table. It would be impossible to state it more distinctly than was done in the papers before the House; but he might say there was no doubt as to this, that the former arrangement which enabled the colony to command the services of a large force of the Queen's troops on paying a merely nominal contribution towards the expense incurred for that force, was to be at an end. Her Majesty's Government had expressed its anticipation that, in consideration of the Imperial guarantee for the loan which had been lately raised, the colony would make a substantial contribution towards the military charges. The Assembly, as he understood, had not accepted the guarantee for the loan, and sufficient time had not yet elapsed to enable it to be known here what definite arrangement the Assembly had made. But the Home Government knew the arrangement it was disposed to make. It would expect that if the colony should continue to receive from this country any assistance of an Imperial kind, some contribution would have to be provided by the colony itself.

With regard to the policy of the future, he believed that that which had been the universal sentiment apparently in New Zealand, and certainly in this country, was recommended by the doctrines of sound sense and practical experience. The real state of the case was this;—A very small body of natives, stated by a competent witness at not much more than 2000 men altogether, had been in arms. He would not pledge himself to that estimate of their number, because he had no precise *data* on the point; but certainly, in comparison with the amount of troops who had been brought against them, the Maori force had been extremely small. Nevertheless, with a large proportion of the natives friendly towards us, we had not yet succeeded in extinguishing the rebellion. If, then, it appeared that the war was dying out, and if we withdrew our 10,000 Queen's troops from the colony, and intimated our desire no longer to continue to be the instruments of perpetuating the war, we might then safely reckon that there would be no war policy pursued in New Zealand. He did not believe that if we were to exert ourselves to the utmost, and to send out more reinforcements of men and larger sums of money, it would be possible for us, looking at the extent of the



morasses, which constituted the great strength of the natives in arms against us, to completely reduce them. That which he believed would be impracticable for us, he did not think the colonists would have the desire or ambition to attempt when our troops were withdrawn.

The discussion then terminated.

The ill-treatment of certain British subjects who had been imprisoned under circumstances of much rigour and cruelty by the Government of Abyssinia, was brought before Parliament on more than one occasion by Lord Chelmsford in the Upper, and Sir H. Cairns in the Lower House. The case of these unfortunate persons, one of whom was the British Consul, Captain Cameron, and several others were missionaries, was thus described by Lord Chelmsford. "In July, 1862, Captain Cameron, the new Consul, who was the bearer of certain presents sent by this Government to the Emperor of Abyssinia, met with a most flattering reception at the hands of that Sovereign, who expressed a desire that the negotiation for a treaty between the Government of Abyssinia and this country, which had fallen through in 1849, should be renewed. An autograph letter of the Emperor to Her Majesty's Government was forwarded to this country by Captain Cameron, but from various causes it did not arrive here until February, 1863. Shortly after this, an invasion of the northern parts of Abyssinia by the Egyptian Government took place, when Captain Cameron endeavoured to settle the dispute, but was compelled to desist from his pacific endeavours in consequence of the remonstrances of the Egyptian authorities. Captain Cameron having ceased to exert himself in favour of the Abyssinian Emperor, that Sovereign felt himself much aggrieved, especially as he had received no reply to his autograph letter to this country. Unfortunately, further cause of offence was given by the interpreters of a Mr. Stern, a missionary, one of whom was immediately beaten to death. Mr. Stern having expressed his disgust at the proceeding, was himself subjected to corporal punishment, to such an extent as seriously to imperil his life. Two days afterwards the other missionaries, including several ladies, were seized and sent to a distant prison, where they were loaded with chains and fetters, weighing from 15lb. to 20lb. Soon after, the other Europeans in Abyssinia, including Captain Cameron, were also committed to prison and chained. The Emperor then held a great council of his grandees to try the prisoners, who were alleged to have been guilty of high treason according to the laws of the country. The council found the prisoners guilty, and several of the grandees were of opinion that they should be put to death; but, fortunately, milder counsels prevailed, and the unfortunate persons were sent back to their prison. As if to complicate matters, just at this time a letter arrived from England, which, instead of being a reply to the Emperor's letter, simply directed Captain Cameron to return to his post and not to interfere further

in the Egyptian dispute. In consequence of this neglect of Her Majesty's Government to reply to the Emperor's letter, Captain Cameron was loaded with heavier fetters and was treated with far greater severity, and the whole of the prisoners were chained night and day to a native soldier."

In moving for copies of the correspondence which had taken place, and the various documents in the possession of the Foreign Office relating to this subject, Lord Chelmsford ascribed much of the unfortunate consequences which had taken place to the negligence of that department in not replying to the Emperor's letter, by which he had been much incensed.

Earl Russell said that remarks which might be supposed to reflect on the conduct of the Emperor of Abyssinia were very likely to be retaliated upon the unfortunate captives, and in that case the noble and learned lord would be responsible. The matter was an extremely delicate one, but the imputations levelled against the Foreign Office were altogether groundless. He had consulted the highest authorities on the best manner of approaching the Emperor, and had acted on their advice. Information had been received that the prisoners were no longer kept in chains, and as officers were already waiting at Massowah with a letter from the Queen, and presents for the Emperor, he trusted they would soon be set at liberty. In conclusion, Earl Russell declined, on grounds of public policy, and with a view to the true interests of the unfortunate captives themselves, to produce the papers moved for.

A division accordingly took place on Lord Chelmsford's motion which resulted in a decision against the Government by a majority of one.

In the latter part of the Session Sir Hugh Cairns again drew attention to the case of Captain Cameron and his fellow-prisoners, who had then been in confinement no less than eighteen months. Admitting to the fullest extent that the acts done by King Theodore were a violation of the principles of international law, there could be no doubt that there had been a certain amount of neglect and indecorous treatment by our Foreign Office of a sovereign with whom we had a treaty of alliance, in having refused to answer the despatch which he had sent to the Queen for nearly a year and a half, and he thought the time had arrived when a mission of a character that would be acceptable to the King might be sent to him with the view of obtaining the release of the prisoners.

Mr. Layard said that if the Government had refrained from entering fully into this painful subject, it was from no desire to screen themselves or avoid full inquiry into the facts of the case. The reason that Earl Russell in the House of Lords, and he in the Commons, had declined to discuss the matter was simply this: the fear lest any thing should be said which, being conveyed to the King of Abyssinia, might conduce either to the unfortunate captives being treated with still greater severity, or even put to

death. Moreover, it would have been scarcely fair that any statements should be made until a full explanation had been received from Consul Cameron. After the speech of Sir H. Cairns, however, and the gross misrepresentations of a portion of the press, he could no longer remain silent; but he disclaimed on the part of the Foreign Office all responsibility for any unpleasant consequences that might ensue. Mr. Layard then narrated the circumstances which had led to the imprisonment of the consul and missionaries, and which unhappy result he attributed entirely to constant unauthorized interference in the internal affairs of Abyssinia by Consul Plowden and his successor, Consul Cameron, and to the proceedings of rival missions. With regard to the relations between this country and the King, the fact was that the King had annulled the treaty we had concluded with his predecessor, and was desirous of extending his dominions by aggressions on his neighbours, and especially by exterminating the Turks; and Her Majesty's Government had refused to receive a mission from him until he had renounced his ideas of conquest. He should say, therefore, that if the letter containing that request were at this moment to be put into his hands, that it required no answer. The proposal had been made by Sir W. Coghlan to send him out some ships of war, and a numerous suite; but what was to be done, if the Government acceded to the suggestion and the entire suite were seized and imprisoned by the King? Were they to march a British army over the arid sands of the desert to the capital of Abyssinia, which, according to the latest intelligence, was in possession of a body of rebels? He had it on the highest authority that if a mission were sent out, it would at once be thrown into prison by the King. For what the King wanted was to bring such a pressure upon the British Government that they should assist him in carrying out his design upon the Turks. Every thing that could be done should be done to obtain the deliverance of the unfortunate captives. Information has been received from them up to the end of May, at which time, although in confinement, they were all in good health. Captain Cameron was even in good spirits, and there was reason to hope that we should shortly hear of their release.

Immediately before the prorogation of Parliament, the subject having been once more revived by Lord Chelmsford, with some observations impugning the conduct of the Foreign Office, Lord Russell again vindicated the proceedings of that department which he declared had not been to blame on the subject, but had acted with the best judgment on the information they possessed, and had done all that was possible to effect the release of the prisoners. To send out another embassy would only be to send those composing it to the same fate as the others. The King of Abyssinia had shown himself to be a bloodthirsty prince, murdering hundreds of prisoners in cold blood. It was the opinion of Sir W. Coghlan that the best thing to be done at present was to wait for



further advices respecting King Theodore's intentions, whether as to the release of the prisoners, or as to receiving a mission with the Queen's letter and presents. At all events we were not going to undertake a war in the matter.

## CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION—Religious Tests and Subscriptions—A Bill founded upon the Report of the Royal Commission for inquiring into the subscriptions required by law from the Clergy, is brought in by the Government—Debates in both Houses on this measure—General concurrence of opinion in favour of the Bill, which is passed—Mr. Göschel's Bill for abolishing certain tests required on taking degrees at Oxford University—Debate on the second reading—Opinions expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other leading members—The Bill passes a second reading, but is not proceeded with—Mr. Monsell proposes a Bill for altering the oath prescribed for Roman Catholic Members by the Relief Act of 1829—Important discussions on this measure—Division of opinion on the Conservative side with respect to the Bill—Sir J. Pakington, Sir H. Cairns, and Mr. Disraeli endeavour to limit the operation of the Bill—The Bill is supported by Sir George Grey, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other members of the Government—Declaration of Mr. Disraeli respecting the Irish Church—The Bill passes the House of Commons by a small majority, but is warmly opposed by the Earl of Derby in the Upper House—Debate in the Lords—Opinions expressed by Earl Russell and Earl Grey—The Bill is rejected on a division.—*Ritual and Discipline of the Church of England*—The increase of the Episcopate is advocated by Lord Lyttelton—Observations of the Primate, Earl Russell, and other Peers—Statement of the Primate respecting the Litany and Ritual of the Church.—*Church Rates*—Mr. Newdegate proposes a Bill for the settlement of the controversy—It meets with little support, and is rejected by a large majority.—*National Education*—Motion of Sir J. Pakington for a Committee of Inquiry into the system pursued by the Committee of Council, which is carried with the assent of the Government—Progress and condition of public education in Great Britain described by Mr. Bruce in moving the Vote for that purpose—Sir R. Peel makes a similar statement respecting the national system in Ireland—Varieties of opinion among Irish Members on this subject.—*University Education in Ireland*—Motion of the O'Donoghue for an Address to the Crown, setting forth the grievances of the Roman Catholics in regard to University Education—Concessions suggested by Sir George Grey and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Remarks of various Members on the overtures made by Government—The Motion is withdrawn—Subsequent explanations by Sir George Grey.

THE question of oaths and tests required to be taken under the existing laws on elections to Parliament, on taking Holy Orders, on graduating at the Universities, and on other occasions, received this year a considerable impulse in consequence of measures that were proposed, and discussions which took place, relative to those subjects. Important principles, affecting religious liberty and ecclesiastical policy, were brought under consideration in these debates, and though the immediate result, in point of practical legislation, was not great, there can be little doubt that the doctrines of those who desired to see a further relaxation of the



terms of admission to our national institutions by the diminution of religious tests, made a decided step in advance in the course of the Session. The first movement in this direction was made under the advantage of a general unanimity of opinion. A Royal Commission had been issued in the preceding year, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and including several persons of distinction, both lay and clerical, who were understood to represent various shades of opinion in the Church, for the purpose of considering the forms of subscriptions and declarations of assent required from the Clergy of the Church of England, and how far they might admit of alteration. The Commissioners were fortunately able to come to a unanimous conclusion with respect to the matters referred to them<sup>1</sup>, and with the view of settling a controversy which had been for some time in existence, and had, on more than one recent occasion, given rise to discussions in Parliament, a Bill was brought in by Lord Granville on the part of the Government, to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission. In lieu of the old form, whereby the declarer pledged his "assent and consent" to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, &c., the declaration proposed by the Bill to be made before Ordination was as follows:—"I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God; and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority." Lord Granville, in proposing the measure, stated that "this and the other alterations, recommended by so great a weight of authority, had met with the general concurrence of the clergy, and would, he thought, guarantee the object which all had in view."

The measure met with very little opposition in either House, but in its course through the Lords, the Archbishop of Dublin moved by way of an amendment that it was not expedient without the concurrence of the convocation of the Irish provinces of the United Church, to proceed with the Bill, so far as it might set aside and supersede the canons of those provinces, and that an address be presented to the Queen, praying her to convene the convocation of the Irish provinces for the purpose of amending those canons which relate to the subscription of the clergy and to the oaths against simony, so as to assimilate the laws of the Church of England and Ireland in relation thereto, and best to secure the united action of the provinces of the Church.

Earl Granville said the question of summoning the convocations of Armagh and Dublin had been considered, but it was not

<sup>1</sup> See the Report of the Commissioners in the Appendix to the Annual Register for 1864.

thought desirable that they should meet. He hoped the amendment would not be persisted in.

The Archbishop of York supported the Bill.

The Bishop of Oxford thought it of importance that the Bill should be proceeded with, but he had no objection to postpone that part of it which related to the Irish clergy. The canons of the English and Irish Church were different even on important points, and no harm would, therefore, be done by postponing legislation in reference to the Irish Church until another year.

The Bishop of London showed that the Archbishop of Dublin, in asking for justice to Ireland, claimed a great deal more than was at present conceded to England.

The Archbishop of Dublin said he had no desire to impede legislation upon this subject in reference to England, and would, therefore, strike out the first part of his amendment, retaining simply the motion for an address to the Crown.

Subsequently the whole amendment was withdrawn.

Another amendment was proposed by the Bishop of Llandaff, who moved to omit from the oath of supremacy the words denying that any foreign prince has any power or authority in this kingdom. He thought that they were unnecessary, while they contained a statement to which some persons could not conscientiously assent. Had the oath merely declared that no foreign prince or potentate "ought" to have power and authority in England, or that no prince or potentate had "jurisdiction" in this kingdom, it would have been unobjectionable; but, as the words stood, they conveyed to many minds an assertion which was by some thought to be untrue. They ought, therefore to omit them, out of regard to tender consciences.

Earl Granville and Lord St. Leonards opposed the amendment, and it was withdrawn.

In the House of Commons the Bill was advocated by Sir George Grey and by the Attorney-General, who explained the measure and what would be its effect and utility in relieving scrupulous consciences, while retaining a sufficient guarantee for all purposes of securing the Church.

No objection of any importance being raised, the Bill received the sanction of both branches of the Legislature, and became law before the termination of the Session.

A measure had been proposed in the preceding Session, to abolish certain tests in connexion with Academical degrees in the University of Oxford, and had been rejected by a majority of two. A Bill with identically the same provisions was brought in again this year by Mr. Göschen, one of the members for the City of London, who, on moving the second reading, explained in a very lucid manner the objects of the measure, and the grounds on which he advocated it. The Bill, he said, did not propose to admit Dissenters to the governing body of the University, although it might

lead to that result eventually, but to enable degrees to be conferred without reference to religious tests. The Universities were not ecclesiastical corporations designed for the benefit of a portion only of the people. On the contrary, they were lay corporations, in which the ecclesiastical element had been accidentally introduced, and it was never contemplated that the clergy should assume the sole control and authority. If tests and subscriptions were done away with altogether, he did not believe that the University would be revolutionized, or the established Church at all endangered. The change he proposed was large and substantial. It would give a degree independent of any theological test. It would also go beyond the Cambridge Act, and give a vote in Convocation whilst it would admit to certain privileges and emoluments, to obtain which, under the present system, the degree of Master of Arts was an essential qualification. He could not believe that these concessions would lower the tone or impair the *prestige* of Oxford. So far from injuring the University, they would rather widen its basis and make it more useful and acceptable to the country, for he was convinced that no system could flourish which practically excluded one-half the population from their traditional seats of learning.

The motion was seconded by Mr. G. Duff, who said he supported the Bill upon three grounds—that it would be beneficial to the Church; that it would be useful to the Dissenters, as an instalment of their just rights; and useful to the University, by enabling it to understand its duties.

Lord Cranbourne moved to defer the second reading for six months. The vice of the Bill, he observed, was, that it would give over the government of the University to Dissenters. Mr. Göschen had candidly told the House that it would be better to copy the Universities of Germany; that our Universities and colleges had no special connexion with the Church; that they were national institutions, not connected with any particular form of religion. But the admission of professors of every form of religious belief to the governing body of the University would introduce an element that would extirpate religious instruction in the University, and practically amount to the teaching of no religion at all.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he could have no hesitation as to the course which he ought to adopt on the present occasion, because he stood upon a different ground from that which he occupied last year when the subject was before the House. For the promoters of the Bill openly avowed their desire to separate education from religion, and that was a principle to which he was resolutely opposed. He contended that the recognition of the religion of the Church of England was necessary to enable the University to perform its teaching work and exercise its just influence over the character and discipline of the students. The question, indeed, was not one between clergy and laity, or Church and State. It was a question which concerned the convictions



that were commonly entertained by English parents with respect to the kind of education and training they desired to give their children. And, apart from distinctions between Churchmen and Dissenters, he was convinced of the wisdom of the denominational system—he meant by that, that they should not endeavour to tamper with the features and principles either of the established or any other religion. There were two points, however, in respect of which the basis of the University might be altered. In the first place, the tests exacted from the lay members of the Church of England at Oxford ought to be modified, and the same principle should obtain there as elsewhere; and, secondly, the existing regulations ought to be altered so as to give Dissenters all that might be safely given them whilst retaining the principle that the governing authority should be lodged in the hands of members of the Church of England, thus affording ample security for the spiritual instruction imparted.

Mr. G. Hardy said nothing could be more disastrous to the University than the views developed by Mr. Göschen, and more contrary to the spirit by which the University ought to be governed—a spirit of religious truth guiding a definite system of theological teaching, for which the University was founded. Mr. Göschen had told the House that his object was to emancipate the University from clerical or ecclesiastical connexion, which was, he said, an accident, and to admit all persons of any religion or no religion to the governing body. This would be to surrender all religious teaching in the University. The generalization of religion was a dream of philosophers; there must be something definite and dogmatic in religious teaching, and the connexion of the Church of England with the Universities was essential to their existence as teaching bodies.

Mr. Henley said the result of this Bill would be to cause utter confusion. The Roman Catholic would be set against the Church of England man, and the Presbyterian and Nonconformist would be opposed to both. What must follow but simple indifference or downright unbelief? Whilst holding the opinion that dogmatic or definite teaching lay at the very root of Christian life, he nevertheless agreed that the University ought to be national; but national education was good for nothing unless it rested on a religious basis, and the people of England would not accept it without.

Mr. Monsell supported the Bill because it provided a remedy for an acknowledged grievance, and that without touching in any way the fundamental principle of religion permeating education, which he anxiously desired to preserve in its integrity.

Amongst others who spoke in favour of the Bill were, Mr. Dodson, Mr. Neate, Mr. Scully, Mr. E. P. Bouverie, and Mr. W. E. Forster. The amendment moved by Lord Cranborne was negatived on a division by 206 to 190, and the Bill was read a second time. But the Session was now far advanced, and the



further progress of the Bill being manifestly impossible, it was shortly afterwards withdrawn.

The subject of oaths and tests was again agitated in a discussion which involved principles of much consequence, in reference to a Bill which Mr. Monsell obtained leave to introduce, for altering the oath required to be taken by Roman Catholic Members of Parliament under the Relief Act of 1829. There can be little doubt that the result of the elections of Ireland was materially affected by the conduct of parties in the House of Commons in regard to this Bill; it was attributed indeed to the Ministers by their opponents in the course of the debates, that they were influenced in their policy towards the measure by electioneering views. Mr. Monsell, however, as a Roman Catholic Member, rested his case for the proposed change on no temporary or party grounds, but advocated it as a measure of justice to the members of his own communion, who felt both aggrieved and degraded by the terms of the test exacted from them. He said he had been urged by many gentlemen, both in and out of that House, to extend the scope of his motion beyond the Roman Catholic oath, and to propose to substitute for all such oaths a simple oath of allegiance; but he did not think it expedient to introduce such a Bill, although it was obvious that the oaths still imposed on the great functionaries of State, which dealt most harshly with the Roman Catholic religion, ought to be got rid of. What could be more degrading than to make Lord Wodehouse, when surrounded by Roman Catholic law advisers and privy councillors, take an oath declaring the Roman Catholic religion to be damnable and idolatrous? The right hon. gentleman, after reciting the terms of the oath required by the Act of 1829, remarked upon the various interpretations put upon it by statesmen and lawyers of high authority. The oath for Roman Catholic Members of Parliament "disclaimed, disavowed, and solemnly abjured any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment as settled by law, and not to disturb the Protestant Government in the United Kingdom." Some persons held that this prevented Catholic Members of Parliament from voting on questions regarding the Church, whilst Lord Althorp and others held that Catholic Members had the same rights as Protestant Members in all matters that came before the House. This was the oath imposed on Roman Catholic Members of that House; but no such oath was required to be taken by those Protestant members who believed the principle of this Establishment was erroneous, and ought to be got rid of. Was not that a monstrous thing? The portions of the present oath which he would abolish were the clauses renouncing, rejecting, and abjuring the doctrine that princes, excommunicated or deposed by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome, might be deposed or murdered by their subjects or by any person whatever; testifying that the declaration was made in its plain and ordinary sense; disclaiming, disavowing, and abjuring any intention to subvert the Established

Church; and swearing never to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or the Protestant Government in the United Kingdom. For these he proposed to substitute the simple oath of supremacy.

In confirmation of his argument, Mr. Monsell quoted the emphatic words of Mr. Speaker Onslow, who said,—“I cannot help observing of what little use to a Government the imposition of oaths has ever been. A Government is never secure of the hearts of the people but from the justice of it, and the justice of it is generally a real security . . . . When men habituate themselves to swear what they do not understand, they will easily be brought to forswear themselves in what they do understand. The like danger is from the frequency of them, which always takes off from the awe of them, and consequently their force. In my opinion, no oaths should be appointed but in judicial matters.”

Sir George Grey assented to the introduction of the Bill. The subject was one well entitled to the consideration of the House; and when the measure came to a second reading he hoped they would approach it with a desire to maintain the security of the Protestant religion, whilst doing justice to any claim that hon. Members might make for relief.

Mr. Newdegate was sorry to find that the Home Secretary continued to display the same leaning towards Ultramontane doctrines that they had had previously to lament. In his opinion, the present moment was singularly inopportune for the House to discuss the proposed change, seeing that the French Legislature were occupied with grave discussions on the best means of dealing with the latest Papal aggression, in the shape of the Pope's Encyclical, which they deemed it advisable, in the interests of social and political order and the peace of families, to resist.

Mr. Whalley condemned the proposal, as involving a great constitutional change in the organization of the House, and threatened to oppose the Bill at a future stage.

On the second reading, a more vigorous opposition was offered to the Bill. Mr. Lefroy moved, and Mr. Whalley seconded, an amendment, that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. He said that the maintenance of the Roman Catholic oath was a question of contract, and many Members had voted for Roman Catholic emancipation in consequence of that oath having been inserted in the Emancipation Act. The Church of Ireland was now violently attacked, and associations were formed to bring about its ruin. The time for bringing forward such a proposal was therefore most inopportune.

The further passage of the measure was also resisted with much energy by Mr. Whiteside, who maintained that, from the days of Elizabeth, the Roman Catholics had always been treated as a portion of the community allowing to a foreign Power a certain jurisdiction in England. This the Protestants had always refused,

and must continue to resist. As to the oath, he thought it was, what its framers intended it to be, a security against a body of men, influenced by a foreign Power, undertaking measures hostile to the Established Church. The oath was important as a public record of the conditions on which the Catholics were admitted to share all the blessings of the Constitution, and as such it ought to be continued. In the last Encyclical Letter, to question the power of the Head of the Church in any matter of jurisdiction was condemned as an error. Considering that this declaration of power on the part of the Pope had been followed by the appointment of the new Archbishop of Westminster, could it be said that the oath was not necessary? To abrogate it now, would be most mischievous. It would be an acknowledgment that the Roman Catholics were free to attack the Church. The Bill was a greater and wider measure than it appeared to be. It affected the constitution, the Church, and the property of the country, and he should therefore vote against it.

Mr. Walpole was opposed to the proposed change, though his objections were expressed in somewhat modified terms. He argued that, unless it could be shown, as it had not been, that there was some positive grievance felt by the Roman Catholic subjects of the Queen, it was only fair and just to the larger portion of the community, the Protestants, that the House should not consent to break through the conditions on which the Act of 1829 was passed. The second reading of the Bill ought to be opposed, because it disturbed that settlement, without providing one form of oath for all; and until the Government were prepared on their responsibility to recommend such a form of oath, he would rather leave the matter as it stood than stir up new matter for dissension.

The Conservative party did not, however, without exception, oppose the Bill. Lord H. Lennox, among others, supported it, arguing that it contained no new principle, for one uniform oath was taken by witnesses in the Courts of Law, by Privy Councillors, and by officers in the army and navy. He desired also to see an assimilation of the oaths taken by all Members of the House of Commons.

The principle of the Bill was supported by Sir George Grey and by Mr. Chichester Fortescue. In answer to the allegation of a compact assented to on both sides at the passing of the Act of 1829, they reminded the House of the circumstances under which that measure was passed. When Sir R. Peel and the Duke of Wellington were convinced that the measure was essential to the welfare of the country, they used every means to insure its success. They were beset with difficulties, and adopted the oath for the Catholic Members from an earnest desire that the measure might not fail. At that time the oath was thought necessary, but it was unjust to quote their declarations as reasons that should preclude the House of Commons from making any changes now. Little



importance should be attached to such expressions of opinion by men too absorbed in the agitation of the time to recognize the inexpediency of the limitations that still continued to impair the effect of a great act of justice. It was by no means certain what meaning was then attached to the oath, as while the advocates of emancipation approved it, Sir C. Wetherell treated it with the greatest contempt. The oath remained ambiguous, and if so, its tendency was immoral. Since 1829 a change had been made in the oath taken by Protestant Members of Parliament; but the Catholic oath had never been altered, and must be more offensive now to those on whom it was enforced than it was in 1829. Was it fair on the part of the majority of the House to retain this special and offensive oath for the minority? There were still doubts as to how far it was regarded, in 1829, as restricting the action of Catholic Members in their legislative capacity. And if a supposed hostility to the Church was a good reason for retaining such an oath, it might be required from some Members of the House who were not Catholics. There were portions of the oath that were needlessly offensive; and these it was proposed to remove by the Bill. It was much to be desired that one uniform oath should be prescribed to be taken without variation by all Members of Parliament.

The second reading was affirmed, on a division, by a majority of 190 to 134.

On a subsequent stage of the Bill, the motion to go into Committee, the opposition was renewed with considerable vigour. Mr. Newdegate moved the amendment for its rejection. He again urged the argument, that the oath which the Bill proposed to amend, was the result of a solemn compact, and if it were dealt with at all, it should be on the responsibility of the Government. Independently, therefore, of other considerations, he felt justified in objecting to the further progress of the Bill until the Government had the grace to favour the House with an announcement in some formal manner of what course they meant to pursue when the Bill was in Committee. Glancing at the quarter whence the proposal came for abrogating the oath, the hon. Member remarked that it would have emanated better from a Protestant Member than from one who, like Mr. Monsell, had taken a seat in the House under the compact concluded in 1829, and of which this oath was the record. He reminded the House of the revival in the recent Papal Encyclical of all the arrogant pretensions which had been put forth by the Popes when they were most powerful, and urged that, unless the promoters of the Bill could show that the opinions against which the oath was directed had ceased to be operative, and had been repudiated by the Papacy, there was no cause shown why Roman Catholic Members should not be required to disavow the doctrine that the Pope possessed the power of deposing excommunicated sovereigns, the right to excite their subjects in insurrection against them, and the power



of compassing the death of such sovereigns. The repudiation of these vile opinions was a duty of which every loyal Roman Catholic ought to be proud, instead of regarding it as an insult that he should be called upon to repudiate them.

Mr. Gregory supported the Bill, and said that the removal of every restriction imposed on the ground of religious opinion had strengthened the Established Church. Mr. Newdegate had cited several schoolmen and writers who had advocated the doctrine of the Pope's deposing power; but had not persons in this country who were neither Catholics nor schoolmen written on such topics? For example, Ponet, the Protestant Bishop of Winchester, had asserted that it would have been justifiable to assassinate Queen Mary. And who for the last 300 years had been the persons to do such things? Who brought Mary Queen of Scots to the block? The Protestants of England. Who brought Charles I. to the block? The Puritans of England. Who, again, deposed King James II.? The Protestants of England. On the other hand, what had been the conduct of the Roman Catholics, who were represented as being so completely under the sovereignty of the Vatican? When the Armada arrived off our coasts, all the Catholics rallied round Elizabeth, and Lord Howard of Effingham, a Catholic, commanded Her Majesty's fleet. With regard to what had been said about the settlement of property, Members should bear in mind that the promoter of this Bill (Mr. Monsell) and his friends had as much reason to dread a re-settlement as hon. gentlemen opposite.

Sir J. Pakington regretted that so important a measure had not been introduced on the responsibility of Government. It was his desire that Roman Catholics should participate in all the privileges of the Constitution, and he appealed to his vote on the Prisons Bill as a concession on his part to the fair and legitimate claims of his fellow-subjects of the Roman Catholic persuasion. He was willing to strike out from the oath all reference to the justifiable murder of princes excommunicated by the Pope, as well as the denial of mental reservation, but he could not consent to relax that portion of the oath which related to the settlement of property and the solemn abjuration of any intention to subvert the Church as by law established. If, therefore, Mr. Monsell would agree in Committee to reintroduce this safeguard, he would vote for going into Committee on the Bill.

Mr. Horsman, looking on the question as a Protestant, was prepared to give his cordial sanction to the Bill, as he had no faith in the cries which intolerance raised from time to time. He was in favour of one uniform oath of allegiance for all the Members of the House; and although he thought the subject was one that should be dealt with by the Government, he was willing to go into Committee on the Bill, as he considered it to be dictated equally by policy and justice.

Mr. Monsell having declined to accept the compromise which

had been tendered by Sir John Pakington, the House again proceeded to a division, in which the Ayes prevailed by a majority of 78.

Another attempt was made to modify the provisions of the Bill. Acting on the suggestion which had been thrown out by Sir J. Pakington in the former debate, Sir H. Cairns moved, on the Bill being committed, to restore, in the oath contained in this Bill, the following words prescribed by the Emancipation Act of 1829:—"I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws; and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, as settled by law within this realm; and I do solemnly swear, that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant Government in the United Kingdom." He agreed that the defence of the Church and of our Protestant institutions rested on the affections of the vast majority of the people, but no doubt one of the grounds for the maintenance of the Protestant Government and religion was the oath contained in the Act of 1829, the efficacy of which was shown by the abstinence of many gentlemen from voting on questions affecting the Church.

Mr. Disraeli avowed his opinion that there was nothing in the existing oath to offend the feelings of Roman Catholics. If he were a Roman Catholic he should not regard it in the light of an obstacle to his taking his seat. The grievance was merely speculative, not practical. He also objected that this Bill had been brought forward by a private Member, and that Member a Roman Catholic; and held that if the oath was to be altered at all, it should be upon the responsibility of Ministers, and should not be succeeded by another Roman Catholic oath. But if the Cabinet of the Queen were not prepared to undertake that duty, there was still the Cabinet of the House—he meant a Select Committee—where the question of adopting a uniform oath might be considered. Finding, however, that the principle of the Bill had been affirmed so repeatedly by the House, he had abandoned the idea of proposing to refer the question to such a tribunal, and should give his support to the amendment, because it supplied the omissions of the oath in the Bill with regard to the settlement of property, and the Protestant Government and institutions.

With respect to the Established Church and the possible bearing of the proposed measure upon its stability, Mr. Disraeli expressed himself in somewhat remarkable terms,—“If you ask me whether I think that the Established Church depends for its security upon any oaths that can be taken in any place, I candidly confess that I should have very little confidence in the future of the Established Church of this country, if it depended upon these oaths. I do not think that the Established Church in this country depends at all upon these oaths. Nor can

I take that view of the Established Church in Ireland which, to my astonishment, is sometimes even taken by its friends. It is sometimes spoken of as a weak institution, and one which is in great peril. I think it a strong institution. I have no doubt that, from the causes which I have indicated, the Established Church in both countries will flourish, and will increase in influence and authority. But if you ask me what will be the consequence at this time, especially in the face of the motions that have been made in this House, of the associations which are still formed in Ireland, and of the feeling prevalent upon these matters throughout the country generally, of Parliament coming forward and agreeing to the omission of language which was certainly introduced, and formally introduced, into these documents with a view, if not of defending the Established Church, at least of showing that the Parliament of England was resolved to recognize and maintain its authority; I reply that I believe they will be important and disastrous, especially to Roman Catholics themselves. I believe that it is a course which will be more calculated to revive that religious rancour which it has been the object of our policy for more than a quarter of a century to mitigate, to lead to exacerbation of feeling upon these matters, and to give authority to those unfounded statements which are often made with regard to the conduct and objects of Roman Catholics, than any other that could be pursued. Under these circumstances I can have no hesitation as to the course which I shall pursue. I shall support the motion for the introduction of these words, and I do so, not because I believe that their introduction is necessary for the maintenance of what is, next to the Throne, the strongest institution in the country, but because I believe that if there is created in the country a general opinion that Parliament has formally renounced its allegiance to the Established Church of this country, such a sentiment of alarm, and, perhaps, of indignation, will be excited, that that policy which I have always supported, and wish to support—namely, meeting the religious claims of our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen in a spirit of rational conciliation—will be greatly obstructed and endangered.”

The division on this motion was much closer than on the previous occasions, the amendment of Sir H. Cairns being rejected by a majority of 19 only. However, the result was taken as decisive of the measure, and the Bill passed through its succeeding stages without obstruction. In the House of Lords, however, its reception was very different. The second reading was moved by a Conservative Peer, the Earl of Devon, in a temperate speech. The noble lord stated the present form of the oath, and the alterations the Bill proposed to make in it. He hoped these alterations would be unanimously agreed to. He pointed out the various interpretations to which the oath was liable, and contended that it was not needed for the security of the Established Church, to which many bodies of Dissenters were more hostile even than



Roman Catholics. He believed the oath to be unjust and ineffectual, and denied that a Parliament sitting in 1865, with the experience of thirty-five years before it, was bound by the engagements of 1829. He believed the present Bill was required as a supplement to the Act of 1829, and he asked the House to agree to the measure, because what it proposed was a simple act of justice to those who were Members of a united Legislature.

The Earl of Derby, in an elaborate and powerful speech, opposed the Bill, and moved that it be postponed for six months. He regretted that he felt compelled to oppose the progress of a measure recommended by the attractive cry of political equality, and introduced by a temperate speech well calculated to conciliate support. He opposed the Bill because it was neither wise nor expedient to subvert the leading principles of the great settlement of 1829. Personally, he had never drawn the slightest distinction between Catholics and Protestants, whether his friends or his tenants; but this was a question of high political importance, not to be decided by personal feelings. In dealing with it, the welfare of the empire alone should be considered. The measure was ill-timed; on the eve of a general election, the question was calculated to excite angry feelings and personal animosities. Nor was it to the interest of Roman Catholics themselves that it should be brought forward at the present moment. Of late years religious jealousies had been greatly softened; but to bring forward imaginary grievances now would tend to excite them anew, and delay the removal of any real disadvantages under which the Catholics may labour. The measure was not supported by those great Catholic families who, before the Emancipation Act, felt they suffered under real disabilities, and therefore justly complained. Where, he asked, were the petitions in favour of the Bill, and who were they who complained of oppression and desired to be set free? Where were the Roundells, the Howards, the Stourtons, the Talbots, the Petres, the Cliffords, and others who, in time gone by, had made sacrifices for their religious opinions? Not one of them was before Parliament now, and the reason was that they were content with the present position of affairs, and had no substantial grievance to complain of. The grievances now alleged were merely imaginary. The oath deprived no Catholic of any political privilege to which he had a right. The Catholics knew that the restrictions it imposed were not framed by a grudging Protestant Parliament, but were actually proposed by the Roman Catholics themselves. He reminded the House of the circumstances under which the Emancipation Act was passed. The unreformed Parliament of that day was, on this question, in advance of the public mind, which was pervaded by a strong sense of danger. The measure was forced by Parliament on a reluctant Ministry, and by that Ministry on a still more reluctant Sovereign. The form of oath was, therefore, enacted as a safeguard against the danger they foresaw, and was practically introduced at the instance of the



Roman Catholic body. His lordship then traced the history of the question from 1657 down to 1829, and proceeded to analyze the language of the oath as it at present stands. There were parts of that oath which, if the Catholics thought them offensive, as he himself believed them to be unnecessary, he should not object to see struck out. Then, it might be asked, Why not assent to the second reading, and suggest the amendments you approve in Committee? In the first place, that proposal had been made and rejected in the House of Commons. But he had offered to abstain from any opposition to the Bill, provided the Government would lend their influence to restore to the oath those portions he thought essential, and he was prepared even now to withdraw his opposition on those terms. But if this could not be effected, if the Bill could not be passed without destroying the security provided for the Established Church in Ireland, then he was compelled to oppose as a whole the measure which omitted what he thought it essential to retain.

With regard to this point, Lord Derby expressed himself as follows,—“I hold that to a certain extent this oath is a real security to the Established Church. It is a recognition by Parliament of the inviolability of that Church as a portion of the Constitution. It is binding upon men of honourable minds, and other men cannot be bound by any oath. It is not ambiguous if a man will look at it clearly in the light of those who framed it and imposed it. I believe that it has acted as a protection to the Established Church, and I believe still further that its abolition would be a serious injury and heavy blow to that Church, and would indicate a disposition on the part of Parliament which, however it may be professed even in high quarters, will, I trust, meet with no sanction from your lordships, or even from the other House of Parliament. In the course of the debate elsewhere an hon. gentleman had used an expression which was certainly more forcible than elegant. He said that ‘the object of this Bill was to unmuzzle the senators.’ Unmuzzle them for what purpose? ‘Unmuzzle us,’ says an hon. gentleman who has lately been returned for an Irish county by the influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood,—‘unmuzzle us;’ and why? Because we are harmless? No. ‘Because we want to bite.’ If a man comes to me with a dog with a muzzle on, and says, ‘Take the muzzle off this poor creature; he will do us no harm, he is quite harmless; and, besides, the muzzle is half-rotten and affords no great protection,’ I understand him; but if he says, ‘This is a most vicious animal, and nothing prevents his pulling you and me to pieces except the muzzle which is put round his nose, and therefore I want you to take it off,’ I am inclined to say, ‘I am very much obliged to you, but I had rather keep the muzzle on.’ The very argument which is made use of to induce us to take the muzzle off, is in direct contradiction to the ingenious contention of my noble friend, that, in point of fact, the restraint is perfectly inefficacious; that it is only a vexatious impediment, and not

one which affords any real protection. I regret having detained your lordships so long, but I wish to place distinctly before you and the country the position in which I stand, and in which I desire to stand. For forty-three years I have been anxious to extend the fullest amount of civil and religious liberty to all my fellow-countrymen. I have invariably supported every claim of the Roman Catholics which I did not conceive to be injurious to or destructive of that Church of which I am an attached member. I believe that the removal of restrictions which do not really impose any burden or any hardship upon the Roman Catholics, who have obtained their present position in virtue of taking that oath, will be worse than useless, and will open the door to serious attacks upon the Protestant Church of Ireland. Is this the proper moment to select for taking off any of those restrictions which form the safeguards, however slight, for the security of the Protestant religion? Can we say that there is no desire at the present time on the part of a large portion of the Roman Catholics to subvert and destroy the securities for the Established Church in that country? Can we say so in the face of the statements put forth in reference to the approaching election—that Members will be returned for the especial object of subverting that Church? Is this the moment to relax our vigilance, when, from persons as high in authority as a Minister of the Crown, the Church of Ireland is held forth as an object, not for immediate assault, but for assault at no distant date; and with that knowledge and conviction are you prepared, not now to come to a vote that that Church be destroyed and overwhelmed, for that would be the honest course, but to take with your eyes open, and with these declarations made to you, measures relative to Roman Catholics which will pave the way for the contemplated attack, and leave the walls of the fortress absolutely undefended and open to the first assault made against it? If this measure was to have been brought forward at all, it should have been brought forward after serious investigation of the arguments by which the restrictions were supported at the time of the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill; it should have been brought forward with the full strength and authority of the Government, who should not have sheltered themselves, as they have done on the present occasion, under the wing of a highly respectable private individual. The Ministers should have come forward in support of the measure with the authority of the Crown and of the Government, and there should have been a clear statement of their intentions and objects. If I could have relieved the Roman Catholics from that which they feel degrading and harsh, I should have only been too glad to have joined in sweeping away that which is considered superfluous and offensive, provided Her Majesty's Government would have permitted me to do so; but they say, 'No, you shall not strike out this part of the oath, unless you strike out that part of the oath which was intended to be a safeguard to the Established Church,' and the removal of which would agitate the

Protestant mind of the country, and would encourage the Roman Catholics to commit assaults upon the Church which appears to be about to be abandoned. If upon these conditions alone I can confer the boon I should desire upon the Roman Catholics, I have no alternative but to stand by that Church which I have supported from the earliest period I could think, and which I am not likely to abandon for any fanciful advantages at the time when I am approaching the confines of the grave."

Earl Russell agreed that it was no light matter to re-open the Catholic question; but a most influential section of the Roman Catholic body declared that the retention of certain parts of the oath was a grievance. By admitting his readiness to omit certain parts of the oath, he thought Lord Derby had removed one of the great objections to the Bill. If the oath was modified at all, surely all those parts should be omitted which the Catholics considered offensive. His own objection to the passages in the oath Lord Derby wished to retain, was that they were contrary to the principle of the Relief Act, in direct contradiction to the spirit of the present age, and no security whatever to the institutions of the country. He quoted some of the speeches of Sir R. Peel in 1829 in support of this opinion. With regard to the security supposed to be afforded to the Established Church by this oath, Lord Russell was of opinion that it offered none which could not be given in a less objectionable form. At the present moment the Legislature gave to Protestants a power of which Catholics were deprived—namely, the power of objecting to the endowment of the Church Establishment, and of endeavouring to deprive the Church of her revenues. Although Roman Catholic Members were enjoined to take the oath, the absurdity of the position in which Parliament was placed was, that a Roman Catholic constituency might elect Protestants who would not be under the same obligation, and who would have no hesitation in cutting off the revenues of the Church at the first favourable opportunity. All Members of Parliament ought, in his opinion, to be placed on a footing of equality, and, after entering Parliament, should have the power of voting according to their conscientious convictions. He regarded the oath as contrary to the intentions with which the Act of Emancipation was passed, and certainly as contrary to the spirit of the age.

The Earl of Harrowby could not think that the measure was a concession to civil and religious liberty. He believed the oath was framed as a specific security for the Irish Church. Without giving an impulse to the attempts to destroy that Church by a side wind, Parliament could not now alter the oath. Because the words did not give a perfect security, did they afford no security at all? The oath of allegiance did not protect the Sovereign from conspiracy, but placing it on the Statute Book contributed materially to that security. He denied that the oath was any grievance. He therefore objected to the second reading.



Earl Grey contended that the maintenance of the oath, far from being of any service to the Church, was in reality injurious to it. He argued with great force against the doctrine of a permanent settlement or compact which was to preclude Parliament from dealing as it thought fit with these tests,—“I was always taught to believe that it was not the right of any Legislature to bind succeeding Legislatures—that the Parliament of 1829 had no right to bind the Parliament of 1865. Your lordships will remember that that question was argued in this House by one whose name I have the honour to bear, and whom I very unworthily succeed in this question—he argued with regard to the coronation oath, with great success as it seemed to me, that it could not be held to bind the Crown against giving its assent to any Act which the wisdom of Parliament might think necessary for the welfare of the people. So it appears to me that every Member of the Legislature is under a higher obligation to give his vote according to his conscience for the good of the country, and no oath imposed by the authority of a previous Parliament can fetter him in the exercise of his judgment. The experience we have had with regard to former measures shows that that is the construction which has been generally put on the oath. I apprehend that no Bill for altering the existing law with reference to the Church Establishment in Ireland can pass until there comes to be so great a change of opinion in England and Scotland that the British Parliament is prepared to pass a Bill for the purpose. But if that does come to be the opinion of England and Scotland, this oath would be so flimsy an obstacle to the passing of such a Bill that it would be immediately swept away. If public opinion were satisfied that such an alteration ought to take place, Parliament would have no difficulty whatever in sweeping away the oath as a preliminary measure. This security, therefore, which you value so highly, is utterly imaginary. It protects you so long as there is no danger, but the moment there is a prospect of Parliament passing a Bill of this nature, your security is morally certain to be swept away.” Finally, Lord Grey expressed his belief that the struggle for the removal of the Irish Church must come sooner or later, but the rejection of this Bill would only accelerate that struggle, and embitter the feelings of both parties. Those who wished to prevent the subversion of the Irish Church would act unwisely in voting against the present measure.

The Bill was further supported by speeches from Lord Lyveden and the Marquis of Clanricarde. On the other side, the speakers were Lord Chelmsford, Lord St. Leonards, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and the Marquis of Westmeath. The numbers on a division were, contents 63, non-contents 84. So the Bill was lost by twenty-one votes.

Some discussions interesting to members of the Church of England, though not leading to any practical result, took place in the House of Lords, towards the conclusion of the Session. One



of these arose upon a petition presented by Lord Lyttelton, praying for an increase of the Episcopate. The noble lord urged the importance of some measure in this direction upon Her Majesty's Government, who alone were capable of dealing with it in a satisfactory manner.

The Archbishop of Canterbury thought their lordships were very much indebted to the noble lord for having brought this subject forward, and he only regretted that he did not intend to propose any legislation on the subject. When he had requested the noble lord to postpone the presentation of the petition until his episcopal brethren could be present, it was not in the hope of being able to bring forward any additional arguments, because, in truth, the arguments had been used so frequently that they would not bear repeating. It certainly seemed hard, when the population had increased fourfold since the time of Henry VIII., that every attempt to increase the number of bishops should meet with opposition. Though it was his earnest wish that the most perfect harmony should exist between the clergy and the Government, of whatever party it might be composed, he could not refrain from saying that the discouragement which had been given by the Government to these efforts had created the greatest disappointment and dissatisfaction. Undoubtedly, in the matter of endowment, there was a difficulty in appealing to the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; but the devotion of a certain portion of ecclesiastical revenue to the purpose of endowing bishoprics would not involve the loss of any relief of spiritual destitution. Wherever additional bishoprics had been created, there had immediately followed a great impulse to religious zeal and activity. The example of the colonial bishoprics might be appealed to in this respect, and particularly the great increase of the Church and clergy which followed the division of the great diocese of Calcutta, which once comprised not only the Indian Peninsula, but Ceylon and Australia. The petition of Convocation referred to three new dioceses—Bodmin or Truro, Southwark, and St. Alban's. Great anxiety on the subject existed in the districts themselves, and petitions had been presented signed by persons of every political party and of every phase of opinion in the Church.

Lord Russell said there were difficulties in the question which could not be overlooked, nor entirely controlled. The present Government had not shown itself indifferent to the wants of the Church, and he referred to the creation of the Bishoprics of Manchester and Ripon in support of his assertion.

Lord Shaftesbury thought a development of the parochial system was more necessary than an extension of the Episcopacy. Except in the rural parishes, that system was at present a delusion.

The Bishop of Oxford contended that Lord Shaftesbury had taken a low view of the question. He was bound to show that, by concurring with the prayer of the petition, they would not be promoting the interests of the mass of the people, and that in the

most effectual manner. The establishment of three new bishoprics would not take away one farthing from parochial purposes. He believed, if an appeal were rightly made to the people, funds for the endowment of new bishoprics would not be wanting.

After a few words from Lord Harrowby and the Bishop of Chichester, in favour of a moderate increase of the Episcopate, the discussion terminated.

In reply to a question from Lord Ebury, respecting a Revision of the Liturgy and the Ritual of the Church, and the indiscriminate use of the Burial Service, the Archbishop of Canterbury said, as to the revision of the Liturgy, the Government having this year introduced the Clergy Subscriptions Bill, thought one question of this kind was enough at a time. The proposal for a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject had, therefore, been deferred till another year. As to the Ritual, no measure was in contemplation that would put an end to the practices complained of; and as to the Burial Service, there were strong objections to any alterations in it.

The subject of Church Rates, so fertile a source of discussion and controversy of late years, was scarcely mooted in the present Session, the only exception being the proposal by Mr. Newdegate of a Bill which, however, failed to pass a second reading. Mr. Newdegate's plan was to substitute a charge of twopence in the pound on real property, in lieu of existing Church Rates, extending only to such property as had been assessed to Church Rates in the last seven years, and to parishes in which Church Rates had not been rejected on three several occasions; the proceeds to be applied to the maintenance of the fabrics of churches and the carrying on of the services. He only asked the House to sanction the principle of the Bill by reading it a second time, and then to refer it to a Select Committee.

The House, however, showed no disposition to entertain such a measure. Sir Charles Douglas, Mr. Hadfield, Mr. Gilpin, and other Members, opposed the scheme, because it sought to commute Church Rates instead of abolishing them. Sir George Grey advised Mr. Newdegate not to press the Bill, on the consideration that the question ought to be submitted to the country at the impending general election, and to be determined by the new Parliament.

Mr. Newdegate being unwilling to withdraw his motion, the second reading of the Bill was negatived, on a division, by 126 to 42.

The system of National Education which of late years had been the subject of much controversy, and occupied a good deal of attention in Parliament, was not often adverted to in the House of Commons during the present Session. The subject was not, however, neglected, for shortly after the meeting of Parliament the administration of the Education Department was called into question on a motion made by Sir J. Pakington for a Select Committee

to inquire into the constitution of the Committee of Council and the system under which the business of the office was conducted. The hon. Baronet explained that he had two objects in view. First, such a recognition of the Department entrusted with the superintendence of education as would make it better adapted for the important functions it had to discharge; and secondly, that the department should be so organized as to enable it to carry out what it did not even now attempt—the extension of Parliamentary assistance to public education, not only in the favoured and wealthy districts, but in the whole of England and Wales. The defective working of the Education Department had excited a strong feeling of dissatisfaction, not so much from the fault of the Minister as from the constitution of the Board itself. The conscience clause had been put in force without having been previously submitted to the House for its sanction, and there was a large extent of country virtually excluded from assistance by grants from the Council.

Mr. Walter moved, as an amendment, to add to the motion, “and also into the best mode of extending the benefits of Government inspection and the Parliamentary grant to schools at present unassisted by the State.” After stating the reasons which had led him to take this course in order to bring the subject before the House, and observing that he had made the terms of the amendment so extensive as to embrace all plans in the proposed inquiry, he gave a short history of the educational grants and of the large amount of money expended, and the great number of schools which were without any annual grant. He urged that it was a fit subject of inquiry whether the Parliamentary grant should not be extended to schools without reference to certificated masters. In discussing the objections to this proposal, he replied *seriatim* to those suggested by Mr. Norris, and he shortly adverted, in conclusion, to an alternative plan, of the success of which he had some doubt.

Mr. Lowe, after explaining the principles to which the Committee of Council had hitherto adhered, stated his objections to the dispensing with certificated masters as a condition of the Parliamentary grant, the master being an agent for the distribution of public money, and his competency being a security for the efficiency of the schools. The very keystone of the existing system was the efficiency of the teachers; and, if they parted with this, the consequence must be a reckless expenditure, that would be most discreditable to the Government. Mr. Lowe replied to the speech of Sir J. Pakington, defending the system of the office and the constitution of the Department of Education, in which he could see, he said, no fault or defect, and, insisting upon the inconveniences that would attend the concentration of the functions of the Committee of Council in a single Minister, he thought it would not be wise to change the organization of the

Department, of the career and public services of which, under a constitution that had been alleged to be faulty, he gave a forcible description. The Department, he observed, was overworked; the proposed changes would throw it out of gear and revolutionize the whole system of public education, under which vast sums had been spent upon the faith that it would endure.

Mr. Adderley thought that the apprehensions of Mr. Lowe as to the effect of the appointment of the proposed Committee were groundless. The present constitution of the Department, in his opinion, was not satisfactory, and was a subject well worthy of inquiry.

Mr. H. A. Bruce (Vice-President of the Committee of Council) did not offer any opposition to the motion or the amendment, and thought the appointment of a Committee would serve the useful purpose of restoring a good understanding between the House and the Education Department. Sir J. Pakington, he observed, had confounded the defects of the system with those alleged in the organization of the Department. The defects in the system were notorious; difficulties interposed to prevent its improvement in the many irreconcilable theories suggested, but there had been modifications of the Code.

Lord R. Cecil disputed the argument of Mr. Lowe that there was no want of fixed responsibility in the Committee of Council, for that the whole responsibility rested with Lord Granville; and that the Minister of Education ought to have a seat, not in the House of Commons, but in the House of Lords. He claimed for the House of Commons a larger jurisdiction over the Education Department, and a greater control over acts affecting such wide interests,—the education of the people and the expenditure of a large amount of public money. There was a feeling of discontent out of doors with the Department, which should be made the subject of careful inquiry, to see where responsibility really rested.

Mr. Henley noticed the confusion in the system of working the Education Department in relation to religious teaching. He thought the inquiry would do good by searching into the whole system of the working of the office: if it was found to be defective, the defects might be remedied; if not, the public would be satisfied.

After various comments from other Members, the House adopted the motion, together with Mr. Walter's amendment, and a Committee of Inquiry was appointed.

The general results of the system during the preceding year were stated by Mr. H. A. Bruce, on moving the vote, amounting in the whole to 693,038*l.*, for Public Education in Great Britain. Mr. Bruce stated that the expenditure last year on this account was 655,041*l.*, including building grants, &c. The average daily attendance of scholars had been 794,000, and 7891 schools, and



1,133,000 children had been inspected, being 40,000 more than in the previous year. The number of scholars presented for individual examination was 523,713, being equivalent to two presented for every three attending school. The number of failures amongst those examined was, in reading 12 per cent., in writing 14 per cent., and arithmetic 24 per cent. This was a slight improvement as compared with the percentage of the preceding year. The estimate for the current year would include 73,000*l.* for Scotland, 430,000*l.* for England, 30,000*l.* for building grants, 80,000*l.* for normal schools, and 76,000*l.* cost of inspection and management.

Referring to the effects which had followed from the adoption of the Revised Code, Mr. Bruce expressed a confident opinion that the working of it had been beneficial. He had no doubt that in many cases it had made managers more aware of the defects of their schools and schoolmasters, and they had clear proof of the effects which that knowledge had produced. He did not deny that it was possible under the Revised Code that the attention of school managers and schoolmasters might be too exclusively given to those matters which produced pecuniary results—viz. reading, writing, and arithmetic—to the neglect of other subjects adapted to open the mind and interest the children. Yet the great object they had to attain in schools especially intended for the working classes must be to enable them to master the first elements of knowledge; and he felt sure that their present system was calculated to produce that result. But when they found that a large portion of the scholars who left school at the age of ten were able to pass a satisfactory examination in these elementary subjects, it would be time enough to take measures for securing other results.

The vote was passed by the House with very little comment.

The vote for Education in Ireland, amounting to 325,583*l.*, was moved by Sir R. Peel, who in so doing reviewed the operations of the National Board during the three decennial periods from 1834, and described the present state of education in respect of the number of schools, scholars, and teachers, which he represented as being perfectly satisfactory, and working harmoniously for the interest of the country.

In the course of the debate which followed, Mr. Whiteside contrasted the system of the Church Education Society with that of the National Board, and complained that the schools of the former were excluded from the State grant, simply because the reading of the Scriptures formed part of the instruction given there.

The O'Connor Don said the increase in the number of pupils was to be accounted for by the fact that the Irish people had no other schools, not that they were entirely satisfied with the present system. He could not concur in the opinion that it was the duty of the State to provide for the people any thing more than an elementary education, or to give an education to those who were able to pay for it for themselves.

Mr. Lefroy said he did not desire, under present circumstances,

to oppose the grant to the National Board. It would not be denied that a Board presided over by commissioners of high rank and position and administering funds to the amount of 325,000*l.* a year conferred a great amount of good upon the country. Yet he, and those who thought with him, had some reason to complain that a favour was granted to one portion of the population which was denied to another. The Protestant clergy of Ireland were not able, on conscientious grounds, to partake of this grant, and he concurred in their objection. They were bound to instruct their flocks in the Holy Scriptures, and many of them, being men of straitened means, deprived themselves of the comforts of life to support their schools, which ought to receive a portion of this grant. The Protestants of Ireland could not accede to the present system, and the House ought to take such measures as would give them an opportunity of sharing this grant. He could not concur in the grant of 2000*l.* to the teachers in convent schools. In the county of Cork there were nineteen of these convent schools. One of the Commissioners (he did not know whether he was a Commissioner at the present moment) was strongly opposed to the transfer of popular education to monastic teachers, and another high authority, Mr. Sheridan, stated that in the Killarney district no day school by lay teachers would be tolerated. It happened, however, that a considerable number of Roman Catholics could not be induced to send their children to convent schools, and when the lay schools were abolished they could get no education at all.

Mr. Monsell said the difference between the National Board and the Church Education Society was, that the former did not force any child to receive religious instruction to which its parents objected, while the Church Education Society denied the benefit of its secular instruction to all children whose parents would not consent to their receiving religious instruction. There were now 15,000 Roman Catholic children in those schools receiving religious instruction from persons not of their own persuasion. He protested against such a system, believing that the first principle of public education in Ireland should be the absence of all attempts at proselytism.

Mr. Cardwell observed that the two rules governing the national system in Ireland were plain. One was that in school hours the teaching should be of such a character that all Christians might partake of it; and the other rule was that when religious teaching of a peculiar character was given, children whose parents objected should not be compelled to attend. If the schools to which Mr. Whiteside had referred would conform to those simple rules, they could receive the benefits of the public grant; but, if they did not, then no amount of eloquence or mystification would entitle them to those advantages.

Mr. P. Hennessy thought that Ireland ought to be treated like England, where grants were given to the denominational schools. When the clergy of the Established Church in Ireland and the

Catholic clergy were both opposed to the present system, it was strange that Government should take no steps to meet the wishes of those two great bodies.

Mr. Dawson thought it would be most unfortunate if these grants became denominational. Such a change would destroy the whole system of education in Ireland—a system which was gaining on the confidence and affection of the people, and which was likely to be of great advantage to the country. He trusted it would go forth that there was in this House a general concurrence as to the value of the existing system, and that the wish to disturb it was only shared by a small minority.

Ultimately the vote as proposed by Sir R. Peel was agreed to.

A more important discussion relative to education in Ireland as affecting a higher class of students was raised by the O'Donoghue, who, shortly before the end of the Session, moved an address to the Crown representing to Her Majesty that conscientious objections to the present system of University education in Ireland prevented a large number of Her Majesty's subjects from enjoying the advantages of University education, and praying that such steps may be taken as would remove this grievance. If he proved, he said, the existence of such conscientious objections on the part of Roman Catholics in Ireland, and that such objections had the effect of excluding them from the advantages of University education, he proved the existence of a great grievance, which it must be the desire of the House to see removed. He proceeded to establish his first proposition by showing that the number of Catholics availing themselves of University education in Ireland was very small compared with that of Protestants, and that the disproportion was likely to increase. The remedy was simple; let a charter with the power of conferring degrees, and a charter of incorporation, be granted to a Catholic University. In the name of the Catholics of Ireland, in the name of justice, he asked the House to remove these educational disabilities from so large a portion of their fellow-subjects.

A debate of considerable interest ensued, which elicited important declarations from the Government. Sir G. Grey, premising that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were entitled to have their case fairly considered, observed that, since the establishment of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, and their erection into a University, degrees might be obtained by Roman Catholics who had studied either at Trinity College, Dublin, or at one or other of the Queen's Colleges; so that, in the existing state of the law, it was a question whether it could be said that any Roman Catholic in Ireland was debarred from obtaining a degree. In England, at the London University, there was a system of perfect equality, and he saw no reason why there should not be a similar system in Ireland. An exclusively Roman Catholic University, with the power of granting degrees, would not meet the inconvenience to the fullest extent, and would be open to objections; but



the object might be obtained by the enlargement of the power of the Queen's University in Ireland, so as to remove restrictions, and, admitting that the Roman Catholics had ground of complaint, if the matter were left in the hands of the Government, they would undertake to consider the subject.

Mr. Whiteside, in a speech of considerable length, opposed the motion, arguing that the effect of establishing a Roman Catholic University would be to overthrow the policy upon which the Queen's Colleges were founded; that its object was to separate the youth of the country into two classes, and to put an end to mixed education in Ireland.

Mr. Monsell showed the practical working of the present system of University education in Ireland, which, he contended, had failed in its object. He approved the suggestion of Sir G. Grey.

Mr. Hennessy supported the motion, considering that the compromise offered by Sir G. Grey would not satisfy the Irish Catholic Bishops or the great body of the Catholics of Ireland.

Lord Dunkellin thought the compromise fairly met the conscientious objections of Roman Catholics.

Mr. O'Reilly held that, although education ought to be denominational, the test of education need not be so. He should prefer a Roman Catholic University; at the same time he thought a strong case was made out for the proposal sketched by Sir G. Grey, which he approved, on certain conditions.

Mr. Newdegate apprehended that, unless great care was taken in the organization of the new University, the same principle of exclusion practised at Maynooth would prevail there. He deprecated the giving facilities to the education of the youth of Ireland in the intolerant principles of the Church of Rome.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer disclaimed, on the part of the Government, the intention imputed to them, of founding a Roman Catholic University. Their intention was merely to remove certain civil disabilities under which the Catholics laboured in the matter of University education. It would, he said, be repugnant to the wish and design of the Government if it were supposed that, by acceding to the motion, they expressed any change of policy as to the Queen's Colleges. The O'Donoghue had refused, on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to be content with any thing short of an exclusive Roman Catholic University; but other Roman Catholic Members had accepted the proffer of the Government, and this would afford encouragement to them to proceed in their plan. He enumerated the reasons which had led the Government not to accede to the proposal to establish an exclusively Roman Catholic University, observing at the same time that it would not be right, on account of any possible injury to the Queen's Colleges, to refuse to remove the admitted disabilities of Catholics. The Queen's Colleges were intended for the people of Ireland, not the people of Ireland for the Colleges.

Mr. Henley observed that the admission which had been made



on behalf of Her Majesty's Government was thoroughly in favour of denominational education as opposed to mixed education, which meant, in fact, education without religion. The time was certainly approaching, although he could scarcely hope that he should live to see it, when the system of mixed education would be altogether swept away, and denominational education substituted for it. It was every man's natural wish that his children should be brought up in the religion that he believed to be right, and not that they should acquire mere learning, unsupported by those religious principles which would render their education useful to themselves and to their fellow-creatures. Experience had shown that the "godless" system was a failure, except in one instance in the north of Ireland, and in that instance, through the Catholic element withdrawing itself, the mixed college had become a Presbyterian, and, therefore, a denominational college. Having a strong opinion in favour of denominational education, he was glad to see that Government intended to do away with the present system of godless education.

Other Members, chiefly those from Ireland, expressed satisfaction at the intentions intimated by the Government; and the O'Donoghue explained that in the observations which he had made with reference to the Queen's Colleges he meant to say that these colleges did not meet the requirements of the Catholics of Ireland. There could be no mistake about the fact that the Government had admitted the truth of the proposition laid down in his motion, that there were objections to the present system of University education in Ireland; and though they had not thought fit to adopt the plan which he thought best calculated to remove these objections, still he admitted that the proposition of the Government was one which, when well matured and developed, might possibly be worthy of consideration. He felt that he should not be acting with fairness if he did not express his thanks to the Government for the candid manner in which they had acted; and with the permission of the House he would withdraw his motion.

A few days after this debate took place, Mr. P. Hennessy revived the subject in the House of Commons, by referring to a rumour which had got abroad, to the effect that negotiations had taken place between Her Majesty's Government and the Roman Catholic Bishops, on the subject of the proposal recently made on the subject of the Roman Catholic University. Having read a letter from the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam in contradiction of this report, Mr. Hennessy called on the Home Secretary to say how the matter stood. Sir George Grey stated, without hesitation, that since the time when he made the statement on the part of the Government in that House, on the motion brought forward by the hon. Member for Tralee, he had had no formal communication with any persons on the subject of the change to be made in the charter of the Queen's University, in order to meet the views and wishes of the Roman Catholics in Ireland in relation

to obtaining University degrees. He had communicated privately with the Lord-Lieutenant and several friends connected with Ireland, in order to ascertain in what manner the object could best be effected in accordance with the wishes of those who were chiefly interested; but he had had no communication, direct or indirect, formal or private, with any member of the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the subject. He had stated that the Government thought it just and reasonable that the same facilities substantially should be given to Roman Catholics in Ireland to obtain University degrees as were enjoyed by others of Her Majesty's subjects, and they were prepared to act fully in accordance with that declaration. He had advised that such a change should be made in the charter of the Queen's University in Ireland as would accomplish the object. He might be allowed to add that the manner in which the proposal of the Government had been received by the Roman Catholic body was entirely satisfactory.

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## CHAPTER V.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—Proposal of Mr. Baines for a Bill to reduce the borough franchise to 6*l*.—Important discussions on this measure—Lord Elcho moves the “previous question”—Mr. Lowe, in an impressive speech, declares against the scheme—Views of Sir George Grey, Mr. R. Osborne, Mr. Horsman, and Mr. Disraeli—The Bill is rejected upon the second reading—Lord Elcho gives notice to move for a Commission of Inquiry on the Reform question.—*The Ballot*—Mr. H. Berkeley brings on his annual motion in favour of that measure—He is answered by Lord Palmerston, and the motion is negatived.—AMENDMENT OF THE POOR LAW—*The Union Rating Bill* brought in by Mr. Villiers, President of the Poor Law Board—Object and character of this measure—It is warmly debated in the House of Commons—Division of the Conservative party on the question—Mr. Henley and other representatives of the landed interest strenuously oppose the Bill—The House decides in favour of the second reading by a considerable majority—Mr. G. Bentinck raises the question of re-adjusting the limits of unions—The proposal is negatived—Mr. Henley moves amendments to effect the total abolition of the power of removal—Mr. Villiers opposes the amendments as impracticable and premature—The amendments are rejected—Other alterations in the Bill proposed and adopted—Reception of the measure in the House of Lords—The Duke of Rutland moves that it be referred to a Select Committee; but the House, after full debate, adopt the Bill by a large majority.—*Measures of practical reform*—Bill for the construction of new courts of justice—Necessity of this measure—It is passed after some opposition—Reform in the administration of Greenwich Hospital—A Bill is passed to provide for a better application of the revenues and improved system of management—A Bill proposed for the better regulation of the public schools—It passes the House of Lords, but, being sent too late to the House of Commons, is postponed.

If no other obstacle had existed to the consideration of the question of Electoral Reform, the last Session of an expiring Parliament was certainly not the time when that subject could be advantageously entertained by the House of Commons. Never-

theless, the zeal of some advocates of the cause would not permit them to forego any opportunity of advancing it in public favour, or testing the sincerity of its professed supporters. Mr. Baines, the Member for Leeds, who had identified his name with the project of lowering the rate of the Elective Franchise in the English boroughs, was not deterred by the unpromising circumstances of the times from again pressing that measure upon the attention of the Legislature. The scheme of Mr. Baines was to extend the franchise to the occupiers of all houses of not less than 6*l.* value, and having obtained leave to introduce a Bill for that purpose, he moved the second reading on the 3rd of May, and so far attained his object as to give rise to a debate of considerable interest, and to elicit from Members of various political views some important expressions of opinion. In introducing his motion he reminded the House that, on no less than five occasions, the defective state of the franchise had been acknowledged in the Speech from the Throne to Parliament, and four Prime Ministers had introduced measures to remedy the defect. That House had passed without a division the second reading of a Bill to reform the representation; and the House which preceded it had rejected a Bill proposed by the Derby Administration, because it fell short of being a true measure of Reform. He (Mr. Baines) had been unwilling to take charge of this measure, wishing to leave it in the hands of Mr. Gladstone, whose sentiments expressed on the subject during last Session had called forth much gratitude; but, having been disappointed in that hope, and finding that the Government had laid aside Reform, he felt bound to continue his advocacy of a portion of the subject, especially as he had been urged to that duty by distinct expressions of feeling from public meetings in his own borough. As to the point that the last year of the Parliament was an inopportune moment for such a change in the representation, the precedent of 1832, when a new constituency was created, registered, and a general election carried through exactly under the same circumstances of time as now, disposed of that objection. Indeed, it was an advantage to pass a Reform Bill in the last Session of a Parliament rather than in the beginning of a new one, as it might prevent the necessity of two general elections within a limited period. He urged that the present Government was pledged to Parliamentary Reform, and the measure he now proposed was copied, so far as the borough franchise was concerned, from a Bill framed by Lord Russell, and its object was distinctly to introduce a considerable number of the working class to the suffrage. If the Government had staked their office on a measure of Reform, it would have been carried, although he admitted that apathy out of doors might have chilled their energy in regard to it. He was, however, confident that there would be a revival of a popular call for Reform, and that it would be wisest to discuss and settle that question in time of calm, lest some day it should take the shape of a demand for universal suffrage. In England and Wales, with a



population of twenty millions, five millions of whom were adult males, the number of voters was not much above 800,000. The upper and middle classes, however, were abundantly represented—indeed, had it entirely to themselves; while three-fourths of the population—the working classes—were wholly unrepresented. Looking to their qualities and their contribution to the prosperity of the country, it was not safe to leave such a class under the influence of a degrading grievance. The hon. gentleman proceeded to quote statistics to show the advance of the working classes in education and intelligence, and stated that the addition to the number of electors which would be made by the proposed Bill would not be more than 240,000 of the working classes, or 32 per cent., and the proportion to the other classes of voters generally, county and borough, would be only one in five.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Bazley, one of the Members for Manchester, who urged the claims of the working classes, by whom the great mass of national wealth had been created, to a large share of political power.

Lord Elcho, who was seconded by Mr. Black, M.P. for Edinburgh, moved the previous question. He claimed to be a more practical Reformer than Mr. Baines, as he had supported the Reform Bill proposed by Lord Derby's Government, which would have given the franchise to a large number of persons now excluded from it. The present Bill was unnecessary, and would not satisfy a great section of the working classes, who regarded it only as an instalment of their demand for universal suffrage. The principle of the Bill was, that the upper and middle classes were now represented, but that the working classes were not. He admitted that the working classes had no special representatives sitting in the House; but were not their interests regarded in preference to those of all other classes? In all questions of taxation how the working classes would be affected had been the consideration of every Chancellor of the Exchequer. And under the present elective system how were the working men excluded? They might and did come in under the 10% franchise, and if they did not, it was their own fault. It rested with themselves whether they would cross the line or not. They could do so by a very slight sacrifice of indulgences; and by lowering the franchise an inducement to attempt to rise in the social scale would be removed. The Bill was openly repudiated by the noisy agitators who advocated universal suffrage, and many Members of that House admitted in private conversation that this would be the result of the measure. From his own experience of the working classes, he did not believe the intelligent and thoughtful of them approved the Bill. There was too great a disposition in Members of that House to listen to the most noisy section of their constituents. In 1848 an attempt was made to force on political changes by violence. Now the attempt was to effect the same object by sap and mine. But the mass of the people was attached to the Constitution, and in defending it would



stand by the Legislature, if the Legislature would stand by them. There was no finality in human things, and should changes become necessary hereafter they must be made in another and safer direction.

A speech of remarkable weight and ability was delivered against the motion by Mr. Lowe, whose arguments made much impression upon his audience, and were frequently referred to by subsequent speakers and writers on the same question.

Mr. Lowe said that, judging by the debate, it appeared that to advocate democracy required the smallest possible amount of thought, and a very limited vocabulary. In fact, the House would listen to arguments on this subject they would not listen to on any other question. All the arguments employed led back to the "old rights of man." "But where are those *a priori* rights to be found? The answer to that question would lead me into a metaphysical inquiry which I shall not now pursue. What I would ask is, can those alleged rights form a ground on which a practical, deliberative assembly like the House of Commons can arrive at a particular conclusion? If, I may add, they do in reality exist, they are as much the property of the Australian savage and the Hottentot of the Cape as of the educated and refined Englishman. Those who uphold this doctrine must apply it to the lowest as well as to the highest grades of civilization, claiming for it the same universal force as a deduction of pure mathematics. A man derives a right of this kind from God, and if society infringe upon it he is entitled, according to the theory of which I am speaking, to resist that infringement. But the same theory which arms the hand of the assassin is that upon which this doctrine of *a priori* right is founded; and it is a theory on which, whatever may be its merits, it is impossible to construct one single society. Those abstract rights are constantly invoked for the destruction of society and the overthrow of Government, but they never can be successfully invoked as a foundation on which society and Government may securely rest. I do not, I may observe, find such doctrines as those to which I am adverting advocated in the writings of that arch-Radical and advocate of universal suffrage—Jeremy Bentham. He utterly ignores them, for he says that Government ought to put out of consideration all those arguments which are drawn from abstract rights, inasmuch as whatever might be the metaphysical theories on the subject, they were such as could not lead them to any practical conclusion."

After some further arguments on this branch of the subject, illustrated by quotations from Mill, Bentham, and other political philosophers, Mr. Lowe thus proceeded,—“And now let me ask whether in all countries the happiness of the people at large is not the end which ought to be sought in the establishment of a Government; and that end being as far as possible secured, are we to be called upon to overthrow the fabric by which it has been accomplished on these grounds of sentiment and *a priori*

right? That is a view which can scarcely be successfully maintained, and I therefore take the liberty of putting aside the sentimental argument, simply observing that the object at which we ought to aim is good government. There is another argument—the fatalistic argument—which has been put forward in the course of this debate. ‘You must have it out,’ it is said, using a line of argument which is at once the foundation and the blemish of the great work of De Tocqueville; ‘sooner or later you will have to give way.’ M. de Tocqueville assumed that Democracy was inevitable, and that the question to be considered was not whether it was good or evil in itself, but how we could best adapt ourselves to it. The *ignava ratio*, however, is one by which I hope this House will not be influenced. If this Democracy be a good thing, let us clasp it to our bosoms; if not, there is, I am sure, spirit and feeling enough in this country to prevent us from allowing ourselves to be overawed by any vague presage of this kind, in the belief that the matter has been already decided upon by the fates and destinies in some dark tribunal in which they sit together. I come next to the argument of necessity. We are told that the working classes are thundering at our gates, and that we shall be in the greatest danger if we do not accede to their demands. But when, in answer to this argument, it is suggested that they are not at our gates, and that they are making no noise, the reply is, ‘Oh, wait awhile, and see what they will do.’ Now I, for one, am disposed to take that advice, and to wait awhile. If this which we are asked for be a good thing in itself to concede, let us grant it without any compulsion; but if it be bad, let us not be driven from our sense of manliness and duty to our country by any fear as to what may happen if we refuse it. I am inclined to think that Democracy in the present state of things would be a great misfortune. If driven to it we must, of course, submit, and it may perhaps be better to do so than to give rise to a great internal commotion or civil war; but if we do so from fear of pressure hereafter, we may be met by evils equally great.”

Mr. Lowe proceeded to argue with much force that the interests of the working classes were better represented and protected by the House of Commons as at present constituted than if it were elected by themselves; because in these times legislation was a complicated science, requiring men of the highest education and intelligence to put it in practice. One of his objections to the particular scheme under discussion was, that there were very few of the working classes to whom it would give the franchise who had it not in their power to obtain it already. Another was its swamping tendency; for its effect in five large towns would be to treble the constituencies, and in twenty-eight others to double them. These places, therefore, might as well be disfranchised at once. As a permanent settlement of the question, the Bill would be utterly useless. It would be a most dangerous step to take. It would

cast the country loose from its only safe anchorage—the 10% franchise—and send her adrift upon the sea of Democracy.

After advertng at some length to the case of the United States, and showing that the situation and circumstances of that republic were such as to make the system of government, however successful there, a destructive model for England to imitate, Mr. Lowe concluded his speech with an emphatic warning to those who sat on his own side of the House,—“And now I do solemnly ask the Liberal party to pass in review their own position with regard to this question. They have to make their choice not merely on the fate which shall befall this particular Bill, but with the full knowledge that a general election is to follow. And I ask whether it is to go forth that the party of liberality and progress in this country does or does not for the future cast in its lot and identify its fortunes with that particular form of government called Democracy, which has never yet been the government of this country? It is a momentous issue which we have to try; and nothing but a sense of its enormous importance induces me to do what the House will believe is not a pleasant duty, to make my present speech in the neighbourhood in which I stand. I view this, however, as a question between progress and retrogression. So far from believing that Democracy would aid the progress of the State, I am satisfied it would impede it. Its political economy is not that of Adam Smith, and its theories widely differ from those which the intelligent and clear-headed working man would adopt did his daily avocation give him leisure to instruct himself. It is always introducing an ungrateful subject to make personal references, but perhaps I may be allowed for a moment to quote myself. Gentlemen think it the height of illiberality on my part, and believe that I am abandoning the cause of progress, because, on this occasion, I refuse to follow their steps. Of course, I was quite prepared for that; but nevertheless I have been a Liberal all my life. I was a Liberal at a time and in places where it was not so easy to make professions of Liberalism as in the present day; and I suffered for my Liberal principles, but I did so gladly, because I had confidence in them, and because I never had occasion to recall a single conviction which I had deliberately arrived at. I have had the great happiness to see almost every thing done by the decisions of this House that I thought should be carried into effect, and I have full confidence in the progress of society to a degree incalculable to us, and, by the application of sound principles, that the happiness and prosperity of mankind may be still further augmented. But for the very reason that I look forward to and hope for this amelioration, I regard as one of the greatest dangers with which the country can be threatened a proposal to subvert the existing order of things, and to transfer power from the hands of property, industry, and intelligence, and to place it in the hands of men whose whole life is necessarily occupied in daily struggles for existence. I ear-



nestly hope—and it is the object I have in view—that I may have done something to pick this question out of the slough of despond in which it has wallowed. Sir, I have been weary and sickened at the way in which this question has been dealt with. The great Liberal party may be presumed to know its own business better than I do. I venture, however, to make this prediction, that if they do unite their fortunes with the fortunes of Democracy, as it is proposed they should do in the case of this measure, they will not fail in one of two things—if they fail in carrying this measure they will ruin their party, and if they succeed in carrying this measure they will ruin their country.”

Mr. Bernal Osborne expressed his regret that some Member of the Government had not risen to answer the philosophic speech which Mr. Lowe had just delivered. He could have wished that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had sprung to his feet in answer to the challenge. The Treasury Bench and that House had treated this question of Reform in a very insincere spirit. Parliament, when young, coquetted with a Bill which they had no intention to pass, and now the matter was revived as a mere question for the hustings. When this was the state of things within the House, could they wonder that there was apathy without? In listening to Mr. Lowe's speech he could not forget that that right hon. gentleman had sat in two reforming Administrations, and had voted for the amendment which in 1859 hurled the Conservatives into outer darkness. That amendment declared that it was absolutely necessary to extend the franchise in boroughs and counties. And yet now they were told that such a measure was revolutionary, and threatened the Crown, the aristocracy, and the property of the country. This so-called revolutionary measure had been recommended in four Speeches from the Throne, and had been advocated by five Administrations; and yet it was now

“Deserted in its utmost need  
By those its former bounty fed.”

and it was left for an independent Member to present to the House a mere battered stump of the “Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.” What had become of the compact entered into by the Liberal party in 1859? An essential part of that compact was the passing of a Reform Bill, but nothing had ever since been heard of it. There were many good reformers in the present Cabinet, but what did they do to promote Reform? Nothing, in fact, was so disheartening as the treatment which the question of Reform had received from reformers. The conduct of the Liberal party in bringing forward the Reform question on this occasion reminded him very forcibly of the conduct of the mourners at an Irish funeral, who, while mourning over the merits of the departed, had a very keen eye to the incoming tenant. Nothing could in one sense be better than for them to be “waking” Reform on the eve of the expiration of an old Par-



liament, when the Liberal party was in want of a cry, but he warned them that they could not, without loss of character, pursue with impunity the course of trifling with this question. It had been said that no practical blots existed in the Constitution. But it was impossible to deny that the greatest anomalies and inequalities existed in our electoral system—anomalies and inequalities with which the country was not likely to remain satisfied. The Reform Bill of 1832 had transferred political power from the higher to the middle classes, at the expense of limiting the suffrages of the working classes in many towns. The working classes had, however, stood unflinchingly by that measure, and he must say, that he thought it was now rather hard that the middle classes should refuse to the working classes their fair share of political power.

Sir George Grey said he was now prepared to answer the appeal made to him, by stating what were the intentions of the Government with regard to the Bill, and answering the charges then directed against them for their past conduct in relation to the question of Parliamentary Reform. On the first of these points he declared that the proposal to meet the Bill with the "previous question" was not fair, parliamentary, or straightforward. If it were thought that the tendency of the measure was to endanger the institutions of the country by the creation of a pure Democracy, the proper course would have been to move its rejection, and not to have had recourse to the unworthy subterfuge of the "previous question." The right hon. gentleman next proceeded to justify the conduct of the Government, who, he argued, had honestly redeemed the pledge they gave when they took office in 1859. They had brought in a Bill extending the franchise to a large portion of the working classes. That Bill was read a second time with the assent of the leader of the Opposition, and they had a right to suppose that it would have been considered in Committee, but adjournment after adjournment took place, in spite of the repeated protests and entreaties of the Government, dilatory motions were interposed, and in the end, seeing that their Bill had no chance of passing, they determined to withdraw it. Subsequently they had given their support to the proposal of Mr. Locke King to extend the franchise in counties, and to that of Mr. Baines, now before the House, but it would have been unreasonable to expect that in this temper of the House, and with the indifference manifested by the country, they should bring in a measure Session after Session with the same result. In voting for reading the present Bill a second time, the Ministers did so in the belief that the time had arrived when it was right to consider whether a portion of the working classes should not be admitted to the possession of the suffrage by means of lowering the qualification; and the idea that such a measure would lead to Democracy was perfectly chimerical. If, however, the Bill under consideration, or the proposal of a 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ % franchise in boroughs, was to be

applied as a political test at the coming general election, he objected to it so far as the Government were concerned, for without further consideration they felt they were not bound to the adoption of such a franchise, unless in connexion with other alterations in the representative system. "We must," said the right hon. gentleman, "upon this subject reserve to ourselves the fullest liberty to act upon our own principles according to the circumstances of the time and the opinions of the country; and we do not intend to ask the support of the country upon the advocacy of a great measure of Parliamentary Reform. I wish to be explicit, for we do not know what the opinion of the next House of Commons may be upon the subject. We will not pledge ourselves irrespective of the opinion of this House and of the country, to propose a large measure of Parliamentary Reform, which the House may feel as disinclined to pass as it was before, and which the country does not desire. We reserve to ourselves the discretion to act in this matter as in all others, according to the feeling of the public. The period is not far distant when we shall appeal with confidence to the general feeling of the country, and when the country will have an opportunity of expressing its opinion as to the manner in which affairs have been conducted by the present Government; and on the issue of that appeal we shall willingly abide."

Mr. W. E. Forster said that no one on either side of the House who had listened to Sir G. Grey's speech could form any idea of what the policy of Government was, except that their policy would be according to their interest as a Government. It had been said that attempts had been made to set class against class, but the withholding of the franchise from the working classes would tend more than any thing else to produce that result. The present state of feeling among the working classes was even worse in some respects than it was in 1848, because they now looked forward to America as if it were their native land. The working classes had no confidence in the present Government. That want of confidence in the Government would not be removed by the speech which they had just heard; and that want of confidence was further increased by the speech of Mr. Lowe. That gentleman had said, if the promoters of Reform failed in carrying the measure, they would ruin their party, and if they succeeded they would ruin their country. The right hon. gentleman had for the last four or five years joined in this conspiracy to ruin the country. He did not believe the right hon. gentleman had changed his mind, but that he had the same mind now which he had when in office. He was not accusing Mr. Lowe of any want of sincerity or patriotism, but he found this excuse for him, that he knew in his own mind he was not ruining the country; that he had sufficient confidence in the Government of the day to know that any such measure would not be carried. If the right hon. gentleman believed the Government had been in

earnest, he had too much spirit and patriotism to remain a member of it and aid in a conspiracy to ruin his country. But he would say, better let the party be ruined than have measures so brought forward and so conducted. It would be better for the right hon. gentleman, and for all who agreed with him, to go over to the other side and take the leadership which he was well qualified to fill, and let the minority fight it out. The real question now at issue was, whether the upper portion of the working classes were inferior to the lower portion of the middle classes. In his opinion they were not, and he had no fear whatever of the tendency of a measure to admit them to the franchise; on the contrary, he considered that it would be in strict accordance with the principles of the Constitution. He held that as education was extended so ought the suffrage to be extended, and that as the working classes, with their organization and vast numbers, acquired the advantages of education, it would be impossible successfully to resist their claim.

Mr. Stansfeld said he was desirous to avoid entering into any of those party or personal questions which had been brought forward in the course of the discussion, nor had he any letters from America or the colonies with which to amuse the House, nor any conversations from the lobby to report. He rose for the simple and legitimate purpose of supporting the second reading of the Bill. The theory of Lord Elcho and his friends was that during all these years back the advocates of Reform in that House had been in an atmosphere of illusion, if not of hypocrisy and shame, and Mr. Lowe put it in the most distinct way when he said that the Reform Bill had been the mere plaything and shuttlecock of parties—an assertion that was cheered by none more loudly than by gentlemen on the other side of the House; and yet they too had had their Reform Bill. Now he joined issue with the right hon. gentleman and his friends. He believed that throughout all that period it would be possible to trace a common ground of opinion, by following which legislation on the question of Reform might have been possible. It was perfectly true there was no enthusiasm upon the question out of doors, and it was perfectly true there had been no enthusiasm in regard to any of the measures of Reform brought forward since 1832. But he found no objection to these measures. If they had been fanatics on the question of Reform, there was nothing which they should hail more than the contemptuous rejection of a proposal like the present. He denied that the present measure would introduce so large a proportion of those classes as would swamp the existing constituencies, or that there was any desire or intention on the part of its promoters to effect a transfer of power. The “down hill” argument of Mr. Lowe, that if any step were taken towards lowering the qualification, it must lead to the evil of a supremacy of mere numbers, was a cowardly argument, and he believed the time was not far distant when a measure of Reform would be



passed with the simple object of admitting within the pale of the constitution a class which nobody asked should be supreme, but which by its progress was entitled to some share of consideration.

Mr. Horsman, adverting to the arguments used in support of the Bill, observed that ostensibly the measure was to introduce a 6% franchise into boroughs, but logically and practically it was to abolish the 10% franchise, and substitute another under which a vast body of the operatives would be admitted to vote; but the Bill was not in harmony with the speeches by which it had been supported, for it would leave the great bulk of the working classes entirely untouched. The supporters of the Bill arrogated to themselves that they were the mouthpiece of the non-electors. He wanted to know where they got their commission, because there had not been a Reform meeting which had ventured to publish its proceedings but had condemned this proposal as an antiquated and exploded Whig delusion. In his view it was the first of a series of downward movements which would only cease when they had reached the bottom of the abyss, and would lead to universal suffrage. It was not true that the franchise was, or ever had been in any sense whatever, the right of any man or class of men. It was conferred by law, not as a matter of right or individual advantage, but as a public trust; and for that reason the Legislature had guarded its exercise with stringent pains and penalties. To the principle of admitting the working classes to a share of political power he had no objection, but the problem to be solved was how to do that without creating a monopoly. To the present measure, however, reason, justice, and policy were equally opposed. Above all, the nation was against it, and even the unenfranchised stood aloof from it, for they knew that they as a class had more to lose than to gain by the change. Let the House, then, proclaim the truth. Let them frankly declare that the mind of Parliament and the nation had changed; that successive Queen's Speeches, promising Reform in a downward direction, had been a mistake; that the Ministers who prepared those speeches had been discredited; that the Liberal party had been damaged by its blindness on this question, and the inaction of the House had not been an evasion of duty, but a policy enforced by respect for the unmistakable feeling of the country.

Mr. Disraeli regarded this as a controversy between the educated section of the Liberal party and that section of the same party who, according to their colleagues, were not entitled to an epithet so complimentary; it was the epilogue to the prologue of 1859. His objection to the Bill was, that it proposed, by means of an increased franchise, to re-distribute political power; that that was a question which ought not to be treated partially; and that if it was to be dealt with at all, it must be in a comprehensive manner, and should include the county as well as the borough franchise. Another objection was, that the Bill was introduced by a private member, instead of being entrusted to the



care and guidance of a responsible Government. Relating the "true story of the Reform Bill," the right hon. gentleman observed that he did not believe that any English statesman on either side of the House could ever have meant to trifle with the subject. When Lord Derby came into office he found the question equally embarrassing to the Crown and discreditable to the Ministry, and it was in these circumstances that his noble friend addressed his mind to the solution of the difficulty. Defending that policy and vindicating his party, he now asserted that the measure which the Government of Lord Derby brought forward was the only measure that had attempted to meet the difficulties of the case. For, irrespective of other provisions, it proposed to create two franchises which would have largely met the demands under consideration; one founded upon personal property, the other upon partial occupation.

Mr. Disraeli concluded his speech with an exposition of his own views respecting Parliamentary Reform.

"All that has occurred—all that I have observed, all the results of my reflections, lead me to this more and more—that the principle upon which the constituencies of this country should be increased is one not of radical, but I may say of *lateral* reform—the extension of the franchise, not its degradation. And although I do not wish in any way to deny that we were in the most difficult position when the Parliament of 1859 met, being anxious to assist the Crown and the Parliament, by proposing some moderate measure which men on both sides might support, we did, to a certain extent, agree to some modification of the 10*l.* franchise—to what extent no one knows; but it would have been one which would not at all have affected the character of the franchise, such as I and my colleagues wished to maintain. Yet I confess that my opinion is opposed, as it originally was, to any course of the kind. I think that it would fail in its object, that it would not secure the introduction of that particular class which we all desire to introduce, but that it would introduce many others who are totally unworthy of the suffrage. But I think it is possible to increase the electoral body of the country by the introduction of voters upon principles in unison with the principles of the Constitution, so that the suffrage should remain a privilege, and not a right—a privilege to be gained by virtue, by intelligence, by industry, by integrity, and to be exercised for the common good of the country. I think if you quit that ground,—if you once admit that every man has a right to vote whom you cannot prove to be disqualified, you would change the character of the Constitution, and you would change it in a manner which will tend to lower the importance of this country. With regard to the scheme brought forward by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Baines), and the inevitable conclusion which its principal supporters acknowledged it must lead to, it is a question between an aristocratic Government in the proper sense of the term—that is, a Govern-

ment by the best men of all classes—and a Democracy. I doubt very much whether a Democracy is a Government that would suit this country; and it is just as well that the House, when coming to a vote on this question, should really consider if that be the issue, between retaining the present Constitution and a Democracy. It is just as well for the House to recollect that what is at issue is of some price. You must remember that we are dealing with a peculiar people. There is no country at the present moment that exists under the circumstances and under the same conditions as the people of this realm. You have, for example, an ancient, powerful, richly-endowed Church, and perfect religious liberty. You have unbroken order and complete freedom. You have estates as large as the Romans; you have a system of commercial enterprise such as Carthage and Venice united never equalled. And you must remember that this peculiar country with these strong contrasts is governed not by force; it is not governed by standing armies—it is governed by a most singular series of traditionary influences, which generation after generation cherishes and preserves because they know that they embalm customs and represent the law. And, with this, what have you done? You have created the greatest empire that ever existed in modern times. You have amassed a capital of fabulous amount. You have devised and sustained a system of credit still more marvellous, and, above all, you have established and maintained a scheme, so vast and complicated, of labour and industry, that the history of the world offers no parallel to it. And all these mighty creations are out of all proportion to the essential and indigenous elements and resources of the country. If you destroy that state of society, remember this—England cannot begin again. There are countries which have been in great peril and gone through great suffering; there are the United States, who in our own immediate day have had great trials; they have had—perhaps even now in the United States of America they have—a protracted and fratricidal civil war which has lasted for four years; but if it lasted for four years more, vast as would be the disaster and desolation, when the contest ended, the United States might begin again, because the United States would only be in the same condition that England was at the end of the war of the Roses, and probably she had not at that time 3,000,000 of population, with vast tracts of virgin soil and mineral treasures, not only undeveloped but undiscovered. Then you have France. France had a real revolution in our days and those of our predecessors—a real revolution, not merely a political but a social revolution. She had the institutions of the country up-rooted, the orders of society abolished—she had even the landmarks and local names removed and erased. But France could begin again. France had the greatest extent of the most exuberant soil in Europe; she had a very limited population, living in a most simple manner. France, therefore, could begin again. But England—the England we know, the England

we live in, the England of which we are proud—could not begin again. I don't mean to say that after great troubles England would become a howling wilderness. No doubt the good sense of the people would to some degree prevail, and some fragments of the national character would survive; but it would not be the old England—the England of power and tradition, of credit and capital, that now exists. That is not in the nature of things, and, under these circumstances, I hope the House will, when the question before us is one impeaching the character of our Constitution, sanction no step that has a preference for Democracy, but that they will maintain the ordered state of free England in which we live. I do not think that in this country generally there is a desire at this moment for any further change in this direction. I think the general opinion of the country on the subject of Parliamentary Reform is that our views are not sufficiently matured on either side."

After Mr. Disraeli's speech, a division took place, when the amendment moved by Lord Elcho was carried by 288 votes against 214. The Bill was consequently lost.

A few days after the decision of the House had been thus pronounced on Mr. Baines's Bill, Lord Elcho gave notice that on an early day he should move "that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to be graciously pleased to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire to what extent the wage-paid class of the population is in possession of the Parliamentary franchise, and how far persons in the receipt of the same rate of wages as those now possessed of the franchise are excluded from it, and the causes generally of such exclusion; to consider the changes that have taken place in the relative value of money and property in so far as they bear upon the electoral qualification, and to inquire how, without lowering such qualification in boroughs or giving undue preponderance to any one class of the population, the parliamentary franchise can be beneficially extended." Nothing, however, was done before the end of the Session in pursuance of this notice.

The only further movement which was made this year in the direction of Parliamentary Reform, was the renewal of the motion annually made by Mr. H. Berkeley, in favour of the Ballot. It is needless to say that on so trite and fully-discussed a subject no arguments were adduced on either side which were not already familiar to those who had attended to the controversy. The House generally declined to enter into the discussion, and suffered the two sides of the question to be represented by Mr. Berkeley on the one part, and Viscount Palmerston on the other. It was urged by the former, that notwithstanding the great amount of legislation since the passing of the Reform Act, with the professed object of securing purity of election, intimidation and corruption were as rife as ever, and the electors in numerous places were reduced to mere voting machines of their landlords. In this state



of things both political parties were on the eve of throwing themselves upon the country in the shape of sovereigns and beer; and he contended that it was of no use to expect a remedy for the evil from any other measure than the Ballot. The hon. Member replied at considerable length to the arguments adduced against the Ballot, and cited Sir Edward Coke, Sir John Eliot, John Hampden, John Pym, and John Selden, and Bentham, Grote, and the elder Mill in modern times, in its support. Cicero, he said, had termed secret voting the silent vindication of liberty, and Demosthenes the wisest regulation lawgivers had ever made.

Viscount Palmerston repeated the argument used by him on several former occasions, that the franchise was a trust, and a voter, therefore, a trustee. Even if universal suffrage were adopted it would still be a trust that each individual elector would have confided to him for the benefit of the nation at large. The effect of the Ballot would be to screen the trustee from all consequences for the manner in which he might discharge his trust, and that would be contrary to the principles of the Constitution and of common sense, as well as inconsistent with the principles upon which human society itself was founded. The Ballot would, moreover, be demoralizing, and instead of raising would lower the character of constituencies.

The motion was rejected, upon a division, by 118 votes against 74.

Of all the measures passed by Parliament in the present Session, none surpassed, in practical utility, the Bill carried by Mr. Villiers, the President of the Poor Law Board, for the amendment of the law relating to the settlement and removal of the poor. For a long series of years the expediency of some change in this direction had pressed upon the minds of those engaged in Poor Law administration—the hardships and miseries inflicted by the existing regulations as to settlement had been acknowledged—the Government and Legislature had been repeatedly appealed to on the subject, and prolonged investigations by Parliamentary Committees had resulted in reports condemnatory of the existing system; nevertheless, up to the present time, the evil had continued unredressed. At length, in the Session of 1865, the measure so long needed and desired was announced, whereby the restraint hitherto imposed on the free circulation of labour would be to a great extent removed, and the burthen of maintaining the indigent be laid upon a wider basis. In moving for leave to introduce his measure, which was entitled the “Union Chargeability Bill,” Mr. Villiers gave a brief sketch of the state of things which had led to the enactment of the Poor Law Act of 1834, the operation of that law, and the amendments subsequently introduced, pointing out that, with all the advantages attendant on the administration of the system, it had nevertheless been the parent of serious evils, by the overburdening of some parishes, the encouragement that it gave to proprietors of others to drive away the poor, and thus create what are known as “close parishes,” and the injustice



which was inflicted on the poor themselves as well as the parishes by the law of removability. To remedy these evils, the Bill he asked leave to introduce provided that the Union fund should hereafter bear the maintenance of all the poor within the Union, so that the charge should be commensurate with the administration. It would also repeal the clause in the Act of Parliament that provided for the retention of the parochial system; transfer the power of removal from overseers to guardians, and abolish removability from parish to parish in the same Union.

Mr. Henley, who afterwards took the lead in opposition to the Bill, said he did not object to the introduction of the Bill, but hoped sufficient time would be given to Members to consult their constituents before it went to a second reading.

On moving the second reading of the Bill, after a considerable interval, Mr. Villiers took pains to prove that it did not involve any new principle. On the contrary, it was strictly conformable with the New Poor Law, and it was a further step in the direction of modern legislation. It was recommended to the House by the experience of the past, and the remarkable disclosures which followed the agricultural distress of 1830. The promoters of the New Poor Law wished at the time that the Union should supersede the parochial system; but they were defeated, and the law was launched with an attempt to combine the two systems; but experience showed that the new law had failed, because every variety of parochial system still remained in force. Parochial liability having been retained, together with the power of managing the poor, all parishes had a common interest in "keeping down the poor," as it was called, which meant getting rid of them by any means. The result was, to lead to a capricious and unjust distribution of the burden. He believed that the measure now proposed to meet this evil, would be a great public benefit, a real boon to the poor, and have the effect of placing the whole parochial system on a more healthy footing.

Sir R. Knightley objected to the Bill, on the ground that it would affect the value of every acre of land in the country, and was of far too important a description to be discussed by a moribund Parliament. He was, therefore, in favour of postponing legislation, in order that the question might be submitted to the constituencies at the next general election. He moved as an amendment, "That considering the little knowledge this House possesses as to the practical working of the Irremovable Poor Act of 1861, it is inexpedient, without further information, to legislate on the subject of Union rating during the present Session."

Mr. B. Stanhope, in seconding the amendment, argued that the Bill was an unwarrantable interference with property, and would inflict irreparable injury upon the poor in the agricultural districts.

The objections urged by the mover and seconder of the amendments were reiterated in various forms by several of the represen-

tatives of the landed and agricultural interest. It was urged by them that the measure would impose additional burthens of rating upon the small rural parishes for the benefit of the large towns, that it would thereby create an ill-feeling between town and country, that it would break up the parochial system, the only one by which, in time of distress, discriminating relief could be afforded, that in fact it was a step towards a national rate, and that it would be better to abolish at once the law of settlement altogether than to adopt the partial alteration proposed. These arguments were urged by Mr. Adderley, Sir E. Dering, Mr. Newdegate, Sir W. Miles, and other county Members. But although most of the speeches adverse to the Bill proceeded from the Opposition side of the House of Commons, many Members of the Conservative party expressed opinions favourable to the measure, and gave it their support throughout on independent grounds. Among these was Sir W. Jolliffe, who expressed himself thoroughly in favour of the principle of the measure, and could not, therefore, vote with the Opposition. He observed that we had been gradually approaching to the state of things at which the Bill pointed. The fault of the existing system, was that it encouraged the bad labourer and discouraged the good. The former was very often employed where he would not be, were it not for the exceedingly restricted area of the district in which he resided. Believing that the measure would be useful and beneficial by improving the position of the industrious and well-conducted labourer, and more justly distributing the burden of the maintenance of the poor, he hoped his friends in the House would not stand in the way of its passing into a law.

Mr. Henley thought Mr. Villiers had not dealt candidly with the House in withholding information which was in his office; for example, the amount at which the parishes were rated two years ago, and what their expenditure was last year. The Statistical Department could thus easily calculate what the rate and the expenditure were in each Union and each parish in the Union. Directly the smaller parishes were absorbed in the Unions, they would be in the same position as if they were one large parish, so far as the people who lived in them were concerned, in times of pressure or distress. And, instead of inducing people to build new cottages, it would be a positive encouragement to pull the old ones down.

After much debate, a division was taken upon a proposition to postpone the second reading, which was negatived by 203 votes to 131.

The opponents of the Bill, however, mustered against it in great force when it went into Committee, and various adverse amendments were proposed.

Mr. G. Bentinck moved that it be an instruction to the Committee, with a view to rendering the working of the system of Union Chargeability more just and equal, to facilitate in certain

cases the alterations of the limits of existing Unions. The hon. Member contended that, unless some such measure as he suggested were carried out, the Bill would act most unjustly by benefiting one-third of the community at the cost of the remaining two-thirds.

Mr. Knight said, before passing this Bill, the area of the Unions should be re-arranged. At present some Unions contained 150,000 acres, and others only 3000. This Bill would give the whole power to the Poor Law Board, and ratepayers now paying 6*d.* in the pound might have to pay 5*s.*

Mr. Adderley said the consequences of this Bill would be ruinous to the rural parishes.

Mr. Villiers opposed the instruction proposed by Mr. Bentinck, and said its supporters did not show how the limits of the existing Unions were to be more satisfactorily adjusted.

Mr. Newdegate said there were as gross inequalities existing in the areas of Unions as in the areas of parishes, and it was evident that the Poor Law Board contemplated the necessity of effecting some alteration in these Unions. In many cases that would decide whether a parish taken from one Union and joined to another should pay at the rate of 4*d.*, or even 6*d.* in the pound. The country was on the eve of a general election, and he asked the House whether they were prepared to place in the hands of a Government office the enormous patronage that might thus be exercised at this particular moment.

Upon a division, the motion of Mr. Bentinck was negatived by 193 to 118.

Mr. Thompson then moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, on the ground that the boundaries of Unions required revision, not with a view to equalizing the charges between different parishes, or even different Unions, but for the efficient working of the present Poor Law, and because the Bill would effect a change in the incidence of rating. He also urged several other reasons for adopting this course, which he said would be the best means of rendering the measure a perfect one.

Mr. Ferrand seconded the motion. He complained that Poor Rates in aid of manufacturing wages had been and still were systematically levied in the manufacturing districts on agriculture, with the sanction of the Poor Law Board, whereby the burdens on land were grievously increased, and the worst features of the old Poor Law maintained. The Bill would greatly extend the area of this unjust taxation, impose ruinous burdens upon agriculture for the benefit of manufactures, and create serious discontent.

Mr. W. E. Forster regarded the motion for reference to a Select Committee as an attempt to defeat the Bill altogether. The plain fact before the House was, that, under the existing law, it was the interest of the employers of agricultural labour to drive their labourers to reside in open parishes at a distance. Granted that the alteration of the system of close parishes would be a transfer



of burthen; after all, it would be no more than the correction of another transfer which had been going on for a considerable period—that of placing the relief of the poor upon the shoulders of those who did not employ them. The principle of the Bill was to put the burden on the right back, namely, the employers of labour. Another great reason why he hoped the measure would pass was, that it would be an irresistible precedent for amending the state of things prevailing in London, which, for the credit of the country, ought no longer to continue.

Mr. Henley urged that if the power with which the Poor Law Board asked to be invested for altering the limits of the Unions were absolutely necessary, it ought to be so fenced and guarded by just provisions as to prevent the Minister from being forced into the perpetration of jobs. Having denied that there was any truth in the assertion that there had been not only no disposition on the part of landed proprietors to build cottages, but that there had been an unsparing demolition of them, the right hon. gentleman commented upon the report of Dr. Hunter, the Royal Commissioner, upon which much of the argument for the Bill was founded, but which, he alleged, was inaccurate in its figures and statements, and prejudiced in its tone and spirit. For these reasons he thought the Bill ought to be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. Villiers vindicated the Bill, and said it had been framed in accordance with the recommendations of a Committee which had sat during three Sessions, and which had inquired into every possible phase of the question. He also reminded the House that the country party, who now opposed the Bill, had resisted the recognition of the principle involved in it for one-and-thirty years. Their object in proposing to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was simply and solely that of getting rid of it altogether. This was not, however, the desire of the farmers, who were distinctly and decidedly in favour of the Bill. He was aware that the incidence of rating required consideration, and that the mode of assessment was often capricious and unreasonable. Should it be his lot to be at the head of the Poor Law Department next Session, he would support a motion for inquiring into those anomalies, and he hoped that, after this admission, Mr. Thompson would withdraw his amendment, and allow the House to proceed with a measure which had received so large a share of support out of doors.

Mr. Thompson was willing to withdraw his amendment, but the wish of the House was to go to a division, which resulted in a majority of 266 to 93 in favour of the Bill.

The House having thus decidedly expressed its resolve to put an end to the system of parochial rating and settlement, some of the opponents of the Bill, finding resistance upon this point useless, adopted another course, and proposed to amend the Bill by abolishing the power of removal altogether. In pursuance of this policy,



Mr. Henley moved amendments in the Bill in Committee which would have the effect of repealing the Acts authorizing the removal of the chargeable poor "to any other Union or parish, or to Scotland and Ireland." The abolition of this system, he said, would be a great boon to the poor. No inconvenience had arisen from the successive limitations that had been enacted of the power of removal. They had been gradually approaching the point of abolition, and might now as well do away with the system altogether. The proposal appeared to him so just and reasonable, that he was unwilling to occupy the time of the House upon it. He saw no objection that could be made to the plan.

Mr. C. Villiers acknowledged that the proposal of Mr. Henley had taken him by surprise; he had not expected to hear such views from him. Considering that Mr. Henley had always opposed such changes, he had a right to doubt the character of the proposition. The public would also require some explanation of it. He believed it was intended to create alarm in the country as to the extent to which this Bill would go, and, by an amendment, get rid of the measure altogether. For his own part, he quite concurred in the principle of the total abolition of removal, but there were many practical considerations involved in the sudden adoption of so great a change. "The right hon. gentleman ought to have explained how what he proposes would work—whether arrangements have been made, and the country has been prepared for it. A man of sense and honesty, in proposing the enactment of such a measure, must see that all the arrangements and management must be different. We must have uniformity of management throughout the kingdom. It won't do to pass this amendment, and tell the world to-morrow morning that you have done away with removal. I am sure that the right hon. gentleman knows that such a proceeding would lead to confusion, because the systems of management are different in different parts of the United Kingdom—in England, in Scotland, in Ireland, and in the islands which surround us; and abuses would be sure to follow from not having the same system. Have hon. Members opposite considered these matters and what would be the effect of this change? Are the workhouses large enough, are the relieving officers numerous enough, for the persons who in some parts of the country might suddenly come for relief? We must make some preparation for such a change of system and total change of principle. Has any thing been proposed much more reckless than this amendment? In other matters the right hon. gentleman is very careful; and I feel sure that if I had made this proposal he would have been the first man to make the remarks which I am now making. He has said that he will put my sincerity to the test. Well, my sincerity is not at all affected by what he has proposed. I should be glad to see the system of settlement abolished, and I propose this measure as an instalment, just as I have brought forward two other measures leading to that

abolition; but I wish to give the public the opportunity, after it has passed, of judging whether that which we wish ultimately to adopt can be safely adopted. I must, therefore, object to this amendment. I do not believe the country is prepared for it, and I cannot think that it is proposed with that earnestness and sincerity which such a measure, involving so considerable a change, demands."

Mr. Villiers at the same time expressed his willingness to adopt into the Bill an amendment of which notice had been given by Mr. Kekewich, one of the Members for Devonshire, to the effect that, after the 25th of March, 1866, no person should be removed from any Union or parish in which such person should have resided for one year next before the application for the warrant of removal.

Mr. Henley wished the House to take notice that the Government admitted his proposal to be a sound and good one, but that it was rejected because it came from the Opposition side of the House. He certainly had always advocated the parochial system, and still thought it the best. But, the House having decided by a very large majority to abolish it, there was no inconsistency in his proposing that the law of settlement should go with it.

A division having taken place on Mr. Henley's amendment, it was rejected by 184 to 110, and Mr. Kekewich's clause was inserted in the Bill.

The measure thus passed successfully through the House of Commons, but some fears were entertained by its supporters lest it should meet with an adverse reception in the House of Lords, the members of that branch of the Legislature, both on personal and political grounds, being considered likely to object to a change in the law which would have a tendency to alter the relative burthens on property. Notice had been given by the Duke of Rutland of a motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee, a course which, if adopted, would be likely to seal its doom; and much anxiety was felt lest this, or some other motion, adverse to the Bill, should find favour with the Peers. The second reading was moved by Earl Granville in a temperate and argumentative speech. He described what had been the course of legislation for the relief of the poor from the date of passing the new Poor Law Act, to prove that its tendency had always been to shorten the period of residence that gives a legal settlement, and to equalize the rating. He then noticed the chief objections made to the measure. It was alleged there ought to be further inquiry, but they had been inquiring into this subject for more than thirty years. They had done more; they had legislated on the recommendations founded on those inquiries. It was now time to act more decidedly in the same direction. He admitted that the formation of the present Unions was not perfect; but it would not be expedient to delay the Bill till the Unions could be re-adjusted. Another objection made to the measure was, that less economy could

be exercised in the management of large areas than in that of parishes. Experience, he believed, had shown the reverse to be the case. He urged the House to pass the Bill, which would do away with the want of uniformity in the present system of Poor Law administration, by which one class of poor was relieved from one fund, a second class from another. The measure would complete the principle of the measure of 1834, according to the recommendation of the best authorities, among whom were Sir J. Graham, and Sir G. C. Lewis. He could see no ground or reason for referring the Bill to a Select Committee, and their lordships could not receive any alterations of the Bill originating in that House without infringing the privileges of the House of Commons. The reason for referring a Bill to a Committee generally was that its details were numerous and intricate. This was a measure of few clauses, and with no intricacy of detail. He hoped, therefore, the House would reject the motion and pass the Bill, which he believed would ultimately prove beneficial to the interests of the owners of land.

Lord Brougham briefly supported the Bill, the principle of which was approved by the authors of the reform of the Poor Law he had himself advocated more than thirty years ago. The Bill now proposed would complete what was left imperfect in that great measure.

The Duke of Rutland moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. He did so because he believed the measure would operate very unjustly in some localities. He read a number of letters and documents to prove this position, and contended that on such a question the House ought to proceed with great caution. He argued, further, that the Bill would create mischievous distinctions between town and country, and destroy the present community of feeling between employers and the employed.

Lord Carnarvon would vote for the second reading, though he thought it would have been better had some preliminary measure been introduced re-adjusting the present Unions. It appeared to him that on this question both parties had over-rated the results of the measure. They would not be so formidable as the opponents of the Bill predicted; on the other hand, the supporters of the Bill anticipated too many advantages from it.

Earl Grey believed the Bill would do much to improve the cottage accommodation in the rural districts, where in many instances it was a disgrace to the landed proprietors, and at the same time be highly beneficial to the labouring classes, by removing the obstacles which now interposed to prevent an amelioration of their social condition.

Lord Redesdale doubted the policy of increasing the area of rating. A large area was not conducive to the good administration of the Poor Law. It had been a failure in London, because the officials had no knowledge of the poor they relieved. This was not the case in the country, where the law could be well administered.



The House then divided on the question that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. The numbers were:—

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This unexpectedly large majority in favour of the Bill was decisive. It passed through its remaining stages without difficulty, and having received the Royal assent, was regarded by the public as one of the most beneficial and valuable fruits of the Session of 1865.

Some other measures of practical utility were carried through Parliament this year, which, though not of equal importance, deserve a place in the records of the Session. Among these was an Act for building new courts of justice on a comprehensive scale, and upon a site well adapted both for the convenience of the public and of the legal profession, between Lincoln's-inn-fields and the Strand, where ample accommodation could be provided for all the tribunals both legal and equitable, and the administration of justice could be carried on in a manner commensurate to the requirements of the time, for which the crowded and confined chambers of Westminster Hall had become quite inadequate. The expenditure necessary for this important work was proposed to be provided for by appropriating to it the fund commonly known as the "Suitors' Fund" in the Court of Chancery, which had increased in the course of years to a very large amount, and might be appropriated, as the Government considered, to this public use without any violation of justice or injury to individuals. There were not wanting, indeed, some persons, among whom Lord St. Leonards was one of the most prominent, who objected both to the proposed appropriation of the Suitors' Fund, which they represented as an unjust diversion of that money to an alien purpose, and also to the removal of the seat of justice from that ancient hall in which it had been conducted for so many centuries and with which it was connected by so many historical associations. The objections of these opponents, however, did not avail against a measure which was regarded by a great majority in both Houses of Parliament as a great public improvement and advantage.

Another reform, for many Sessions delayed, was this year accomplished,—that of the administration of Greenwich Hospital. The application of the large revenues of this noble institution had been long felt to be unsatisfactory—the governing body absorbing too large a share of the funds, and the arrangements for the pensioners being neither regulated with wise economy, nor conducive to the comfort and satisfaction of the inmates. A Bill was brought in by the Lords of the Admiralty for putting the establishment on a more efficient footing, providing a better mode of government, a more careful and responsible administration of the funds, and extending the benefits of the establishment to a more numerous class,



both of inmates and out-pensioners. This scheme, with some modifications, was adopted by the Legislature.

An attempt was made by the Government to pass a Bill for amending the system of instruction and discipline pursued in the public schools, the scheme proposed being mainly founded on the recommendations of a Royal Commission of Inquiry into those institutions, who had presented a valuable and instructive Report. The Bill, however, which was introduced by the Earl of Clarendon, encountered considerable opposition on the part of the governing bodies of the schools, and other parties; and the Government were obliged to consent to refer it to a Select Committee of the Lords. A Committee consisting of several of the leading Members of that House, and which included H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, sat for some time upon the Bill, and recommended substantial alterations. The delay thus occasioned prevented the measure from being brought in due time under the notice of the House of Commons, and the early close of the Session made it necessary to postpone the subject for another year.

To the enumeration of the practical reforms of the Session may be added measures for improving the regulation and internal management of public prisons, and for putting the law of partnership liability on a more liberal and equitable basis.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Death of Mr. Cobden—His character as a politician—General regret for his loss, and honours paid to his memory—Proceedings in the House of Commons on the announcement of his death—Tributes paid to the deceased statesman by Lord Palmerston, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Bright—Assassination of President Lincoln—General indignation and horror at this event throughout the kingdom—Manifestations of sympathy and regret by various corporations and public bodies—An Address to the Crown is moved by the Ministers in both Houses, expressive of the feelings of the Legislature on the event—Answer of the Queen—Birth of a second son to the Prince and Princess of Wales—Addresses of congratulation from Parliament—Transactions affecting the official conduct of the Lord Chancellor—Statement of the case of Mr. Leonard Edmunds—Great abuses and defalcations in the Patent Office—Proceedings in the House of Lords, which terminate in the reversal of the grant to Mr. Edmunds of a retiring pension—Comments of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the conduct of the Lord Chancellor—The case of the Leeds Bankruptcy Court—Scandal occasioned by the disposal of patronage in that Court—An inquiry into the appointments and all the circumstances relating to this affair by a Select Committee of the House of Commons—Report of the Committee—Qualified censure pronounced by it upon the Lord Chancellor's conduct—Mr. Warde Hunt brings the case before the House, and moves a vote of censure on the Lord Chancellor—Debate on this motion—Amendments moved by the Lord Advocate and by Mr. E. P. Bouverie—Lord Palmerston moves that the debate be adjourned—A division is taken, and the motion rejected by a majority of 14—The amendment of Mr. Bouverie is put and carried *nem. con.*—The resignation of the Lord Chancellor is announced the next day in both Houses—The Lord Chancellor makes his vale-

dictory address in the House of Lords—Lord Cranworth succeeds to the Great Seal.—*Close of the Session*—The approaching general election begins early in July to thin the attendance of Members in the House of Commons—The public business having been completed, the prorogation of Parliament takes place by Commission on the 6th of July—The Royal Speech is read by Earl Granville—The prorogation is immediately followed by a notice of dissolution in the Gazette.

THE year 1865 was marked by the loss of more than the average number of eminent statesmen and political rulers, both in this and other countries. The King of the Belgians and the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of England, and the great exponent of the principles of Free Trade, Richard Cobden, were among the conspicuous men removed from the political stage by the hand of death. The unexpected and somewhat premature end of the last-named statesman elicited an almost unanimous expression of sincere regret from his countrymen, who, notwithstanding the turmoil of parties and the angry passions once excited by the Corn-Law controversy, had learned to respect the genuine probity and disinterestedness of the Free-Trade champion, and to acknowledge that few popular leaders had ever maintained so high a standard of moderation and self-respect, or shown themselves so completely superior to the mean arts and selfish motives of the demagogue. When, therefore, the news of his death became known, it was universally felt that the public and the Legislature had lost an able and public-spirited citizen, and a man who well deserved to be remembered among the benefactors of his country. Nor were the honours paid to his memory confined to this country. In France the name and character of Mr. Cobden were held in the highest estimation. The Emperor addressed a letter to his widow, expressing in warm terms the respect and honour in which he held the deceased. In other parts of the Continent, also, and still more in the United States of America, the reputation of the great free-trader was held in high respect, and flattering tributes were paid to his memory. But nowhere was the regret for this public loss more sincere than in the British House of Commons, where his eloquence had so often shone forth in debate, and where his personal character had been so fully appreciated by men of all parties. It was fitting, therefore, that expression should be given to the general feeling of sorrow and respect in that assembly, and that the leaders of the House should unite in testifying, on behalf of all its Members, to the merits of the deceased. Accordingly, on the first meeting of the House after the death had been announced, Viscount Palmerston, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply, called the attention of the House to the event which had deprived it of one of its most distinguished members. It was impossible, said the noble lord, for the House not to be conscious of the great loss which they and the country had sustained by the death of Mr. Cobden. However any one might have differed from him, no one ever doubted the sincerity and honesty of his purpose, which was directed only to the good of his country.

Now it was only his great services which could be thought of, and all difference of opinion must sink into oblivion. The theory of Free Trade, which had been established by Adam Smith, had been reduced to practice by the untiring industry, the indomitable energy of mind, and by the forcible, Demosthenic eloquence of Mr. Cobden, aided by a band of able associates, amongst whom must be included Mr. Villiers and the late Sir Robert Peel. He conferred an inestimable benefit on his country by his labours; but great as was his ability and success, the disinterestedness of his character was still more conspicuous. He was a man of great ambition, but his ambition was to do good to his country. When the present Government was formed, Mr. Cobden was offered office, but he declined, on the ground that all his opinions were not in unison with those of its head. No one could come in contact with Mr. Cobden without feeling for him the greatest respect and esteem. After the transaction of the Treaty of Commerce, it was his (Lord Palmerston's) duty to offer to Mr. Cobden, as a mark of the sense entertained of his services, a baronetcy and the rank of privy councillor, but still, with his invariable disinterestedness, he declined. "The country," concluded the noble lord, "has sustained a loss which it will be difficult to repair. Mr. Cobden's name will be for ever engraved on the most interesting pages of the history of his country; and I am sure there is not a man in this House who does not feel the greatest regret that the House has lost one of its brightest ornaments, and that the country has lost one of its most useful servants."

Mr. Disraeli, having been a Member of the House during Mr. Cobden's parliamentary career, could not reconcile it to himself to be silent when a name so distinguished was before the House. Though it was Mr. Cobden's lot to enter public life when passions ran high, yet when the strife was over the gentler qualities of his character asserted themselves, and he ever seemed to be influenced by feelings which sprang unconsciously from a reverence for the past. What his powers were as a Member of Parliament, were well known; they presented a combination of logical clearness and apt illustration, while his imagination, pervading all, enabled him to address himself to the sympathies of those to whom he spoke. After referring to the public career of Mr. Cobden, the right hon. gentleman said, "There is something mournful in the history of this Parliament. When we remember how many of our most eminent and valuable public men we have lost, I cannot refer to the history of any Parliament which will bear to posterity so fatal a record. But, sir, there is this consolation to us, when we remember those unequalled and irreparable losses, that those great men are not altogether lost to us—that their words will be often quoted in this House; that their example will often be referred and appealed to; and that even their expressions will form part of our discussions and debates. There are, indeed, some Members of Parliament who, though they may not be pre-



sent, are still Members of this House, who are independent of dissolutions, of the caprices of constituencies, and even of the course of time. I think, Sir, that Mr. Cobden was one of those men, and I believe that when the verdict of posterity shall be recorded upon his life and conduct, it will be said of him that, looking to his expressions and deeds, he was, without doubt, the greatest political character that the pure middle class of this country has as yet produced—that he was an ornament to the House of Commons, and an honour to England.”

Mr. Bright, whose utterance was choked by his emotion, said, “Sir, I feel I cannot address the House on this occasion, though every expression of sympathy which I have witnessed has been most grateful to my heart; but the time which has elapsed since I was present when the manliest and gentlest spirit that ever actuated or tenanted a human form took its flight is so short, that I dare not even attempt to give utterance to the feelings by which I am oppressed. I shall leave it to some calmer moment, when I may have an opportunity of stating to some portion of my countrymen the lesson which I think may be learned from the life and character of my friend. I have only to say now that, after twenty years of the most intimate and most brotherly friendship with him, I little knew how much I loved him until I found that I had lost him.”

A very few weeks after Mr. Cobden's departure, a still more startling event aroused the warmest feelings of sympathy and regret in this country. This was the murder of Mr. Lincoln, the President of the United States, by the hand of an assassin, an event of which a more particular account will be found in another part of this volume. But the mode in which the intelligence was received in this country may here be referred to, as a signal instance of that sympathy of feeling with which the common heart of nations is moved, in the present state of society, by any event which deeply affects the condition and prospects of any one member of the fraternity. As the character of Mr. Lincoln had become better known and appreciated on this side of the Atlantic, his name had come to be regarded with general liking and respect, and the singular history and personal peculiarities of the man had increased the feeling of admiration for the rugged simplicity and manliness of his nature. The indignation and horror at the crime which had struck down the ruler of the great republic were mingled, therefore, in the minds of Englishmen with a cordial regret for the untimely loss of the man. In every way in which the national feeling could be testified, expression was given to the general sorrow in all parts of the United Kingdom. Her Majesty the Queen, herself “*non ignara mali*,” wrote with her own hand a touching letter of condolence to the widow of the late President. The Corporation of London, followed by a great number of the other municipal and public bodies throughout the kingdom, expressed in public meetings their respect and sorrow for the



great American statesman. The official organs of the Government were not slow in paying the tribute of sympathy due to the deceased ruler and the bereaved nation of which he had been the head. At the first meeting of the House of Commons after the news of Mr. Lincoln's assassination reached England, Sir George Grey, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, rose and said, "In order to give the House an opportunity of expressing the feelings which I am sure it entertains, and which, I may add, pervade the whole country, in reference to the assassination of the President of the United States, my noble friend at the head of the Government will move a humble address to Her Majesty, expressing the feeling of sorrow and indignation with which the House regards the perpetration of this atrocious crime, and sympathy with the Government and people of the United States, humbly praying Her Majesty, in communicating to the Government of the United States her condolence on this matter, to convey at the same time an expression of deep feeling on the part of this House."

A similar notice had been given in the House of Lords, and on the same day (May 1) the subject was brought before the two Houses by the Ministerial leaders. In the Upper House, Earl Russell moved an address to the Queen, expressive of the sorrow and indignation with which their lordships had heard of the assassination of the American President. The noble lord said he believed that the motion would receive the entire concurrence of the House, and referred to Her Majesty's autograph letter to Mrs. Lincoln, offering her condolence with that lady upon her sad bereavement. He also, commenting on the enormity of the crime, observed that no such act had been committed in modern times as the murder of a man who had been twice elected President of the great American Republic, who had borne his honours meekly, had displayed so much integrity, sincerity, and straightforwardness; had done so much to alleviate the miseries of war, and who appeared disposed to follow up the success achieved by its arms by a wise, conciliatory, and generous policy. In this country there was a universal sympathy with the United States in their great deprivation, as well as a hope that the successor of Mr. Lincoln would follow the example which had been set by his predecessor. "There have," said the noble lord, "been difficulties in maintaining peaceful relations between the United States and England, but those difficulties have always been treated with temper and moderation both on this side of the Atlantic and on the other. I trust that that temper and moderation will continue to prevail. I can assure the House that as we have been always guided by a wish to let the people and Government of America settle for themselves, without interference of ours, the conflict of armies, so likewise, during the time that may be required to restore peace and tranquillity to the country, we shall equally refrain from any kind of interference or inter-

vention, and shall trust that the efforts made will be successful, and that that great republic will flourish in the enjoyment of that prosperity which she has so long enjoyed. It is not for me to speculate on the course that may be pursued by the new President. All I can say is, that, in regard to this great crime, the Crown and people of this country feel the deepest sympathy with the people of the United States; and that our relations of kindred with the people of the United States make us feel their misfortunes more than the misfortunes of any country on the face of the globe."

The Earl of Derby, in seconding the motion, said, their lordships, in expressing their sorrow and indignation at the atrocious crime by which the United States had been deprived of their chief magistrate, only echoed the universal sympathy which prevailed from one end of the country to the other. Such an expression of feeling, he was sure, must prove a complete refutation of any suspicion that might possibly lurk in the mind of the people of the United States, that an unfriendly feeling existed towards them on the part of any section of the people of England. No palliation could be offered for the crime which had been committed, and whatever difference of opinion there might be as to the respective rights of the North and the South, all must agree that it could not serve the cause of the South. It was impossible to imagine that the Confederate authorities could sympathize with such a deed. "Nay," said the noble earl, "if they did not express abhorrence of such a crime, I should say that they had committed what is said to be worse than a crime—a gross blunder. There may be differences of opinion as to the merits of the two parties—one contending for empire (I borrow the expression from the noble earl opposite); but there is and can be no difference of opinion as to this crime, or as to the fact that any cause would be desecrated which it was attempted to promote by a measure so infamous as the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. But I am perfectly satisfied that this detestable step of assassination is so entirely opposed to the whole spirit in which the South have conducted this struggle—the bold, courageous, manly, and forbearing course which they have adopted—that they cannot be guilty of the crime or the blunder of planning or sanctioning a deed which would inflict so serious an injury on their own cause. I think that the death of such a man at such a time is a matter for deep regret, and is also a serious misfortune to the country over which he presided. I can only hope that, notwithstanding some ominous expressions which have fallen from him, his successor may be disposed to follow the wise and salutary course which I believe that, on the prospect of success, President Lincoln had determined upon following. If a different course be pursued, I am satisfied that the adoption of such a course can only lead to a further protraction of the horrors of civil war, inducing the South by the strongest of all motives—that of despair—to fight on to the bitter end, and to suffer extermination rather than submit to the terms

imposed upon them by their conquerors. On every ground there is the deepest cause for lamenting the occurrence which has taken place; and I am quite sure that, independently of all political motives—but not saying that political motives do not enter into our thoughts—I am only pronouncing the unanimous feeling of the country and of this House in expressing my horror, detestation, and abhorrence of the crime by which the late President of the United States was deprived of life.”

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe briefly expressed his horror of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, and his hope that the feeling universally displayed by all classes in England would tend to cement the friendship between this country and the United States.

The address was of course unanimously adopted, and in the House of Commons similar proceedings took place.

Sir G. Grey, in the absence, owing to illness, of Viscount Palmerston, said: When the news reached England of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, and the attempted—he hoped, unsuccessful—assassination of Mr. Seward, the first impression of every mind was, that the intelligence could not be true. All hoped that it could not be possible to find a person who was capable of committing so atrocious a crime; but when there could be no longer a doubt entertained on the subject, the feeling that succeeded was one of universal sorrow, horror, and indignation, and such as might have been evoked had some great calamity befallen ourselves. Whatever might be the opinions of hon. Members with regard to the past, he was sure they would all cordially unite in expressing their abhorrence of this crime, and in tendering their sympathy to the nation which was now mourning the loss of its chosen and trusted chief, struck down by the hand of an assassin at the most critical period in its history. Whilst deploring the war in America, and lamenting the loss of life which had been its inevitable consequence, it was impossible to withhold admiration from the many gallant deeds that had been performed, and those acts of heroism which had been displayed by both parties in the contest. It was to be hoped that the good sense and right feeling of those on whom the arduous and difficult duty of restoring peace and order now rested, and their respect and veneration for the memory of him whom they were mourning, would lead them to act in the same spirit, and to follow the same counsels as those by which Mr. Lincoln’s administration would have been guided, had he lived to complete the work of pacification. For nothing would give greater satisfaction to this country than to see, by the admixture of firmness and conciliation, the union of North and South again established by common consent, and free from that which had hitherto constituted its weakness—the curse of slavery. He wished it were possible to convey to the people of the United States an adequate idea of the depth and universality of the feeling of regret which this sad event had occasioned among all classes of our population, from the highest to the lowest. Her



Majesty's Minister at Washington would, in obedience to the Queen's commands, convey to the Government of the United States an expression of the feelings of Her Majesty and her Government on this deplorable event. From every part of the country, and from every class of the community, but one voice was now heard—a voice of abhorrence at the crime, and of sympathy with the country that had sustained this severe loss. He was confident, therefore, that the House of Commons could never more adequately represent the feelings of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom than by agreeing to an address expressive of their sorrow and indignation at the assassination of the President of the United States, and praying Her Majesty to communicate these sentiments, on the part of the House, to the Government of the United States.

Mr. Disraeli, in seconding the motion, observed that under any circumstances the House would have bewailed the catastrophe which had taken place at Washington; but in the character of the victim, and in the very accessories of his almost latest moment, there was something so homely and so innocent that it took the subject, as it were, out of the pomp of history and the ceremonial of diplomacy. It touched the heart of the nation, and appealed to the domestic sentiments of mankind. Whatever might be the various opinions in the House and the country on the policy of the late President of the United States, upon this all must be agreed, that in a trial which perhaps more than any other tested the moral qualities of a man, he performed his duty with simplicity and strength. Nor was it possible that the people of England could forget at this moment that he sprang from the same fatherland and spoke the same mother tongue. In the midst of the prevailing sorrow, it was consolatory to reflect that assassination had never changed the history of the world. In olden times even the costly assassination of a Cæsar did not propitiate the inevitable destiny of his country. And in more modern days Henry the Fourth of France and the Prince of Orange were conspicuous illustrations of this truth. Therefore, whilst he seconded the address to the Crown, and expressed feelings of unaffected and profound sympathy with the citizens of the United States in the untimely death of their elected chief, he would not sanction any sentiment of depression. He would rather avail himself of that opportunity to express his fervent hope that from these awful years of trial the various populations of North America might come out elevated and chastened, rich with that accumulated wisdom, and strong in that disciplined energy which a young nation only could acquire in a protracted and perilous struggle.

The motion was agreed to, *nemine contradicente*.

To these addresses Her Majesty graciously responded, using these terms:—"I entirely participate in the sentiments you have expressed in your address to me on the subject of the assassination of the President of the United States, and I have given directions



to my Minister at Washington to make known to the Government of that country the feelings which you entertain, in common with myself and my whole people, with regard to this deplorable event."

A more happy occasion for an address of the Legislature to the Throne, but expressive of an equally universal public sympathy, was afforded late in the Session by an event which evoked in a marked degree the loyal and kindly feelings of the nation,—the birth of another son to the youthful Prince and Princess of Wales. In this occurrence the English public saw with satisfaction an additional guarantee for the continued happiness and security of the realm under the descendant of a sovereign who had justly earned their devoted attachment, as well by the faithful discharge of public duties as by the endearing attributes of personal character. On the 8th of June, Earl Granville in the House of Lords, and Sir George Grey in the House of Commons, moved addresses to Her Majesty of congratulation on the Princess of Wales having happily given birth to a Prince, with assurances of devoted loyalty and attachment to Her Majesty's person and family. To these addresses Her Majesty replied in corresponding terms.

The chronicle of the Session of 1865 would be incomplete without some notice of an affair which engrossed a large share of public attention, gave rise to considerable scandal, and eventually led to the retirement from office of no less a person than the Lord Chancellor of England, a man of eminent learning and ability—Lord Westbury. The charges which affected this nobleman, and ultimately drove him from the woolsack, were founded upon two transactions, in each of which it was alleged that he had exercised the powers and patronage of his office in an improper manner, to the detriment of the public service. The first case related to a person named Leonard Edmunds, who had held the joint offices of clerk to the Commissioners of Patents, and of reading-clerk to the House of Lords, and who, in the former office, had committed certain defalcations in his accounts. The second case arose out of certain appointments to offices and grants of retiring pensions in the Leeds Court of Bankruptcy, in which it was alleged that the Lord Chancellor had been influenced by personal considerations to make arrangements inimical to the public interest. It will be necessary, in order to make the proceedings which took place in regard to these matters intelligible, to give a short sketch of the history of both transactions.

It appeared in the Parliamentary inquiry which took place in the former case, that Mr. Leonard Edmunds was appointed clerk of the patents by Lord Chancellor Brougham in the year 1833, at a salary of 400*l.* a year, out of which the expenses of the office were to be paid. After the passing of the Patent Law Amendment Act, Mr. Edmunds, in October, 1852, was appointed clerk to the Commissioners of Patents, consisting of Lord Chancellor St. Leonard, the Master of the Rolls, and the law officers of the Crown. He received for this office a salary of 600*l.* a year. In March, 1864,

disputes arose in the Patent Office between Mr. Edmunds and Mr. Woodcroft, the superintendent of specifications; and charges were made by one against the other, principally relating to the management of the office. Mr. Edmunds courted and required the fullest inquiry, and Mr. Greenwood, Q.C., and Mr. Hindmarch, Q.C., were appointed to make it, both as to the charges against Edmunds and those against Woodcroft.

In the course of a long inquiry which these gentlemen instituted, they found that great irregularities existed in Mr. Edmunds's accounts, and that there had been serious deficiencies in his payments to the Treasury; and in their report to the Lord Chancellor they stated that they had received evidence establishing the following principal charges:—1. That Mr. Edmunds had, from the year 1852, withheld from the public purse large sums of money which he ought to have accounted for and paid quarterly in every year from that time to the present. 2. That he had in 1853 advanced 500*l.* out of the public moneys for the purchase of stamps, and had in 1863 taken 500*l.* (in purported repayment) out of public moneys and put it into his private pocket. 3. That he had purchased stamps at wholesale prices, sold them in the Patent Office at retail prices, and put the difference into his own pocket instead of crediting the amount to the public; the purchase having been made out of public moneys. 4. That he had drawn large sums out of the public moneys of the office to his own use, and had given no account of such sums. 5. That he had withheld a sum of 399*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* for which he ought to have given credit to the Treasury, and had three times passed his accounts, while that sum was in his hands, without noticing it. Pending the investigation by the Commissioners, Mr. Edmunds rendered to the Treasury an account of fees received by him in every year that he was in office, and of the sums paid by him every year into the Exchequer. This account showed that by his own admission he had received, up to August, 1852,—his receipts, said the two gentlemen just named, were, in fact, larger,—51,245*l.*; and he had only paid into the Exchequer 46,055*l.*, leaving a deficiency of 5190*l.*, and (this being after the date of his last payment into the Exchequer) he had continued to withhold that sum from the Exchequer for twelve years—namely, until after the discovery of his defalcations. About the time of that last payment into the Exchequer, the Patent Law Amendment Act came into operation, and abolished the fees previously payable on patents for inventions. But there were still fees received on other patents and charters, which ought to have been paid into the Exchequer as required by the Act of Parliament. At the commencement of this inquiry, however, Mr. Edmunds had not only failed to pay any part of the 5190*l.* into the Exchequer, but had allowed the subsequent fees payable by him into the Exchequer to accumulate in his hands to the extent of a further sum of 2682*l.*, making together 7872*l.* It was not till September, 1864, that he paid over that sum, which, however,

was found by Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Hindmarch to be 892*l.* short of the true balance; and if to that be added the 3033*l.*, the amount of the sums unlawfully deducted from the fees, the balance of fees still payable to the Exchequer by Mr. Edmunds would amount to 3925*l.* To this also must be added 5132*l.* unlawfully kept back on the purchase of stamps, and 560*l.* for deficiency in the payments to the Suitors' Fee Fund of fees received on account of it. The four sums amounted together to 9617*l.* which had been withheld by Mr. Edmunds for many years.

The report of Messrs. Greenwood and Hindmarch having been presented to the Lord Chancellor, with a recommendation that Mr. Edmunds should be removed from his situation in the Patent Office, it became necessary for Lord Westbury to determine what steps should be taken in consequence. It had been proposed by the gentlemen above named that Mr. Edmunds should be required to answer the charges before the Lord Chancellor and two other judges; but he applied to be allowed to resign, and the permission was given, on condition that he should repay to the Treasury all the sums due from him as clerk of the Patents. The question then arose as to Mr. Edmunds's other office of clerk to the House of Lords. With respect to this office the Lord Chancellor informed Mr. Edmunds that it was his intention to take the opinions of Lord Cranworth and Lord Kingsdown. In the meantime, however, Mr. William Brougham, who, as well as some other members of his family, had been in former times a good deal mixed up with Mr. Edmunds's affairs, interested himself in the case, and wrote to the Lord Chancellor on behalf of Mr. Edmunds, saying, "If you think, looking at all the circumstances of the case, that Mr. Edmunds's wisest course is to resign and petition the Parliament Office Committee to be allowed to retire on a pension, and if you will do what you can to help him to a pension, I will advise him to resign." The Lord Chancellor, in answer to Mr. William Brougham, wrote a letter of the date of the 20th of October, which contained the following passages:—"I cannot offer any opinion on the subject of Mr. L. Edmunds's case. All that I can say is, that if he thinks proper to resign, I will do all that I can with propriety to obtain for him a pension;" and in a P.S. he adds, "I can with truth certify that Mr. E. has properly discharged all the duties of the office he holds in the House of Lords."

Mr. Edmunds hereupon resolved at once to resign, and presented a petition to the House of Lords, requesting permission to retire, in which he stated that he "had been for eighteen years a servant of the House, and that his conduct in that capacity had never been the subject of complaint, and he therefore prayed the usual reference to a Committee, in order that a pension might be granted to him, in conformity with the usage on like occasions."

The Lord Chancellor, who himself presented this petition to the House, moved that Mr. Edmunds's resignation be accepted, and that his petition should be referred to a Select Committee of the



Lords, which was done. Three days afterwards, the Lord Chancellor informed the House that he had appointed the hon. Slingsby Bethell (his son) to the office, in their lordship's House, which had been vacated by Mr. Edmunds; and the appointment was confirmed by the House.

The Select Committee to which Mr. Edmunds's petition had been referred met (the Lord Chancellor himself being one of the members of it), and, limiting themselves to the matter formally referred to them by the House, they reported that a pension of 800*l.* a year should be awarded to Mr. Edmunds on his retirement, which recommendation was adopted by the House. It was stated on a subsequent occasion by Lord Redesdale, one of the members of the Select Committee, in vindication of the course pursued by them, that they would have exceeded their functions if, without special instructions from the House, they had proceeded to inquire into the petitioner's conduct in any matter unconnected with his duties in their lordships' House. So far were the Select Committee from being aware that serious charges were still hanging over the head of Mr. Edmunds when his petition for a pension was presented by a member of the Government, that they did not even think there was any reason for his resignation of his post in the House of Lords; and the impression on the minds of the members of the Committee was, that Mr. Edmunds had paid up all his deficiencies in the Patent Office. Not having received from the Lord Chancellor any information when Mr. Edmunds's petition was referred to the Committee, or one word of observation from the Government, and the House having accepted Mr. Edmunds's resignation, and referred his petition for a pension to the Committee without comment or instruction, all they had to do was to consider the petition as it stood, and they did so in perfect good faith, and without any idea that Mr. Edmunds, by his conduct in the Patent Office, had forfeited his right to a pension.

The facts, however, relating to Mr. Edmunds's conduct in the Patent Office had for some time become matter of public rumour, and much scandal was occasioned by the circumstance that such a delinquent had not only escaped unpunished for his official misconduct, but had even received the reward usually accorded to persons who have faithfully served the public, in consequence of a resignation forced upon him to prevent ignominious dismissal. It was generally felt that the case could not be allowed to rest here, but that it should be brought in some shape before Parliament. The matter was taken up early in the Session by Lord Stanley, who elicited some explanations from the Attorney-General; but on the following day the Lord Chancellor, in the House of Lords, volunteered a statement on the subject, and after entering at some length into his own conduct and motives, he observed that it was essential that all the facts should be brought out by investigation, and he therefore moved "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into all the circumstances connected with the



resignation of Mr. Edmunds of the office of clerk of the Patents and clerk to the Commissioners of Patents, and with his resignation of the office of reading-clerk and clerk of Committees of this House, and also into all the circumstances connected with the grant of a retiring pension to him by this House." The Lord Chancellor added, that as it was necessary that the situation of clerk of the Patents should be immediately filled up, the Prime Minister, who had the office in his gift, had conferred it on a relative of his (the Lord Chancellor's). The office of clerk to the Commissioners of Patents, the more important place of the two, was in his own gift, but he had not filled up the vacancy because an amendment of the Patent Laws was impending.

The Earl of Derby complained that although the Lord Chancellor was aware of the facts which in his opinion rendered Mr. Edmunds unfit to retain his office in their lordships' House, he had himself presented a petition for a pension from Mr. Edmunds, and had it referred to a Committee without communicating to the Committee or to the House any of the information he possessed respecting Mr. Edmunds's conduct.

After some discussion, the motion for a Select Committee was agreed to, and a Committee appointed, consisting of some of the most eminent members of each party in the House.

The Committee thus appointed proceeded to make a full inquiry into all the matters referred to them; and having taken a good deal of evidence, they presented their report to the House. This document, which entered very fully into all parts of the transactions affecting Mr. Edmunds's conduct, his resignation of his several offices, and the part taken by the Lord Chancellor in respect to the affair, pronounced the opinion of the Committee that so much of the four charges brought against Mr. Edmunds as related to the purchase with public moneys of stamps upon which allowances of discounts were obtained by Mr. Edmunds, was fully established by the evidence. The second charge preferred against Mr. Edmunds "for having improperly retained in his hands or under his control, between the 9th of August, 1852, and the month of July, 1864, without duly paying the same over into Her Majesty's Exchequer, divers large sums of money received by him for fees on patents, which ought to have been from time to time during that period paid by him into Her Majesty's Exchequer," the Committee considered fully proved; and the third, "for having from time to time improperly caused to be transferred to the credit of his private account with Messrs. Coutts and Co., bankers, from a separate account kept by him with the same bankers for the public purposes of Her Majesty's Patent Office, and having applied to his own use divers sums of public money for which he was accountable to Her Majesty," they could not hesitate to conclude was "completely established."

With regard to the course pursued by the Lord Chancellor, the Committee declared, in a resolution moved by Lord Taunton, but

carried only by six to five, that they could not coincide with the Lord Chancellor in the view thus taken by him of his public duty. "In their opinion it was incumbent on him, who presented the petition of Mr. Edmunds to the House of Lords, in some manner to have apprised the Parliament Office Committee of the circumstances under which the resignation of Mr. Edmunds of the clerkship had taken place, and with which the Lord Chancellor was officially acquainted, and not to have left them to decide the question of a pension with no clearer light than that which could be derived from vague and uncertain rumours. The Committee had, however, no reason to believe that the Lord Chancellor was influenced by any unworthy or unbecoming motives in thus abstaining from giving any information to the before-mentioned Committee."

There were various other matters contained in the report affecting the conduct of individuals who had been variously implicated in the transactions inquired into, but it appears unnecessary to advert further to them in this place. The report of the Committee having been received by the House, it was moved by Earl Granville to rescind the former Resolution of the House agreeing to the recommendation of the Select Committee in favour of granting a retiring pension to Mr. Edmunds; and the grant of that pension was accordingly revoked.

Although the Select Committee had pronounced a lenient conclusion on the acts of the Lord Chancellor in regard to the case of Mr. Edmunds, and had limited their censure to an error of judgment on his part, it cannot be denied that in the public mind the reputation of this high functionary sustained some damage from the revelations which had been made. It was therefore under a certain disadvantage that his name was again heard of in connexion with an alleged misuse of official patronage in certain appointments and arrangements made in the Leeds District Court of Bankruptcy. This matter also became the subject of discussion in Parliament, the first occasion arising upon questions addressed to the Attorney-General by Mr. Ferrand, one of the Members for Devonport. He asked whether it was true that Mr. H. S. Wilde, when Registrar of the Leeds Court of Bankruptcy, was required by a bankruptcy official, by authority, to resign his office, and that he refused to do so; whether Mr. Wilde was then informed that if he would resign at once and obtain a medical certificate, he should have a pension of 600*l.* a year, although he was then in a good state of health; whether he did obtain such medical certificate and resign; whether the pension so promised was granted or sanctioned by the Lord Chancellor; whether Mr. Wilde, on his resignation, was succeeded by Mr. Welch, who was then in a precarious state of health; whether it was arranged that Mr. Welch should hold the office until the reversal of the outlawry of the Hon. Richard Bethell<sup>2</sup>; whether Mr. Richard Bethell's appointment was made

<sup>2</sup> A son of the Lord Chancellor.

out after his outlawry was reversed; and whether he attended the Bankruptcy Court at Leeds on or about the 24th of February last, and stated to official persons there that he was appointed registrar?

In answer to these inquiries the Attorney-General stated that Mr. Wilde was not called upon by any bankruptcy official to resign, but he was called upon to answer certain complaints made against him for irregularities in his office, not amounting, he believed, to personal or pecuniary defalcations, which were contained in a report to the Lord Chancellor made by Mr. Commissioner Elton. Mr. Wilde did answer these complaints, but his answers were not deemed satisfactory. About the same time the Chief Registrar was informed that Mr. Wilde's state of health was such that, if he thought fit, he would be entitled to resign under the thirty-third section of the Bankruptcy Act of 1861, and accordingly the Chief Registrar, in writing to say that the answer to the report which had been made was not satisfactory, suggested to him, from friendly motives, that if his state of health was really such as he (the Chief Registrar) had been informed, it was probable that he would be allowed to retire from his office in the usual manner. That led to a petition being presented by Mr. Wilde to the Lord Chancellor, which was verified in every part by Mr. Wilde himself upon oath, and was also supported by the certificate of an eminent surgeon. Mr. Wilde stated "that your petitioner has for some time been afflicted with a failure of sight, and that it has now become so serious that he is no longer able satisfactorily to fulfil the duties of his office, as appears by the certificate of Samuel Key, Esq., F.R.C.S., practising at Leeds, and desires to retire." Mr. Wilde under these circumstances was permitted to resign, and he received a pension of 600*l.* a year, to which he would be entitled at his resignation under the thirty-third section of the Bankruptcy Act. Then as to the appointment of Mr. Welch. Mr. Wilde was succeeded by Mr. Welch, who some time before had been strongly recommended to the Lord Chancellor for such an appointment by Sir W. Atherton, the then Attorney-General, Mr. E. James, the Attorney-General for the County Palatine of Lancaster, and other members of the Northern Circuit, to which Mr. Welch belonged. The Lord Chancellor had never seen Mr. Welch in his life, and until the questions of Mr. Ferrand were put upon the notice paper he had never heard that Mr. Welch had been in a precarious or bad state of health. With regard to the alleged arrangement as to Mr. Richard Bethell, no such arrangement was ever made or proposed, or even thought of. In point of fact, when Mr. Welch was appointed, there was no outlawry at all, for Mr. Welch's appointment was dated the 30th of July, 1864, and the outlawry of Mr. Bethell did not take place until the 15th of December following. As to the last question, the facts were these: Mr. Richard Bethell was never appointed Registrar of the Court of Bankruptcy at Leeds at all. A vacancy had been caused in London by the resignation of Mr. Bethell himself, and afterwards the Lord Chancellor was



pressed to transfer Mr. Welch to London, and to appoint Mr. Bethell at Leeds, but his lordship positively refused to do so. And if Mr. Bethell attended at the Bankruptcy Court at Leeds, and stated to the officials that he had been appointed the Registrar of the court, that was done altogether without the knowledge or sanction of the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. Ferrand, however, professed himself by no means satisfied with the explanations offered by the Attorney-General, and gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the circumstances connected with the resignation of Mr. Wilde of his office as Registrar, of the grant of a pension to him, the appointment of Mr. Welch to that post, his contemplated resignation or exchange of the office, and the intended appointment of the Hon. Richard Bethell in his place. Shortly after this notice had been given, it was announced by Lord Palmerston that the Lord Chancellor courted inquiry into this subject, and that the motion of Mr. Ferrand would not be opposed. A Committee of Inquiry was accordingly appointed by the House, which manifested a great desire to secure the selection of an impartial tribunal, and five Members, nominated by the General Committee of Elections, were chosen for the purpose. The matters referred to this body for investigation were inquired into by them at great length. The Lord Chancellor, his son, Mr. Richard Bethell, and all the parties implicated in the transactions in question were carefully examined, two Members of the House having been appointed specially to act for that purpose.

Their report was presented to the House about a fortnight before the termination of the Session. It bore the marks of great care and impartiality, and could not be said to err on the side of undue severity towards the parties affected by it. The facts of the case, as stated in the report of the Committee, were summarily these:—Early in the year 1864, an inquiry had been instituted into the Leeds Bankruptcy Court by the Lord Chancellor, and the reports made to him charged Mr. Wilde with having improperly passed the accounts of the official assignees and messengers of the Court, and with having borrowed money from them, to the destruction of his independence and efficiency. These reports were, by order of the Lord Chancellor, sent to Mr. Wilde by Mr. Miller, the Chief Registrar in Bankruptcy, on the 16th of May, 1864, with a request that he would explain the charges against him. In the same month of May the Lord Chancellor had learnt that his eldest son, Mr. Richard Bethell, was deeply indebted, and had compelled him to resign his post as Registrar in Bankruptcy; and in the middle of the same month Mr. Welch, a barrister of the Northern Circuit, a man of some means, and an acquaintance of Mr. Bethell, pressed upon the Lord Chancellor applications which he had previously made to him for a legal appointment. Mr. Welch had been recommended to the Lord Chancellor in 1863 by Mr. R. Bethell, as a friend whom he wished



to be remembered, and in May, 1864, Mr. Welch backed up this recommendation with some testimonials from the late Sir William Atherton, and other leading counsel of the Northern Circuit. The state of things in the middle of May was this,—that Mr. Wilde was accused of serious misconduct, Mr. Bethell had been dismissed from his office, and was deeply indebted, and Mr. Welch, with some money in his pocket, was an applicant for an appointment. That Mr. Bethell and Mr. Welch could help each other, was obvious; and the Rev. G. R. Harding, Vicar of St. Anne's, Wandsworth, stated to the Committee that it was arranged in May, 1864, between himself, Mr. Bethell, and Mr. Welch, that Mr. Welch should advance 500*l.* to Mr. Bethell, who should use his influence with his father to get Mr. Welch an appointment. On receipt of it Mr. Welch was to pay 1000*l.* more, one-third of which was to be Mr. Harding's share. The arrangement was denied by Mr. Bethell and Mr. Welch, but the fact that Mr. Welch gave Mr. Bethell a check for 500*l.* on the 6th of May was undeniable, and Mr. Welch confessed that he advanced the sum to secure Mr. Bethell's influence with his father. A vacant office was soon found. On the 26th of June Mr. Miller sent Mr. Wilde a peremptory letter, informing him that unless he announced in course of post his wish to retire, he would be served with notice to appear publicly in open court to show cause why he should not be dismissed. So much of the letter, Mr. Miller declared, was in strict accordance with the instructions of the Lord Chancellor, although the Lord Chancellor himself distinctly denied that he authorized Mr. Miller to say any thing about retiring; however that may be, Mr. Miller added of his own motion a suggestion to Mr. Wilde that his state of health was such that he might get a medical certificate entitling him to retire on a pension. The suggestion was at once taken by Mr. Wilde, and on the 30th of June Mr. Miller submitted to the Lord Chancellor Mr. Wilde's petition to retire, accompanied by a certificate from Mr. Key, an eminent surgeon of Leeds, stating that he had been consulted by Mr. Wilde, in the previous August, on account of a failure in his sight. Mr. Key appeared to have flatly refused to express the certificate in stronger terms. Mr. Miller stated that he called the Lord Chancellor's attention to its unsatisfactory nature; but the Lord Chancellor declared it impossible that he could have seen it, or he should never have done what he did on the same 30th of June—viz. allow Mr. Wilde to retire on a pension, and appoint Mr. Welch to the office thus vacated. The Lord Chancellor added that he appointed Mr. Welch from his recollection of his application and testimonials, without further solicitation from any one; and the Committee were satisfied that no imputation could fairly be made against the Lord Chancellor with regard to this appointment. Mr. Welch himself, however, did not seem to have thought that his money had been spent in vain. He continued to advance further sums to Mr. Bethell during the

last autumn, and, indeed, down to February of this year, amounting in the whole to 550*l*. After the events of May and June Mr. Bethell went over to the Continent, but returned later in the year, hoping to make some arrangement with his creditors, and to get a fresh appointment. The Lord Chancellor was asked to give his son the clerkship in the House of Lords vacated by Mr. Edmunds, and when that was bestowed on Mr. Slingsby Bethell, his younger son, Mr. Miller asked the Lord Chancellor to give the elder brother the registrarship vacated by the younger, and in his zeal for the family, drew up the order appointing him to it. The Lord Chancellor refused to make this order, and it was then suggested that Mr. Bethell might be appointed to a country office, whereupon the Chancellor appears to have said he would consider it, if Mr. Bethell could obtain a release from all his creditors. This was on the 22nd of February, and the hope held out by the Lord Chancellor was followed up with remarkable promptitude. The same afternoon Mr. Welch, accidentally in London, was introduced by Mr. Bethell to Mr. Skirrow, a friend of the Lord Chancellor, and trustee of Mr. Bethell's marriage settlement, and it was understood that Mr. Bethell was to go to Leeds in place of Mr. Welch, transferred to London. The next day Mr. Bethell went to Leeds, and every one in the Bankruptcy Court there heard of the arrangement, and at the same time Mr. Miller drew up two orders of appointment—one of Mr. Welch to the London Registrarship, and the other of Mr. Bethell to Leeds. On the 26th, however, the Lord Chancellor, having received further information, made up his mind not to appoint his son to any office, and on the following day Mr. Miller, warned of the resolution, mentioned the subject to the Chancellor, but kept the appointments in his pocket. Mr. Welch remained at Leeds, having for a time at least secured a valuable appointment in exchange for his money, and Mr. Bethell was not again heard of until he was arrested for debt at Ascot by a sheriff's officer.

The transactions thus brought to light were certainly most discreditable to all the parties concerned, as well as injurious to the interests of the public. With regard to the part taken by the Lord Chancellor, the Committee concluded their temperate report by expressing the following qualified censure upon his conduct:—"They must be allowed to observe, in conclusion, that while the facts which they believe to be established by the evidence acquit the Lord Chancellor from all charge except that of haste and want of caution in granting a pension to Mr. Wilde; and although some of the questions asked in your hon. House which led to the appointment of this Committee were founded on information which was not thoroughly accurate; yet the general impression created by the sudden retirement of Mr. Wilde, and the pecuniary transactions which took place between Mr. Bethell and Mr. Welch, coupled with the representations made by Mr. Bethell on his visit to Leeds, were calculated to excite the gravest

suspicious, and your Committee are of opinion that the inquiry which they have conducted was for this reason highly desirable for the public interests."

The report of the Committee, as soon as it was made public, together with the evidence upon which it was based, naturally gave rise to much comment in the newspapers and in other quarters; and criticism much less lenient than that of the Committee was freely uttered upon the conduct of the high functionary whose patronage had been misemployed. Prorogation, however, was now close at hand, and the matter seemed likely to escape further discussion in Parliament, when a notice was placed on the table of the House of Commons within three days of the close of the Session, by Mr. Warde Hunt, one of the Members for Northamptonshire, of a motion for a vote of censure on the Lord Chancellor's conduct. Although a large proportion of the Members of the House of Commons had left London in preparation for the impending elections, the importance of the occasion brought them up in considerable numbers to attend the debate, and the expiring Parliament witnessed one of the most animated discussions which had taken place for some time. The motion submitted by Mr. Hunt to the House was in these terms: "That the evidence taken before the Committee of this House on the Leeds Bankruptcy Court discloses that a great facility exists for obtaining public appointments by corrupt means; that such evidence, and also that taken before a Committee of the House of Lords in the case of Leonard Edmunds, and laid before this House, shows a laxity of practice and want of caution on the part of the Lord Chancellor, in sanctioning the grant of retiring pensions to public officers over whose heads grave charges are impending, and in filling up the vacancies made by the retirement of such officers, whereby great encouragement has been given to corrupt practices; and that such laxity and want of caution, even in the absence of any improper motive, are, in the opinion of this House, highly reprehensible, and calculated to throw discredit on the administration of the high offices of State." Mr. Hunt frankly avowed that he proposed this motion as a vote of censure upon the Lord Chancellor, and observed that if he had undertaken it on frivolous or insufficient grounds the censure would recoil upon his own head, whilst if he could show that there were real and substantial grounds for it, he should be satisfied with having discharged his duty. It was of essential importance not only that the patronage attaching to the office of Lord Chancellor should be exercised with perfect purity, and that that great functionary should be incorrupt himself, but that he should be lynx-eyed in watching the proceedings of those who were subordinate to him. In this instance he was happy to say that he did not impute personal corruption to the Lord Chancellor, but he did assert that the noble and learned lord had not displayed that vigilance and anxiety for the public interest which they had a right to expect at his hands, and



that his conduct had not been such as to satisfy the country or to justify his continuance in office, because he had been so lukewarm, careless, and supine in not preventing the corruption that was going on around him. In a lengthened and temperate speech the hon. Member carefully analyzed the evidence taken before the Select Committee, and concluded, from all the facts of the case, that the Lord Chancellor had exhibited a moral obtuseness that had given great occasion for scandal, that he had led people to think that places could be obtained by corrupt means, that he did not scan too nicely the reasons for removing one man from office and appointing another, and that his "fatuous simplicity," if such words could be applied to him, had enabled the persons by whom he was surrounded to practise a system of corruption which was almost as bad for the country as if he himself were personally guilty of it.

The Lord Advocate, adverting to the groundless imputations which had been cast upon the Lord Chancellor, observed that it was difficult to get rid of the prejudice they created, and he entreated the House to listen, as a judicial tribunal, impartially to what he should urge on his behalf. He examined the evidence relating to Mr. Wilde and the appointment of Mr. Welch, entering minutely into details, replying, as he proceeded, to the remarks of Mr. Hunt. He insisted that, on the face of the evidence, it was absurd to suppose that Mr. Richard Bethell could have exercised the influence alleged upon his father, and maintained that the recommendations of Mr. Welch were amply sufficient to justify his appointment. He discussed the case of Mr. Wilde and the conduct of Mr. Miller in reference to it, remarking that it was very easy now, when all the surrounding circumstances were known, to apply line and rule, and blame the Lord Chancellor for allowing a retiring pension to an officer. He alluded to the confusion in the evidence of Mr. Miller, and compared it with that of other witnesses with reference to the case of Mr. Wilde, reminding the House that the enforced resignation of his office was a punishment inflicted upon Mr. Wilde. The House should not express a stronger opinion in regard to the Lord Chancellor's conduct in this matter than that of the Committee. As to the corrupt transactions in relation to Mr. Welch's appointment, he contended that there was not the most remote connexion between them and the motives which had led to the appointment, citing portions of the evidence to justify the conclusion that the Lord Chancellor stood thoroughly clear of any ignoble motive in the matter. He moved an amendment to the effect that the House, having considered the report of the Select Committee on the Leeds Bankruptcy Court, and the evidence upon which it was founded, agree with the Committee in acquitting the Lord Chancellor of all charge, except haste and want of caution in granting a pension to Mr. Wilde; and is of opinion that further steps should be taken by law with reference to the grant of such pensions.



Mr. Denman said that, having read the evidence through, he considered the heads of the resolution to be unjust and untrue. The hon. Member then reviewed the evidence, and said the Lord Chancellor had been an industrious judge and an earnest law reformer, and he trusted that the House would not, by means of a party vote, insist upon driving from office a great and good public servant, because he had been guilty of certain errors of judgment in the distribution of patronage, and in the acceptance of resignations with pensions where pensions might have been refused.

Mr. E. P. Bouverie said he had been a constant supporter of the Government; but his confidence in the Government did not extend to the Lord Chancellor. He was willing fully to acquit the noble lord of personal corruption. But grossly corrupt practices had been notoriously committed by officers under him, and a new system of corruption for obtaining public offices had been instituted. The process was to bribe the son of the Lord Chancellor, and by that means obtain the office; then rob the public yourself, or wink at others doing so; upon discovery of your malversations, apply to the Lord Chancellor for permission to resign, and then retire with a pension. With regard to the motion of Mr. Ward Hunt, he objected to it that the terms in which it stated the charges against the Lord Chancellor were not sufficiently explicit; he should, therefore, in the event of that motion being rejected, propose an amendment of which he had given notice, and which was as follows:—"That this House, having considered the Report of the Leeds Bankruptcy Court and the evidence taken before them, are of opinion that, while the evidence discloses the existence of corrupt practices with reference to the appointment of Patrick Robert Welch to the office of registrar of the Leeds Bankruptcy Court, they are satisfied that no imputation can fairly be made against the Lord Chancellor with regard to this appointment, and that such evidence, and also that taken before the Committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the circumstances connected with the resignation by Mr. L. Edmunds of the offices held by him and laid before this House, show a laxity of practice and a want of caution with regard to the public interest on the part of the Lord Chancellor in sanctioning the grant of retiring pensions to public officers against whom grave charges were pending, which, in the opinion of this House, is calculated to discredit the administration of his great offices."

Mr. W. Hunt said he was quite willing to have his own resolution negatived, and Mr. Bouverie's amendment adopted.

Mr. Howes, chairman of the Select Committee, approved of Mr. Hunt's decision.

Mr. Vivian, a Member of the Committee, dissented from Mr. Howes's views, and said, as a Member of the Committee, he could not for a moment say that the evidence was in any way sufficient to cause him to give a vote which would have the effect of causing the Lord Chancellor to resign his office. Upon that ground,

therefore, it was his firm determination to support the words of the Committee.

The Attorney-General supported the amendment moved by the Lord Advocate, and, after reviewing the evidence given before the Committee, concluded by saying that the case of Mr. Edmunds, which had been long since considered, ought not to be imported into the charge respecting Mr. Wilde. "Is it," said the hon. gentleman, "true, that the Lord Chancellor is a person who has not had the public interest at heart in this manner? Who set the Edmunds inquiry on foot? Who discovered the gross abuses by which the public had been defrauded? It was the Lord Chancellor by his vigilance. The abuses had been going on since 1852, and it was the present Lord Chancellor who had ferreted out those abuses. He caused cases to be investigated and offenders to be removed, and recovered considerable sums for the public which the public would otherwise have lost. I trust that the House will consider the services done by the Lord Chancellor for the public in exposing those abuses and causing those inquiries. We know that the Lord Chancellor has incurred odium at Leeds and through the country, because, having heard of local abuses, he investigated them. Having done so, he corrected many abuses, and punished, but always leniently, numerous offenders. The Lord Chancellor, as holder of ecclesiastical patronage, has been the first to surrender 300 livings for the public good. In regard to judicial patronage, has not the Lord Chancellor made appointments to the bench of men best fitted without regard to party or any other consideration, and by doing so given universal satisfaction to all? So with the disposal of the judgeships in the county courts, and also with the registrarships in bankruptcy. These are matters which the House should consider before coming to this vote of want of confidence. Let the House look to the shining merits of this great officer, and refuse to concur in this vote of censure."

Mr. E. Egerton said that, as a Member of the Committee, whilst acquitting the Lord Chancellor of personal corruption, he was not prepared to whitewash him by agreeing to the amendment of the Lord Advocate.

The original motion having been put, was negatived without a division.

The amendment of the Lord Advocate having thus become the original motion, Viscount Palmerston proposed that the debate should be adjourned till next day, as the amendment of which Mr. Bouverie had given notice materially altered the issue, and neither the House nor the Government had had sufficient opportunity to consider it.

Mr. Disraeli observed that the subject had been amply discussed, and that an adjournment would be a mere mockery.

The House then divided upon the question of adjournment, when the numbers were:—Ayes, 163; noes, 177; majority against Government, 14.

Viscount Palmerston said that, anxious not to give the House more trouble than was necessary, he accepted the division on the question of adjournment as indicating the feeling of the House with regard to the motion of Mr. Bouverie. He would not, therefore, ask the House to divide again.

The motion of the Lord Advocate was then put and negatived, and the amendment of Mr. Bouverie carried *nemine contradicente*.

The vote come to by the House of Commons upon Mr. Bouverie's resolution could have but one result; and, indeed, it was understood that even had Lord Palmerston's motion for an adjournment been carried, the resignation of the Lord Chancellor would have been announced before the resumption of the debate. But after the vote of censure which was actually passed, it occasioned no surprise that on the assembling of the House on the day following, the Prime Minister rose to inform the House that the noble and learned lord had taken the only course open to him.

Lord Palmerston said: "Sir, the Lord Chancellor, in deference to the vote of the House last night, and to the opinion which that vote implied, has deemed it his duty, through me, to tender to Her Majesty the resignation of his office, which accordingly I have done. I think it at the same time due to the Chancellor to state that as early as the beginning of the Session—the beginning of the year, I may say—the Chancellor, stung in his feelings by the various attacks which were made upon him from different quarters, often pressed upon me that his resignation should be conveyed to Her Majesty. I, upon public and upon private and personal grounds, declined to accept that resignation, or to be the channel of conveying that resignation to Her Majesty, and I urged upon the Chancellor to remain at his post, and for this reason, that if he had resigned in consequence of the various attacks, some of them anonymous, he would thereby have been considered as implying the admission of the various charges that had been made against him, and even more than the charges that actually were made. Whereas, I represented to him that if he remained at his post there would, no doubt, be a Parliamentary inquiry into the matter concerned; and knowing and believing that his motives throughout have been perfectly pure and incorrupt, I was convinced that out of that inquiry would result that which has resulted, namely, an entire acquittal of the Chancellor of every corrupt motive. It will be necessary that the Chancellor should continue to hold the seals until Friday morning, in order that he may go through those operations which are connected with the prorogation and dissolution of Parliament; and on Friday the Chancellor will resign the seals into the hands of Her Majesty."

On the following day the Lord Chancellor made his valedictory statement in the House of Lords. The noble and learned lord said, "I feel it to be my duty, out of the deep respect which I owe to your lordships, to attend here to-day, that I may personally announce to you that I have tendered the resignation of my office



of Lord Chancellor to Her Majesty, and that it has been by Her Majesty most graciously accepted. My lords, the step which I took yesterday I should have taken several months ago if I had followed the dictates of my own judgment and of my own feelings, but I felt that I was not at liberty to do so. As a Member of the Government, I could not take such a step without the permission and sanction of the Members of Her Majesty's Government. So far as I was myself personally concerned, possessing, as I have the happiness to do, the friendship of the noble lord at the head of the Government and of the Members of the Cabinet, I laid aside my own feelings, being satisfied that my honour and sense of duty were safe if I followed their opinion rather than my own. My lords, I felt that the holder of the great seal ought never to be in the position of an accused person, if, unfortunately, he was so. For my part I felt that it was due to the great office which I held that I should retire from it, and meet any accusation that might be brought against me in the character of a private person. But my noble friend at the head of Her Majesty's Government combated that opinion, and I think with great justice. He said it would not do to admit that as a principle of political duty, or the consequence would be, that whoever thought fit to bring forward an accusation would succeed in driving the Lord Chancellor from office. Therefore, when the charges were first made, and were investigated by a Committee of your lordships' House, I entreated to be allowed to retire. The answer I received, and to which I gave my unqualified assent, was the answer of my noble friend which I have just described to you. When the Committee of the House of Commons was moved for, I again renewed my solicitations. The Government, however, thought I was bound, on the same principle, to undergo that inquiry, and I submitted to it again in deference to their wishes. When the late motion in the House of Commons was announced, I again renewed my request that that motion might be rendered unnecessary by my resignation of my office. But my noble friend thought it was my duty still to persist, and accordingly, my lords, my resignation, earnestly as I wished to make it, was postponed, in the manner I have described to you, until yesterday. Now, let it not be for one moment imagined that I state this in order to set up my own opinion in opposition to the kind and judicious advice that I received, coming as it did from a source that I was bound to respect and obey. But I have troubled you with this statement in the hope that you will believe, and that the public will believe, that I have not clung to office, that I have had no desire to retain it, that I have not been influenced by any base or unworthy motives. With regard to the opinion of the House of Commons I do not presume to say a word. I have bowed to that decision; but I may venture to hope that, after an interval of time, calmer thoughts will prevail, and that feelings more favourable to myself may be entertained. My lords, I am thankful for the opportunity which my tenure of



office has afforded me of passing measures originating with myself, and which have received your lordships' approbation—measures which I believe, nay, which I venture from experience to predict, will be productive of great benefit to the public. With them I hope my name will be associated. I regret deeply that a great measure which I have had at heart—the formation of a digest of the entire law—I have been unable to inaugurate; for it was not until this Session that the means were afforded by Parliament for that purpose. My lords, I leave that great scheme ready prepared to my successor. With regard to the future, I can only venture to promise that it will be my zealous anxiety, in the character of a private Member of this House, to promote and assist in accomplishing all those reforms and improvements in the administration of justice which I feel are yet required by the country. My lords, with regard to the appellate business of your lordships' House, I am happy to say it is in what I think will be found a satisfactory state. There is not a single judgment in arrear save one in which the arguments were concluded only, after many days' hearing, the day before yesterday. In Chancery, I am happy also to state that by the end of the sittings there will not, I believe, remain one appeal unheard, or a judgment not pronounced. I mention this only in the hope that your lordships will see and acknowledge that it has been my most earnest desire, from the time I assumed office, to give to the discharge of my judicial duty all my powers and my energies, and all the industry I could command. My lords, I have nothing more to do than to thank your lordships, which I do universally, for the kindness which I have uniformly received. It is very possible that by some words, by some inadvertence, by some want of attention or courtesy, I may have given pain, or I may have exposed myself to unfavourable report. My lords, if that be the case, I beg of you to accept the expression of my regret, and I trust that it may be erased from your memories. My lords, I have nothing more to say than that I thank you for the kindness with which you have listened to me."

The Lord Chancellor's speech was heard with deep attention, and passed without comment. The Great Seal was shortly afterwards entrusted, for the second time, to Lord Cranworth.

The last Session of an expiring Parliament is not a time in which important changes or measures of great magnitude can properly be initiated, and little was expected during the present sitting of the Legislature except the performance of the ordinary annual business which devolves on Parliament, and the passing of such Bills as were urgently required for the public interest. But when the financial arrangement of the year had been decided on, and the necessary supplies voted, the interest of the coming General Election began to absorb the attention of the public, and to influence the attendance of Members in their places in the House of Commons. When the month of July arrived, the shadow of the approaching dissolution began to throw a chilling effect on the

proceedings of Parliament, and a desire was evinced to hasten the inevitable event, and bring the fate of Members and of parties to the test of the constituencies. The early part of this month was considered to be the time when a General Election would occasion the least degree of disturbance to the industry and avocations of the public, and the necessary business of legislation having been completed, the 6th was fixed for the Prorogation of Parliament with a view to its being immediately dissolved. On that day, accordingly, the Parliament having reached its full term, according to constitutional usage, and being within nine months of its utmost legal duration, was brought to an end. The Prorogation took place by commission, the Royal Speech being read by Earl Granville. It was in the following terms:—

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

“We are commanded by Her Majesty to release you from further attendance in Parliament, and, at the same time, to convey to you Her Majesty’s acknowledgments for the zeal and assiduity with which you have applied yourselves to the discharge of your duties in the Session now brought to a close.

“We are further commanded to inform you that, as the present Parliament has now so nearly lasted the period assigned by law for the duration of Parliaments, that you could not enter upon another yearly Session with advantage to the public interest, it is Her Majesty’s intention immediately to dissolve the present Parliament and to issue writs for the calling of a new one.

“But Her Majesty cannot take leave of you without commanding us to express to you Her Majesty’s deep sense of the zeal and public spirit which, during the six years of your existence as a Parliament, you have constantly displayed in the discharge of important functions, and tendering to you Her Majesty’s warm acknowledgments for the many good measures which you have submitted for her acceptance, and which have greatly conduced to the diminution of the public burthens, to the encouragement of industry, to the increase of the wealth, and to the promotion of the welfare and happiness of Her Majesty’s people.

“We are commanded to inform you that Her Majesty’s relations with foreign powers are friendly and satisfactory, and she trusts that there are no questions pending which are likely to lead to any disturbance of the peace of Europe.

“Her Majesty rejoices that the civil war in North America has ended, and she trusts that the evil caused by that long conflict may be repaired, and that prosperity may be restored in the States which have suffered from the contest.

“Her Majesty regrets that the conferences and communications between Her Majesty’s North American provinces on the subject of the union of those provinces in a confederation have not yet led to a satisfactory result. Such a union would afford additional strength to those provinces, and give facilities for many internal

improvements. Her Majesty has received gratifying assurances of the devoted loyalty of her North American subjects.

“Her Majesty rejoices at the continued tranquillity and increasing prosperity of her Indian dominions: and she trusts that the large supply which those territories will afford of the raw material of manufacturing industry, together with the termination of the civil war in the United States of North America, will prevent the recurrence of the distress which long prevailed among the manufacturing population of some of the northern counties.

“GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—

“Her Majesty commands us to convey to you her warm acknowledgments for the liberal supplies which you have granted to Her Majesty for the service of the present year, and towards the permanent defence of Her Majesty's dockyards and arsenals.

“The commercial treaty which Her Majesty has recently concluded with Prussia and the other States composing the German Commercial Union has, by Her Majesty's commands, been laid before you. Her Majesty trusts that this treaty will contribute to the development of commercial relations between this country and Germany, and will promote the interests of the several countries which are parties to it.

“Her Majesty commands us to assure you that her attention will continue to be directed to all such measures as may be calculated to extend and to place on a sound footing the trade between Her Majesty's dominions and foreign countries.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

“Her Majesty has given her cordial assent to many measures of public usefulness, the result of your labours in the Session now brought to a close.

“The Act for rendering the expenses incurred for the support of the poor chargeable upon the whole of a Union, instead of being confined to separate parishes, will diminish the hardship inflicted upon the labouring poor by reason of removals from parish to parish.

“The Partnership Amendment Act will tend to encourage the profitable employment of capital.

“The Courts of Justice Building and Concentration Acts will, it is hoped, lessen the expense and shorten the duration of legal proceedings.

“The Clerical Subscription Act, founded on the recommendation of a Royal Commission, will remove objections which have been felt to the number and variety of the forms of subscription and declaration hitherto required of the clergy.

“The management and discipline of prisons will be improved by the Act for the consolidation and amendment of the laws on that subject.

“The County Court Equitable Jurisdiction Act will give a useful extension to the local administration of justice.



"The Act for Consolidating the Comptrollership of the Exchequer with the Board of Audit will tend to increase the efficiency of the arrangements for auditing the public accounts.

"The Act for Establishing the Record of Titles in Ireland will render more easy and secure the transfer of land.

"The Act for Amending the Laws which govern the constabulary force in Ireland will tend to prevent the recurrence of such disorders as happened last year at Belfast.

"The Colonial Naval Defence Act has removed restrictions which have hitherto prevented the Colonies from taking effectual measures for their own defence against attacks by sea.

"Her Majesty has also gladly given her assent to many other useful measures of less general importance.

"The electors of the United Kingdom will soon be called upon again to choose their representatives in Parliament; and Her Majesty fervently prays that the blessing of Almighty God may attend their proceedings, and may guide them towards the attainment of the object of Her Majesty's constant solicitude—the welfare and happiness of her people."

The Commission for the Prorogation having been read by the clerk at the table,

Earl Granville formally declared Parliament prorogued to the 12th inst.

On the same evening a notice appeared in the "Gazette" that the Parliament was dissolved. The writs for the new elections were immediately sent out, and the proceedings commenced with the greatest activity for the execution of the writs.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE GENERAL ELECTION—Its tranquil and unexcited character—The Oxford University Contest—Rejection of Mr. Gladstone and return of Mr. Gathorne Hardy—Mr. Gladstone is proposed for South Lancashire, and obtains a Seat for that Division—General Results of the Election—Change in the Composition of the House of Commons, and increased preponderance of Liberal Members—Death of Viscount Palmerston—General regret felt by the Public for the loss of the Veteran Statesman—He is buried in Westminster Abbey—Earl Russell becomes Prime Minister, and Mr. Gladstone Leader of the House of Commons—Other changes in the Cabinet—Favourable results of the Harvest—Drawbacks to the general prosperity from the Cattle Plague in England and Scotland, and the Fenian Conspiracy in Ireland—Account of the Cattle Disease, its Origin and Characteristics—Progressive Ravages of the Malady—Appointment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry—Important Conclusions resulting from their Investigations—Differences of opinion among the Commissioners with respect to Remedies—The Government declines to adopt the more stringent measures of complete isolation recommended by the majority—Successive



issues of Orders of Council on the subject—The Local Authorities are invested with powers to adopt remedial or preventive measures—Dissatisfaction expressed at the unwillingness of the Ministers to assume the responsibility—Suggestions for a Scheme of a National Insurance of Cattle guaranteed by the State—The Chancellor of the Exchequer urges powerful arguments against that proposal—Increased alarm felt throughout the country—Total failure of medical treatment—Opinion of Dr. Watson on the nature of the Disease—Suggestion of Vaccination as a Preventive—Partial failure of that mode of treatment—Effect of the malady on the prices of meat, milk, and other commodities—Alterations in the channels of supply—Official Statement of the ravages of the Pestilence down to the end of the year.—*The Fenian Conspiracy in Ireland*—Operations in concert with Irish emigrants in the United States—Origin of the term “Fenian,” and nature and objects of the movement—Hostility of the Brotherhood to the Roman Catholic Priests, by whom they are reprobated and denounced—Design of the Insurgents to invade the kingdom, establish an Irish Republic, with confiscation of property, and destruction of the existing social fabric—Prompt and vigorous measures of the Government—Numerous arrests of conspirators, and seizures of arms and treasonable documents—Capture of Stephens, the principal leader in Ireland—He is committed to Richmond Gaol, but effects his Escape—Futile attempts of the Police to discover his retreat—Appointment of the Special Commission for the trial of the accused parties—Its protracted sittings at Dublin and Cork—Conviction of the prisoners, who are sentenced to various terms of penal servitude—Absence of public excitement or sympathy with the accused—Readiness of the juries to convict upon due evidence—Specimens of Fenian Proclamations and Addresses—Manufacture of pikes for the proposed invasion—Remittances of money from confederates in America—Injurious effect of the revolutionary movement on the improvement of Ireland—Alarm felt by landowners and possessors of property—General Retrospect of the state of the kingdom at the close of the year—Review of the commercial and monetary features of the period—Great variations in the rate of interest—Progressive dearthness of money—Extensive speculation through the medium of Companies with limited liability—Large consignments of produce to America at the close of the Civil War—Influence of these events on the Money Market—Conclusion.

THE General Election of 1865 took place under circumstances of as little excitement as can perhaps ever be expected to attend the choosing by a great nation of its representative body. It was not in the common sense of the term an “appeal” to the constituencies, for there was no prominent question or pending controversy which the voters were called upon to decide,—no definite issue to be tried, no election “cry” to stimulate party zeal. The late Parliament had expired by efflux of time, and a new House was required to be chosen according to the canons of the Constitution, but the task was one which might happily be performed without any excitement of political animosities, or any disturbance of the public tranquillity. The Government of Lord Palmerston presented their claims for a continuance of the support of the country with considerable confidence, appealing to the success of their efforts in maintaining external peace, and to the triumphant results of their financial and commercial policy. Their adherents counted on a certain though moderate accession of strength in the new Parliament. A considerable change in the composition of the House, though not in the relative strength of parties, was naturally expected, the long interval which had elapsed since the last election having caused many Members to desire retirement, and many constituencies to seek a change of men to represent them. The interest of the election mainly centred on two points, the expected contest for the University of Oxford, where Mr.

Gladstone was threatened with a very formidable opposition by the supporters of Mr. Gathorne Hardy, and the metropolitan seats, for which there were several new candidates, among whom were men of considerable eminence and distinction. The general result of the elections in Ireland was also regarded with a good deal of interest.

The celerity with which the elections are now happily conducted, made the period of suspense a very short one. The new writs were despatched almost the moment after the late Parliament had ceased to exist. Within a week most of the borough contests in England and Wales had been decided. The metropolitan elections came off first. In the City of London there was a contest, but scarcely more than a formal one. The four Liberal candidates outnumbered, by majorities of more than 2000, their two Conservative opponents, Mr. Göschen standing first on the poll. For Westminster there was a trial of some interest. Mr. J. Stuart Mill, the eminent philosophical and economical writer, being one of the candidates on the Liberal side. He was opposed by a gentleman of character and influence of the other school of politics; but the result was to bring in Mr. Mill second on the poll, with a majority of several hundreds over the Conservative. Mr. Thomas Hughes, a gentleman of some literary celebrity, and who had also identified himself much with the cause of the working class, was returned at the head of the poll for Lambeth. In other parts of the country, men distinguished in literature and science were for the first time returned by popular constituencies. But the most exciting struggle was at Oxford. According to an Act passed in the last Parliament, the election for the Universities was authorized to be made by means of voting papers, transmitted through the post or otherwise to the Vice-Chancellors, and a period of five days was allowed for keeping open the poll. The respective friends of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Hardy made great exertions, and a most active canvass was set on foot throughout the county, but it was generally expected that the paper voting system would tell against the interests of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The polling commenced on the 13th of July, and the result of the first day was to place Mr. Gladstone in a small minority below Mr. Hardy and in the third place on the poll, the late representative, Sir W. Heathcote, who received support from both sides, holding the first place. During the four remaining days of the poll, the relative position of the candidates, though the distance between them from time to time varied, continued unchanged; and at the close of the poll, on the 18th, the numbers were declared to be as follows:—

For Sir William Heathcote	. . .	3,236
For Mr. Gathorne Hardy	. . .	1,904
For Mr. Gladstone	. . .	1,724
Majority of Mr. Hardy over Mr. Gladstone, 180.		

Thus ended this remarkable contest, at which not less than 3850 voters polled, a number nearly double that polled on any former occasion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer addressed the following farewell address to the members of Convocation:—

“Gentlemen,—After an arduous connexion of eighteen years, I bid you respectfully farewell. My earnest purpose to serve you, my many faults and shortcomings, the incidents of the political relation between the University and myself, established in 1847, so often questioned in vain, and now at length finally dissolved, I leave to the judgment of the future. It is one imperative duty, and one alone, which induces me to trouble you with these few parting words: the duty of expressing my profound and lasting gratitude for indulgence as generous, and for support as warm and enthusiastic in itself, and as honourable from the character and distinctions of those who have given it, as has, in my belief, ever been accorded by any constituency to any representative.

“I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

“Your obliged and obedient servant,

“W. E. GLADSTONE.

“Hawarden, Chester, July 18, 1865.”

Thus rejected, as Sir Robert Peel had been before him, by the University of Oxford, Mr. Gladstone at once resolved to appeal to another and very different constituency to return him to Parliament. The representation of South Lancashire was still open, and preparations for a keen struggle between the Liberal and Conservative parties had been for some time made. The nomination for that division had taken place on the 17th, and the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been then proposed, the actual result at Oxford not being then known. Mr. Gladstone set off on the 18th for Manchester, where he had a conference with the Liberal Election Committee, and thereupon issued the following address:—

“TO THE ELECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

“Gentlemen,—I appear before you as a candidate for the suffrages of your division of my native county. Time forbids me to enlarge on the numerous topics which justly engage the public interest. I will bring them all to a single head. You are conversant—few so much so—with the legislation of the last thirty-five years. You have seen, you have felt, its results. You cannot fail to have observed the verdict which the country generally has, within the last eight days, pronounced upon the relative claims and positions of the two great political parties with respect to that legislation in the past, and to the prospective administration of public affairs. I humbly, but confidently, without the least disparagement to many excellent persons from whom I have the



misfortune frequently to differ, ask you to give your powerful voice in confirmation of that verdict, and to pronounce with significance as to the direction in which you desire the wheels of the State to move. Before these words can be read, I hope to be among you in the hives of your teeming enterprise.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

• "W. E. GLADSTONE.

"Hawarden, July 18."

The same evening Mr. Gladstone addressed an immense assembly in the Royal Amphitheatre of Liverpool, where his appearance was welcomed with great enthusiasm. The introductory part of his speech on this occasion excited much interest on account of the reference which it contained to his recent rejection by his former constituents. Mr. Gladstone said,—“At eight o'clock to-night, when I have the honour of appearing before this crowded assembly, the poll has been appointed to cease for the University of Oxford. The very last thing that I could think of would be to connect that circumstance at Oxford with one single word either of disrespect or indifference as regards that ancient, great, and venerable University. Gentlemen, during eighteen anxious years I have been the representative of Oxford. It has been my duty in her name to deal, as well as my feeble powers would permit me, with all the questions bearing upon the relationship of religion and of education to the State which this critical period has brought to the surface. Gentlemen, I have endeavoured to serve that University with my whole heart; and with the strength, or weakness, or whatever faculties God has given me, it has been my daily and my nightly care to promote as well as I could her interests, and to testify to her, as well as I could, my love. Long has she borne with me. Long, in spite of active opposition, did she resist every effort to displace me. At last she has changed her mind. God grant it may be well with her; but recollections of her confidence, which I have so long enjoyed, and of the many hours and many years that I have spent in her service, never can part from me. And if now, gentlemen, I appear before you in a different position, I do not appear as a different man. I have not forgotten my former existence in this free and happy country; I know of no distinction between the various classes and various interests, and there is no reason why the man who has been, to the best of his poor ability, the faithful representative of the University, should not also, to the best of his poor ability, if the constituency should be disposed to grant the trust, be the faithful representative of the electors of South Lancashire. In representing that University, my task has been one of no small difficulty; the desire of my heart has been to minister to her strength and to her prosperity, and I will not yield to my favoured competitor in devotion to her truest interests.



As to the mode of promoting these interests, as to the best method of testifying to that attachment, there may be great differences between us; my earnest desire, my heart's prayer is, that her future may be as glorious as her past,—yet more glorious still. But if it is to be so, that result must be brought about by following a certain method of action, by enlarging her borders, by opening her doors, by invigorating her powers, by endeavouring to rise to the height of that vocation with which I believe it has pleased the Almighty to endow her; that, as in other times, the Universities of the land, and Oxford the first of them, led the mind and thought of the country upon the path of improvement, so now they may still prove worthy of that high office. But if I am told on the other side that it is only by embracing the narrow interests of a political party that Oxford can discharge her duties to the country, then, gentlemen, I at once say I am not the man for Oxford. I hope, sir, it will not savour of vanity if I detain you yet a moment longer upon this subject. We see represented in that ancient institution, represented more nobly, perhaps, and more conspicuously than in any other place, at any rate with more remarkable concentration, the most prominent features that relate to the past of England. I come into South Lancashire, and I find here around me an assemblage of different phenomena. I find development of industry; I find growth of enterprise; I find progress of social philanthropy; I find prevalence of toleration; and I find an ardent desire for freedom. But, sir, if there should be a duty more than another incumbent upon the public men of England, it is, so far at least as I am able to prove, the duty of establishing and maintaining a harmony between the past of our glorious country and the future that is still in store for her. In my humble and insignificant person, on the one hand representing that ancient body, on the other hand placed now for many years in the administration of the most responsible offices connected with the progress and wellbeing of the country, I have honestly, I have earnestly, although I may have feebly, striven to unite that which is represented by Oxford and that which is represented by Lancashire. My desire is that they should know and love one another. If I have clung to the representation of the University with desperate fondness, it was because I would not desert that post in which I seem to have been placed. I have not abandoned it. I have been dismissed from it, not by Academical, but by political agencies. The great majority of the teaching body of Oxford, the great majority of those who devote their nights and days and the best years of their lives in rearing youths, have been at all times my supporters in the election, and have not now abandoned me. I don't complain of those political influences by which I have been displaced. The free constitutional spirit of the country requires that the voice of the majority should prevail. I hope the voice of the majority will prevail in South Lancashire. I do not for a moment complain that it should have prevailed in

Oxford. But, gentlemen, I come now to ask you a question, whether, because I have been declared unfit longer to serve the University on account of my political position, there is any thing in that position, there is any thing in what I have said and done, in the arduous office which I hold, which is to unfit me for the representation of my native county?"

The remainder of the speech consisted of a very able and eloquent vindication of the principles on which recent legislation had been carried on, and a review of the benefits conferred upon the country by the liberal policy pursued by the Government.

On the 20th the polling for South Lancashire took place. The following was the result as subsequently declared by the High Sheriff. Of the six gentlemen whose names follow, the first, second, and fourth stood on the Conservative; the third, fifth, and sixth on the Liberal side:—

For Hon. A. Egerton . . . . .	9,171
„ Mr. Turner . . . . .	8,806
„ Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone . . . . .	8,786
„ Mr. Legh . . . . .	8,476
„ Mr. Thompson . . . . .	7,703
„ Mr. Heywood . . . . .	7,653

It should be added, that although, on personal grounds, the friends of Mr. Gladstone, and especially his academical supporters, regretted the event which had severed him from the representation of the University, many of the Liberal party, who now looked up to him as their future political leader, regarded the circumstance with satisfaction, believing that he would henceforward be relieved from a tie which had fettered and constrained his independence, and would be free to follow that course of policy to which his own convictions pointed.

The general result of the elections in the three Kingdoms was favourable to the Liberal cause, and gave an addition to the strength of the Ministers in the House of Commons. In the boroughs of England and Wales the Liberals gained several seats, though the Conservative party succeeded in retaining their hold in some of the large towns, defeating Earl Russell's son, Viscount Amberley, at Leeds, and adding a second Member on their side for Liverpool. In the English counties the Ministerialists had a slight advantage, though chequered by some losses in Berkshire and Norfolk. In Scotland the same party added slightly to their previous preponderance in the constituencies. But it was in Ireland that the Government party had most cause for triumph, having not only added considerably to their numerical strength, but having remedied a serious disadvantage they were under in the former Parliament by gaining seats for both their law officers and obtaining some other valuable adherents to their Irish policy. The rejection of the Roman Catholic Oath Bill just before the prorogation, and the somewhat incautious language used by Lord Derby

upon that occasion, were believed to have contributed to the above result.

The practical effect of the Elections may be summed up in a few words. Of the total number of 657 Members returned to the new House of Commons, 367 were described as Liberals, and 290 as Conservatives. In the changes and chances of the elections the Liberal party lost 33 seats and gained 57, representing a gain of 48 votes on a division. There was one double return—for the county of Dumbarton; and Mr. G. Hardy was returned for two places—Leominster and Oxford University.

All the Members of the Cabinet and the leading official persons in the House of Commons regained seats. There were, however, some prominent Members on each side of the House who were discomfited. Mr. Frederick Peel and Mr. Denman, Q.C., on the one side, and Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, Mr. Malins, Q.C., and Major Beresford on the other, suffered defeat. Another circumstance worthy of note is, that while in the former Parliament only one Roman Catholic (Lord Edward Howard) represented an English constituency, in the new House two more Members of that communion found seats. But while the Ministry thus gained some addition to the number of their Parliamentary supporters, they sustained a few weeks later a more than commensurate loss of strength in the death of their head. Lord Palmerston, whose health had been evidently failing for some months, terminated his long public career in the month of October<sup>3</sup>. This event was generally regarded as a heavy blow to the Cabinet, over which he had presided with much skill and success for the last six years. The address and tact which he had shown in holding together the somewhat mixed elements of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, were qualities in which no one of his colleagues, however powerful in intellect or mature in experience, was likely to equal their departed chief; nor was there any statesman of the same political school whose whole conduct of affairs was so likely to remove the fears or conciliate the support of the Conservative Opposition. The funeral of the deceased Premier took place in Westminster Abbey, and was accompanied with every mark of honour and respect from all classes in the metropolis. The arrangements made for filling up the vacancies and changes in the Cabinet caused by Lord Palmerston's death were simple, and for the most part obviously convenient. The most experienced and prominent Member of the Government, Earl Russell, who had already once filled the office of Premier, was called upon by the Queen to assume that post. The Earl of Clarendon, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Chichester Fortescue was made Secretary for Ireland in place of Sir Robert Peel, vacating the

<sup>3</sup> For an account of the principal events in the public career of Lord Palmerston, see the Obituary of this volume.



office of Under Secretary for the Colonies, which was conferred upon Mr. Forster, M.P. for Bradford. Mr. Hutt resigned the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Göschen, one of the Members for the City of London, whose short career in the House of Commons had already gained him much distinction. The vacancy in the Duchy of Lancaster was for some weeks not filled up, but subsequently Mr. Göschen was transferred from the Board of Trade to that office, and became at the same time a Member of the Cabinet. The important position of Leader of the Government in the House of Commons devolved upon the most eloquent and gifted of its Members, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a somewhat new sphere of action, and one requiring not only those high powers of intellect which Mr. Gladstone unquestionably possessed, but also those humbler attributes of tact, adroitness, and knowledge of the world, which the late Premier had displayed in a conspicuous degree, but in which his successor was thought by some persons to be deficient.

The political and financial condition of the country is influenced in no inconsiderable degree by the amount and character of the harvest. That of 1865, though not highly productive, was generally of a fair average character. The summer and autumn were unusually warm and dry, and the scarcity of moisture in some districts affected the crops unfavourably; but the cereal produce, taking the kingdom through, was not amiss in quantity or quality. The Revenue Returns gave satisfactory evidence that the productive powers of the country had not fallen short of the wants of its increasing population.

While domestic tranquillity and prosperity were thus the general characteristics of the period, two unfavourable features, very different in their origin and nature, stamped the latter portion of the year, and are likely to confer upon it an unfortunate distinction. These were the outbreak of the cattle disease, commonly termed the *Rinderpest*, in England and Scotland, and the development of the Fenian conspiracy in Ireland. Whether the natural or the political calamity is likely, in the event, to prove the more serious of the two, is at present a matter of conjecture; but the immediate alarm and apprehension occasioned by the ravages of the pestilence produced the more marked effect on the public mind, already somewhat inured to the chronic disease of Irish disaffection.

The Government, responding to the general anxiety excited by the manifest advance of the plague, issued, in the latter end of September, a Commission from the Crown authorizing certain persons therein named to investigate the origin and nature of the disease, and to report upon the mode of treatment best adapted for the cure of the infected animals, and the regulations proper for preventing the spread of the disease or its future recurrence. The Commissioners lost no time in prosecuting their inquiries, and having taken evidence from the most competent persons they could



meet with, they made their Report within about a month from the date of the Commission. This important document contains the best authenticated information relating to the origin, commencement, and treatment of the disease, and we shall be indebted to it for some of the facts now to be stated.

The disease, according to the Commissioners, was first observed and recognized in Great Britain towards the close of the month of June. Two English cows had been purchased, on June 19, in the Metropolitan Cattle Market, by a cowkeeper residing in Islington, in whose sheds they were when the symptoms of disease attracted, on the 27th, the notice of the veterinary surgeon in charge. Similar symptoms of disease were observed on the 28th by the same surgeon, in a cow belonging to a dairyman in Hackney, which had been purchased in the same place, and on the same day. Two Dutch cows in a Lambeth shed, likewise bought in the market, on the 19th, were attacked on the 24th. The malady broke out immediately afterwards in many London dairies, and spread with extreme rapidity, destroying great numbers of animals. The Islington cowkeeper lost her whole herd of 93; she afterwards bought more, and lost them also, making 106 or 107 in all. An inspector who had charge of a great part of the north and north-east of London, states that in his own district more than four-fifths had either died or been slaughtered; and the general average within the precincts of the metropolis was probably at least as high. Very early in July it appeared in Norfolk; a little later in Suffolk and Shropshire; then in one county after another, and before the end of the month it had invaded Scotland. In all the earlier cases, at least, it seems to have been directly traceable to purchases made in the Metropolitan Market; but Norwich Hill and other country markets speedily became, in their respective districts, subordinate centres of infection. On the 14th of October it had extended to 29 counties in England, two in Wales, and 16 in Scotland, and was still advancing. From the Metropolitan Market the disease appears to have crossed the sea to Holland with some Dutch oxen which had been shipped from Rotterdam to London, and had been exposed during three successive market days, and, not finding a sale at an adequate profit, had been reshipped from London to Rotterdam.

The following table contains a proximate calculation of the extent to which the disease had reached at the date of the Commissioners' Report. The number of cases, however, and the ratio of mortality increased rapidly, as will be seen, as the winter advanced:—

Census Divisions.	Attacked.			Total Cases reported from the Commencement of the Disease.				
	Week ending October 14.	Week ending October 21.	Week ending October 28.	Attacked.	Killed.	Died.	Recovered.	Remaining.
1. Metropolitan Police District . . . . .	158	194	158	5773	2557	2529	202	485
2. South-eastern Co. . . . .	225	154	205	3284	1169	1667	197	251
3. South Midland Co. . . . .	73	94	230	833	373	282	42	136
4. Eastern Counties . . . . .	141	183	335	3081	1051	1482	161	387
5. South-western Co. . . . .	17	11	3	116	51	45	7	13
6. West Midland Co. . . . .	31	9	31	214	74	112	4	24
7. North Midland Co. . . . .	8	32	18	109	54	41	6	8
8. North-western Co. . . . .	28	39	42	176	55	75	6	40
9. Yorkshire . . . . .	26	39	113	253	66	126	11	50
10. Northern Counties . . . . .	47	86	34	472	212	201	24	35
11. Monmouthshire and Wales . . . . .	43	60	38	180	51	110	4	14
12. Scotland . . . . .	257	828	666	3182	1153	1241	184	604
Total . . . . .	1054	1729	1873	17,673	6866	7912	848	2047

It should be remarked however, that such statements as this do not profess to be accurate accounts of the real state and progress of the disease. They represented such cases only as the several inspectors had been able to detect since they were appointed. The conclusion to which the Commissioners were led by the evidence given to them was, that the disease was contagious, and that the contagion was extraordinarily swift and subtle, being most destructive in its effects. They also concluded that it was the same disease as the "rinderpest," or steppe murrain, the symptoms during life, the results of *post mortem* examination, and the whole train of general characteristics leading them to that conclusion. Nor was it the first time that the disease had made its appearance in this country. As early as 1348-9, after the Black Death had produced great mortality among men, a grievous plague attacked cattle, which perished by thousands. Again, at long intervals, in 1480 and in 1715, 1745, and 1757, it decimated our herds of cattle, and appeared to have taken deep root in the country. A Commission for Middlesex was appointed on Nov. 25th, 1745, to inquire into the disease, and they appointed cow-keepers and butchers as inspectors of cattle, and instructed them, among other things, "to certify to the destruction of cows, for each of which the Treasury gave 40s." Orders in Council of a very rigid nature were issued; and in 1746 one of these Orders declared the disease of "an incurable nature," and framed regulations to prevent its spread. In 1757 an Act was passed declaring "that sales of cattle should only take place when the

seller had had them in his possession for forty days; calves not being allowed to be sold, in order that they might be preserved for breeding purposes; and severe restrictions were put on the sale of the hides of diseased animals. Various orders were issued stopping local fairs, and the plague, in consequence of these orders, was extinguished where the local authorities acted with vigour, but lingered in other places, from whence it spread, after a time, as rapidly as ever.

The recommendations of the Commissioners for the suppression of the disease were six in number:—

1. They recommended that Government should have the power to suspend, for a limited time, the movement of cattle from one place in Great Britain to another; that they should extend or shorten such period; and renew the prohibition as often as circumstances might render necessary.—1A. The Commissioners suggested certain regulations as to cattle traffic, should recommendation 1 not be adopted. These, they believed, were the only means to eradicate the disease, and that the end fully justified the means suggested:—First, for a period to be fixed, and which might, if necessary, be extended, no lean or store stock should be permitted to be sold at any fare or market; and sale of such stock by auction or advertisement, or in any other manner whatever, should be prohibited. Second. Cattle might be moved for immediate slaughter to a market, or to a slaughter-house licensed for use, but only under a licence for transit granted by the magistrates in petty sessions. The licence for transit should certify to the healthiness of the district from which the cattle came. With this exception, the transit of cattle over any public road should be prohibited. Third. Precautions should be taken that every animal sold for butchers' meat be slaughtered within a short and fixed period. For the convenience of this purpose, no slaughter-house should be used without a licence from the local authorities, and no such licence given except on the butcher undertaking to have all cattle sold or consigned to him driven direct to the slaughter-house or premises attached to it, from whence they were not to be removed alive. Cattle sold at a fare or market should not be allowed to leave the precincts of the borough or other place where the fair or market was held, alive. To insure this object, it might be required that cattle entering a fair or market should be branded on entrance, and cattle sold elsewhere to a butcher similarly marked at the time of sale, and that it should be penal for any one but a butcher to have a marked animal in his possession. In every place where a public market is held, lairs should be provided, in which unsold animals could remain from one market day to another. Fourth. It would be desirable to draw some distinct line between infected and uninfected districts, so that whenever a case of infection was discovered, the district should be "proclaimed" as infected in the "Gazette" and the country papers. The egress of cattle from a proclaimed district should be strictly pro-

hibited, but cattle slaughtered within it, and certified by the inspector to be fit for food, might be sent out of it under proper safeguards for disinfection. Provision should be made for enabling districts which had been proclaimed to be publicly set free, on proof being furnished that all risk from infection was at an end.

2. The Commissioners were of opinion that the power to seize and slaughter which had been vested in inspectors by Order in Council might properly be withdrawn; or that, if retained, it should be exercised only in cases where the inspector's directions as to the separation of sound from diseased stock, &c., or any general preventive or sanitary regulations issued by the Government were not complied with. This power was right and useful when the disease had appeared only at isolated spots and attacked a few animals; the public benefit being then very great, and the private sacrifice very small; but in proportion as it extended, the hope of thus arresting its march diminished, the inevitable waste increased, and the sense of hardship tended to become insupportable. In principle, a system of compulsory slaughter should be complemented by a system of compensation, but the objections to promising compensation to individuals out of the public treasury on an extensive scale appeared to the Commissioners insurmountable.

3. As regards foreign cattle, the Commissioners stated that, should their first recommendation be entertained, and an absolute embargo placed on all traffic in cattle within Great Britain, they thought that imported cattle should be slaughtered at the ports of landing. They further recommended that cattle should be allowed to land at certain ports only, where proper facilities could be afforded for inspection and transport. In the other alternative, it was sufficient to say that foreign cattle, if passed by the Customs' inspectors, and not coming from an infected district, might be sent by railway to any market in Great Britain, but subject to the same regulations as British cattle.

4. During the period of prohibition, whether absolute or limited, the Commissioners suggested that no cattle should be allowed to be turned on common or uninclosed land.

5. The Commissioners recommended that steps should be taken for obtaining periodical returns of the horned cattle and sheep within the area of every parish of Great Britain, and of their sanitary condition, with especial reference to the present disease.

6. The Commissioners deemed it their duty to make some reference to the peculiar circumstances of Ireland. The disease had not as yet broken out in that country, therefore there was no necessity for the measures which had been recommended for Great Britain. It was still possible, by the adoption of suitable precautions, to avert the calamity from Ireland altogether. The importation of cattle into that country had already been prohibited for some weeks past. Considering, however, the destructive character of the disease, it would not be judicious to rely upon that precaution alone for escaping it. The evidence which had been



laid before them left little doubt that it might be conveyed by persons who had been in contact with infected animals, as well as by the animals themselves. In case it should by any accident be carried over, the Government should be in readiness to eradicate it from any spot in which it might appear; and unless preparations were made for doing so before the plague showed itself, the authorities would hardly be in a condition to act with the necessary speed and vigour when the emergency arose. In Prussia, upon whose eastern frontier the disease frequently appears, a system of precaution had been adopted for stopping its further progress, which had hitherto met with invariable success. It would probably not be difficult to make provision for the application of similar measures to Ireland, and so to secure to it a permanent immunity from the calamity under which Great Britain was suffering. But the extreme rapidity with which the disease spread, made it important that all arrangements for stamping it out, in case of its possible appearance, should be made without delay.

Such were the recommendations made by the majority of the Commissioners with a view of arresting the further advance of an evil which they evidently regarded as of very serious magnitude, and pregnant with great danger. In these conclusions, however, only a certain number of the Commissioners concurred.

A separate report, signed by four of the Commissioners—viz., Earl Spencer, Viscount Cranbourne, Mr. Read, and Dr. Bence Jones, was appended, stating that those Commissioners were unable to join the other members in recommending the total stoppage of all movement of cattle in Great Britain. If such a measure were practicable, they admitted it would be more effectual than any other in extirpating the disease. But they did not believe it to be practicable. It would involve an interference with the course of trade at variance with our national habits; and it would demand sacrifices from large numbers of people, who were removed from the presence of the disease, and who would, therefore, not see the necessity for so stringent a measure. The sudden transformation of the enormous cattle trade, by which the large towns are supplied, into a dead meat trade, would involve difficulties and dangers of the most formidable kind. The foreign trade, which at present furnished a considerable proportion of the meat consumed in the large towns, would also be seriously interfered with. The price of meat would, in consequence, rise materially and suddenly, these difficulties would lead to the evasion of the prohibition; and if largely evaded, it would become useless.

Earl Spencer and Mr. Read were of opinion that store animals might be permitted to move from the farm of the seller to that of the buyer, provided they had a certificate from a justice of the peace acting in the district where the sale takes place, showing that they were free from disease, and that they had been located for a certain time on the farm of the seller.

There was also a third and separate report from a single Commissioner, Mr. M'Clean, who was opposed to interference with the traffic in cattle; believing the evils resulting from it would be greater than those arising from the disease itself.

The Commissioners likewise offered some sanitary recommendations to prevent the spread of the disease, certain remedies when the disease had attacked a locality, and measures for disinfecting infected sheds and cattle.

The Government of Earl Russell did not venture to adopt in their full extent the restrictive measures recommended by the majority of the Commissioners, nor were they willing to assume in their own persons the responsibility of suspending the movement of cattle from one place to another throughout the kingdom. The apprehension of local opposition and of the cry of centralization which might have been raised against the action of the Executive, deterred them from adopting so bold a policy. They resorted, therefore, to the plan of empowering the local authorities to adopt the needful measures for guarding against contagion, and a series of Orders in Council were issued, defining the powers which might be exercised by the local authorities, who were declared to be, in municipal boroughs, the mayors, and in counties, the Courts of Quarter Session. According to these Orders, as finally amended, the local authorities were empowered by notice, to prevent the removal of any cow, heifer, bull, ox, calf, lamb, sheep, goat, or swine, to any market or fair, or any place whatever within their jurisdiction, for the purpose of exhibition or sale, except under such conditions as the local authority might think fit to impose.

They were empowered also by notice, to prohibit such animals from being brought from any other part of Great Britain into any place within the jurisdiction of the local authority, either absolutely or under such conditions as the local authority might think fit to impose, provided (1) that any person might send or carry any such animals by railway through such jurisdiction; and (2) that any person might bring or send with the licence of any two justices acting in and for the jurisdiction to which the notice applied, any such animals from any land or premises in his own occupation beyond such jurisdiction to any other land or premises in his own occupation within such jurisdiction.

With regard to the removal of animals from one part of the jurisdiction of the local authority to another part, a distinction was made, sheep, lambs, goats, and swine being exempted from the restriction imposed with respect to oxen, cows, and calves. With respect to the latter class of animals, the local authority was empowered by notice, to prohibit the removal of them from any particular part of the jurisdiction of such local authority to any other part of such jurisdiction, or from any place within such jurisdiction, to be specified in such notice, to any other place, also to be so specified, or from place to place generally within such jurisdiction, or within any specified part thereof, provided

that it should not be unlawful to send or carry any such animal by railway through or out of such jurisdiction, or to send or carry the same if brought from any place out of Great Britain into such jurisdiction, to the nearest convenient railway station for the purpose of carrying it through or out of such jurisdiction.

The effect of the Orders was this—

1. That the justices in the Quarter Sessions were not authorized to prohibit or restrain the removal of sheep, lambs, goats, and swine *from place to place within their jurisdiction*, except to a market, fair, or place for exhibition or sale.

2. That sheep, lambs, goats, or swine, might not be brought from any place *out of the county or jurisdiction*, except in compliance with the Orders in Council and of the justices of the county, &c., into whose jurisdiction they were to be brought.

3. That cows, heifers, bulls, bullocks, oxen, and calves might not be exhibited for sale, or brought from any place out of the jurisdiction, or removed from place to place within the jurisdiction, except in compliance with the orders of the justices.

The above Orders were made applicable to Scotland as well as to England and Wales. With regard to Ireland, however, in which country no case of the cattle disease had been found to exist, a more decisive measure had, at an early period after its appearance in England, been adopted; Orders in Council were issued in August and September, prohibiting the importation of any cows or calves from England into Ireland, or of any skins, hides, or hoofs of such animals, and this prohibition was subsequently extended to sheep and lambs. The import of animals to the sister country from Great Britain being at all times insignificant, no inconvenience was likely to arise from the restriction in question.

As respects England and Wales, however, the measures adopted by the Council were by many persons regarded as still inadequate. So great was the alarm as the disease continued to increase in extent and severity, that an opinion prevailed even among the agricultural classes themselves, that the restrictions were not so peremptory or comprehensive as the emergency demanded. Land-owners and farmers in many districts declared their willingness to submit to almost any amount of present sacrifice, if by vigorous measures at the outset the extirpation of the disease could be insured. Several influential deputations waited on the Ministers and requested them to take upon themselves the responsibility of enforcing, for the whole country, those regulations against the holding of fairs and markets, and against the removal of cattle from place to place, which the Orders in Council had left it to the discretion of the local authorities to impose. It was argued that these authorities were numerous and dispersed, not always discreet or consistent in their proceedings, nor capable of acting with that vigour and promptitude which the Government could exert, and which were indispensable in so critical an emergency. These representations,



however, did not succeed in inducing the Ministers to transfer the burthen of responsibility from the shoulders of the local magistrates to their own. The Courts of Quarter Sessions throughout the Kingdom were consequently obliged to adopt regulations for themselves, for carrying out with more or less strictness the power entrusted to their discretion.

A variety of other schemes for alleviating the consequences of the epidemic were also pressed upon the Government. Local Insurance Associations had been established in many districts of the country, founded on the principle of mutual indemnity for losses, but it was thought by some persons that a more extensive and national system of insurance, sanctioned by the Government and assisted or guaranteed out of the public revenue, would be more suitable to the occasion. This scheme, however, received powerful condemnation in a letter addressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Sir Thomas Lloyd, in which the reasons against making the insurance of cattle a State concern, supported by a guarantee from the Exchequer, were stated with great force. The main objections urged by Mr. Gladstone were as follows:—

“1. The difficulty, and not the difficulty only, but the impossibility, of preventing carelessness, waste, and fraud of every kind, from the first moment it should become known that the ultimate responsibility (beyond a fixed limit, which would at once be found a very narrow one) lay with the public purse.

“2. The fact that in a number of cases particular districts and landlords had already made their own arrangements, which must have been acted upon. Were Government to move into the field, these good examples would be neutralized, and those who had met their own losses would be called as taxpayers to assist in meeting the losses of other people too.

“3. If it should appear, as was probable, that it was to prevention rather than cure or compensation that we must chiefly look, under Providence, for the mitigation of the calamity, nothing could be so unfortunate as a measure like a State guarantee, which, by relaxing vigilance and the ingenuity of self-interest, would tend to take the minds of men off a subject obviously of the greatest moment, and, as clearly, not yet sounded to the bottom. This objection did not apply to plans of a voluntary nature, where every man would be checked by his neighbours, and each scheme would have its proper adjustments.

“4. If the cattle plague should not extend itself on a large scale, and so the losses of a severe character should be confined to a small fraction of the farming class, there seemed an obvious impropriety in relieving landlords, neighbours, and rateable property from the duty of assisting, so far as assistance was necessary, those on whom the blow had fallen. And the precedent would be an evil one.

“5. But if, on the other hand, the disease should extend very widely, the result must inevitably be felt in a much augmented



price of meat. The consumer would then, probably, taking the country all over, pay the same or a larger aggregate amount of money for a greatly diminished quantity. All those who were not smitten in their own cattle would thus profit largely by the disease as producers, while as consumers they would only suffer in common with the community at large. How, then, could the community be asked to pay twice, first for their meat in extra price, and, secondly, for the cattle lost; while landlords and cultivators of the soil would, probably, as a class, have their loss (as in a bad corn year) counterbalanced by a corresponding or greater benefit?"

Upon one point at least, among many differences of opinion, a general unanimity prevailed. It was agreed on all hands that the case was one in which prevention was more to be relied upon than cure. The failure of medical treatment was signal. The public soon gave up all confidence in veterinary skill. Numerous modes of treatment were suggested, but all in succession proved ineffectual. Homœopathy put forth pretensions to success, and was for a while, to some extent, believed in, but further experiment demonstrated its inadequacy to stop the plague. One of the most eminent medical authorities in London, Dr. Watson, in a judicious and well-considered letter addressed to one of the newspapers, thus stated his opinion as to the hopelessness of medical treatment.

"The disease is a very fatal one. Its death-rate is appalling—90 in 100, they say; and it is absolutely incurable. With or without what is called treatment, a small number of recoveries happen; but there are no cures. Probably (but this is mere opinion) of the sick animals subjected to treatment a larger proportion perish than those which are left to themselves. I do not mean that medical care is useless or inexpedient. There are measures relating to food, temperature, cleanliness, support, even medicine (measures that are defensive against all weakening influences), which sometimes may turn the hesitating scale, and give the victory to the restorative force of nature. But there is no specific plan or antidote that can stop or chase away the disease, any more than there is for the cure or the cutting short of smallpox. This is alike true of all the specific fevers. They run a definite course."

Dr. Watson's conclusion was thus pronounced:—"If all this be so, surely it is time to turn our thoughts from the sick and the dying to the animals that are yet left among us alive, in health, and uninfected; to abandon the vain search after impossible specific remedies, and to adopt the true and sole nostrum, which is *prevention*. This is still within the scope of our power. It is daily becoming more difficult."

The judicious writer concluded by urging the importance of preventing infection by prohibiting the removal of cattle from place to place, and the collection of them in fairs and markets, and recommending with great force the substitution of dead meat

markets for cattle markets for the supply of London and of the great towns.

One theory of the disease which obtained some credit and was supported by considerable authority, was, that it was of the nature of smallpox, and was capable of being prevented, or at least greatly mitigated, by vaccination. This opinion, if proved to be well-founded, would have offered a more promising solution of the difficulty than any other which had been propounded. It could not, however, yet be said to rest upon sufficient evidence and experience. It was announced by the Royal Commissioners that their attention had been directed to the point, and that experiments were actually in process for the purpose of testing the efficiency of the alleged preventive<sup>4</sup>.

The effect of the disease upon the price of commodities was of course considerable, and formed another source of public anxiety. The price of meat rose, in the retail market at least, by a large percentage. Mutton and beef were charged by the butchers in the autumn at 20 or 25 per cent. above the rates of recent years. It was alleged, indeed, that there was as yet no solid ground for such an increase, inasmuch as the presence of the disease had led to a larger slaughter of cattle than usual, which had kept down the price in the principal markets; and the excess charged to the customer was freely ascribed to a designed combination among the retail dealers. In answer to this charge, the butchers argued that, like all other tradesmen, they were subject to the law of competition, and that among so very numerous a body, each striving to attract custom to himself, combination was impossible. In this controversy, however, the principles of political economy did not command much attention. The public complained, as might naturally be expected, under the pinch of high prices, and laid the blame upon the immediate recipient of their money. The substitution of a traffic in dead meat for that of live cattle, so strongly recommended by Dr. Watson and others, became henceforth more and more adopted in regard to the Metropolis. An important change in the source of supply of other commodities was also now originated. The disease had fallen with especial severity at its first outburst upon the cows kept in and near London for the supply of the Metropolis. Many of the cowkeepers lost nearly the whole of their stock; the price of milk rose about 20 per cent. in consequence, and that of the other produce of the dairy was proportionably advanced. It became necessary now to bring up these articles from the country, and a very large milk traffic, by means of the railways, was speedily established to supply the void created by the failure of the London cow-yards. This fact, however, afforded in the eyes of sanitary reformers a compensation of no small value for the evil which had occasioned the change. The premises in which cows had hitherto been kept

<sup>4</sup> The inefficacy of vaccination was at a subsequent date considered to be proved.

in large numbers, in and near the metropolis, had been in many cases so confined, ill-cleansed, and ill-ventilated, as to endanger the health, not only of the animals kept there, but of the human beings who were compelled to live near them; and the substitution of a supply of country milk, which the railroads had made easy, for the article produced, sometimes under very equivocal conditions, on the spot, appeared to be a beneficial change for the inhabitants of the town.

Meanwhile the formidable disease not only held its ground, but advanced with increasing strides, extending its ravages by degrees into those counties in which it had not before appeared, and every where manifesting the same resistance to curative treatment. The table already inserted shows what the extent of the evil, so far as it could be officially ascertained, had been in the latter weeks of October. We shall now show the advance which it had made at a later period of the winter. The following official return shows the progress, so far as ascertained, in November:—

Census Divisions.	Attacked.			Result of reported Cases from the Commencement of the Disease.				
	Week ending November 18.	Week ending November 11.	Week ending November 4.	Attacked.	Killed.	Died.	Recovered.	Remaining.
1. Metropolitan Police District . . . .	216	77	49	6031	2837	2436	181	577
2. South-eastern Co. .	92	137	74	3609	1318	1796	279	216
3. South Midland Co..	211	345	74	1563	574	718	102	169
4. Eastern Counties .	212	214	124	3675	1359	1685	251	380
5. South-western Co..	39	26	2	191	69	95	5	22
6. West Midland Co..	34	85	81	481	168	237	29	47
7. North Midland Co.	63	57	21	276	125	86	26	39
8. North-western Co..	143	129	43	600	177	242	49	132
9. Yorkshire . . . .	453	234	108	1419	236	789	75	319
10. Northern Counties.	70	43	79	731	307	321	53	50
11. Monmouthshire and Wales . . . .	96	27	52	364	56	229	19	60
12. Scotland . . . .	1040	1206	1058	8492	1772	4046	708	1966
Total . . . .	2669	2580	1765	27,432	8998	12,680	1777	3977

The progress which the disease had made in the last three weeks of the year appears in the following table:—

Census Divisions.	Attacked.			Result of reported Cases from the Commencement of the Disease.				
	Week ending December 30.	Week ending December 23.	Week ending December 16.	Attacked.	Killed.	Died.	Recovered.	Remaining.
1. Metropolitan Police District. . . . .	31	86	43	7238	3103	3263	284	588
2. South-eastern Co. . .	64	91	70	4602	1460	2521	379	242
3. South Midland Co..	981	786	745	6720	1487	4026	367	840
4. Eastern Counties . .	196	243	390	6306	2365	3086	406	449
5. South-western Co..	85	70	101	714	178	376	59	101
6. West Midland Co..	143	127	143	1853	425	1018	154	256
7. North Midland Co..	530	387	318	2393	435	1442	136	380
8. North-western Co..	1823	1007	945	6669	440	4114	441	1674
9. Yorkshire . . . . .	1446	1212	1202	10,891	731	6612	1297	2251
10. Northern Counties .	213	118	109	1578	518	719	132	209
11. Monmouthshire and Wales . . . . .	206	405	287	2287	93	1565	218	411
12. Scotland . . . . .	1975	1724	1701	22,298	2696	12,749	3172	3681
Total . . . . .	7693	6256	6054	73,549	13,931	41,491	7045	11,082

It should always be borne in mind that the above-cited official returns did not profess to contain the whole number of cases that occurred, but only such as had been officially reported. The actual total was no doubt much greater.

The expediency of adopting further measures, with a view to arresting this severe visitation, will doubtless engage the early consideration of Parliament. It should be mentioned that soon after the disease first appeared in this country, a Form of Prayer was ordered by the authority of Her Majesty in Council, to be used in all Churches throughout the kingdom, imploring the Divine protection to avert the evil, as also against the visitation of cholera, which at that time had appeared in France and other parts of the Continent, and, it was feared, might spread to this country. The apprehension of the latter, however, was happily not realized.

Although Ireland had been hitherto exempted from the scourge of the Cattle Plague, a moral epidemic, not less baneful and contagious, overspread a great part of that country, and threatened a serious disturbance of the peace and a check to the material progress and prosperity which had of late begun to dawn upon that unfortunate member of the United Kingdom. The new conspiracy, commonly known by the name of "Fenian," was only another development of that deep-seated disaffection and alienation from England which had been in past times the source of so many crimes and outrages, so many secret societies and smouldering insurrections, which had made coercive laws and a standing garrison the indispensable instruments of government in Ireland.



The conspiracy which was this year brought to light, but was happily checked before it arrived at any outbreak, was larger in extent, more daring in its objects, and, in some respects, more formidable in its nature than any similar movement of late years. Of the name by which it was distinguished, various explanations have been given, but the most probable is, that it was derived from Fionn, a celebrated chieftain, who lived before the conversion of Ireland to Christianity, and who is the same as the hero of Macpherson, Fingal. By the modern Irish this individual is styled Finn Mac Cool. The Fenians were the men or people of Finn. They formed in the period above-mentioned a sort of standing militia or warlike caste, whose office it was to protect the country from aggression, and support the power of the kings, in return for which service they received a certain allotment of land and other privileges. The leaders of the present movement, no doubt, saw an advantage in connecting their party with the historical and traditionary glories of Ireland. But whatever may have been the origin of the name, the thing itself was simply a scheme of rebellion against the English Government, organized in the United States, having its centre of rule and administration there, and intended to combine the numerous Irish settlers in that country, men for the most part bitterly hostile to English rule, with the disaffected in various parts in Ireland, in a great effort to throw off by force the yoke of the British Crown, and to take the whole power and property of the island into their own hands. The evidence given on the trials of some of the conspirators by the Special Commission, which will be found in another part of this volume<sup>5</sup>, will clearly show what the aims and designs of the insurrection were, and what were the means intended to be used to effect this purpose. It appeared that the Fenian Society had its chiefs, its officers, both civil and military, its common funds and financial agencies, its secret oaths, passwords, and emblems, its laws and penalties, its stores of concealed arms and weapons, its nightly drills and trainings of men, its correspondents and agents in various quarters, its accredited journals, and even its popular songs and ballads, all designed to extend its influence, and to gain adherents from various quarters, not excepting the soldiers in the British army, and the warders in the gaols. It is true, indeed, that by their vain parade, their boastful language, and the unseemly squabbles among their rival factions, the Fenian leaders in America exposed their association to no little ridicule and contempt; it is true, also, that a more insane attempt than that of overthrowing the British authority by such means as, according to their most sanguine calculations, the associated forces on both sides of the Atlantic could command, was never engendered in distempered brains. But it is no less true that the existence of such a plot, so

<sup>5</sup> See "Remarkable Trials," *post*.

wide-spread, so fanatical, so desperate, indicated that the long-standing disease which had for centuries sapped the vitals of Irish prosperity and advancement, was still as active as ever in that morbid branch of the body politic, and that those sanguine dreams which English statesmen had indulged, that conciliation and equity, and an impartial policy were gradually welding the sister kingdoms into a compact and harmonious whole, were but flattering illusions. But the wounds of centuries cannot be healed in a few years; and traditional repugnance and antipathy long survive in the breasts of nations the causes which originally produced them. There was, indeed, one feature in this last form of disaffection which distinguished it in a marked manner from preceding combinations. Most of the plots and fraternities which have for some time back menaced the peace of Ireland, have had more or less of a theological character. They have been animated by a fierce hostility to the Protestant Church and its partisans, while they have professed submission and respect to the Roman Catholic faith and priesthood. But the Fenian movement made no such profession. It did not seek any countenance from the spiritual authorities of the popular creed, nor any aid from religious zeal or fanaticism. On the contrary, its members openly proclaimed their enmity to the Romish hierarchy and priesthood, including them as well as all holders of political power, and all owners of property, of whatever creed, in their denunciations, as the enemies of the nation, who were to be swept away and destroyed. In their turn the insurgents were solemnly reprobated by the Catholic bishops, both in Ireland and America, and denounced from the altar in the strongest language by the parochial priests, as the worst foes alike to religion and society. The views and intentions avowed by the chiefs of the movement fully justified such imputations. These men had "drunk deeply," as the Attorney-General for Ireland said on the trial of one of them, "of the spirit of the French Revolution; and were prepared to imbrue their hands in blood for the attainment of their ends." It appears clear from the documents put in evidence before the Special Commission at Cork and Dublin, that the massacre of the upper classes, of the owners of land and property, and of all who held power in Church and State, together with a confiscation of estates, were the steps by which they intended to carry out, in the event of a successful invasion and a defeat of the British Government, their deliberate scheme for the establishment of an Irish republic. In the words of Mr. Justice Keogh, describing the character of the insurrection, which were fully substantiated by the evidence adduced before the Court, "the object of its leaders was to extend it through all classes of the people, but especially the artisans in towns and the cultivators of the soil; its ramifications existed not only in this country, but in the States of America; supplies of money and of arms for the purposes of a general insurrection were being collected, not only here, but on the other side of the Atlan-

tic; and, finally, the object of this confederation was the overthrow of the Queen's authority, the separation of this country from Great Britain, the destruction of our present Constitution, the establishment of some democratic or military despotism, and the general division of every description of property as the result of a successful civil war."

It was a fortunate circumstance that at this time the safety of Ireland was committed to an energetic and vigilant Government in Lord Wodehouse, the Viceroy, and the Members of Administration under him. Their measures for crushing the insurrection by seizing such of its leaders and agents as were within reach of the law, were executed with secrecy and promptness. The first action was taken against the conductors of the seditious press by which the movement was fostered and promoted. On the 15th of September the first arrests took place, and the English public were startled to hear that some of the chief conspirators were in the hands of the Government. Not the slightest intimation of what was intended had been given by the authorities even to the police who acted in the affair. They were called out at a moment's notice, and despatched at once to the office of the "Irish People" in Parliament Street. This course, it would appear, was decided on at a meeting of the Privy Council, held at the Castle, and which sat up to a late hour that evening. It was evident from the completeness with which the affair was managed, and the arrests made, that for some time past the conspirators had been known to the police. At about nine o'clock a large force, accompanied by several detectives, marched from the Castle to Parliament-street, which is close by, and possession of each end of the street having been taken, the detectives knocked at the door of the "People" office; but although there were lights in the upper windows, no response was made. A party of constables was sent to Crane-lane, at the rear, to see that no one left by that means, and the police then decided on forcing the door. This was done, and Superintendent Ryan, and a number of men, proceeded at once to the upper rooms of the house, where they arrested the following persons:—Mr. O'Donovan Rossa, registered proprietor of the "Irish People;" Mr. Shaun O'Clausey, on the staff of the paper; Mr. James Murphy, who described himself as a "citizen of Boston;" Thomas Ashe and Cornelius O'Mahony, reporters; James O'Connor, book-keeper in the office; Mortimer Meenighan, Michael O'Neil Fogarty, William F. Roundtree, and Pierce Nagle, also employed in the office.

On being arrested, Messrs. O'Donovan Rossa, O'Clausey, Murphy, Ashe, and O'Mahony were conveyed to Chancery-lane station-house, and the other prisoners to College-street station, where they were severally charged with having "feloniously and treasonably conspired and combined, with divers other evil-disposed persons belonging to a certain secret society called the Fenian Brotherhood, having for their object the levying of war in Ireland against the



Queen, and separating it from the United Kingdom." They made no resistance, and offered no protest, save Murphy, who stated that he was a citizen of the United States, and as such should not be interfered with. He said he would bring the fact of his having been illegally arrested before the attention of Mr. Seward, the American Secretary of State. The arrests were managed so quietly that but little excitement took place save in the immediate locality, but the police obliged the crowds to move on, and several persons said to be identified with the movement, who had hurried to the spot, or were proceeding thither on other business, were also taken into custody during the night. The prisoners were arrested under warrants signed by Mr. Stronge, Chief Magistrate, by direction of the Privy Council. The news of the entry of the police into the "People" office spread to some extent through the city, and in a short time a large crowd assembled in Parliament-street. A number of police, however, were promptly distributed through the street, who succeeded, after some time, in dispersing the crowd. When the prisoners were being conveyed to the police-stations, escorted by strong bodies of police, they were followed by large numbers of persons. The seizure of the paper and the arrests were accomplished in a very short time, and in the quietest possible manner. A body of police was placed in charge of the "Irish People" office, and remained there until after twelve o'clock, when the printing press, types, newspaper-files, manuscripts, in fact every thing found in the house, with the exception of a few articles of furniture, were placed on a dray and conveyed in charge of a large number of police to the Castle-yard, where they were placed in safe keeping. An immense deal of correspondence, books, lists of subscribers to the Fenian organ, and other documents incidental to a newspaper office, were secured. The progress of this property from Parliament-street to the Castle-yard, strongly guarded by police, some of whom carried what are technically known in the printing business as "galleys of matter," which had been "set up," was the cause of much wonder to those who had not heard of the previous proceedings. While three of the prisoners were being escorted to College-street police-office, two men, who were walking in the crowd which followed, were suddenly challenged by a detective, arrested, and marched off with the others.

Simultaneously with the arrests in Dublin, a swoop was made on the Fenians in Cork, and about fifteen or twenty were arrested. Between three and four o'clock in the morning of the 16th, a body of police, numbering about 100, divided themselves into small parties, and proceeded to make arrests in different parts of the town. A sword, pistols, and military uniform were found at the house of one of the parties arrested. The latter included several shopmen, an attorney's clerk, an artisan, &c. A secret inquiry was held at the city gaol, when the prisoners were all either committed for trial or remanded for further examination.



Other arrests were made about the same time at Clonmel, Killarney, Rattkeale, and other towns, and many more were apprehended, from time to time, in Dublin. The measures taken by the Government excited very little commotion among the people, and such arrangements had been made for the support of the constabulary, and for the employment, if necessary, of military force, that any resistance which could have been offered must have proved utterly futile. On this side of the channel, also, several arrests were made, as at Liverpool and Manchester, and other towns. The persons arrested in Ireland were of a class somewhat above the lowest, and included medical students, law clerks, shopmen, tavern-keepers, commercial travellers, tailors, &c. One person who appeared to be of some mark among the brotherhood, named Charles Underwood O'Connell, was arrested on landing at Queens-town, from an American steam-boat. This person was said to be a captain in an American regiment, on the Federal side. Many important documents were found upon him, connecting him with the conspiracy, as filling an office of confidence under the "Head Centre" and organizer of the movement in America, O'Mahony, at the head-quarters of the brotherhood in New York. He had also papers upon him which implicated many other persons. Among other letters in his possession was one signed F. B. Muller, Maddison, Indiana, addressed to "Major-General Rosseau, commanding, Nashville," introducing Mr. J. Daly as a gentleman "connected with the present movement to restore Irish nationality." Another letter of the same date, similarly signed, was addressed to "Major J. P. Duffisy, centre of Wolfe Tone circle, and commanding the 35th Indiana Volunteers," also introducing Mr. J. Daly as a friend of Irish nationality. The following were also among the documents:—

"Executive Department, Indianapolis, May 6, 1864.

"The bearer hereof, J. Daly, wishes to visit the army of the Cumberland and the Mississippi Departments. He requests he may be permitted for the purpose of visiting the Irish soldiers therein.

"MORTON, Governor of Indiana."

This was enclosed:—

"Executive Department, Indiana, May 6, 1864.

"I desire to make this request special, as I believe that the visit of Mr. Daly will be useful to the service.

"MORTON, Governor of Indiana."

There was another pass from the Provost Marshal's office, Memphis:—

"Pass the bearer, J. Daly, for two days. George E. Williams, District Marshal. This pass is not transferable."

There was also a military pass from Nashville, dated the 19th of May:—

“Pass the bearer, J. Daly, through our lines to Cairo, by river. By order of Brigadier-General Grainger. Good for five days.”

A letter was also found addressed to a person named Archdeacon, one of the arrested Fenians. It showed that the revolutionary movement was intended to be communicated to England also.

“... I venture to suggest to you that every encouragement should be given to revive the Chartists. It can be shown to the working men of England, that if Ireland were independent, the Irish workmen could get plenty of work and good wages at home. Freedom, therefore, would benefit the working man. The English farmer should be shown that we want to give the English peasant farmer the farm upon which he toils for an idle lord—we want to give to him forty acres at least free for ever—we want a Garibaldi for England, a Sarsfield for Ireland, to move upon their enemies, the landlords of both countries, at the same moment. We have an Irish leader in John O’Mahoney, backed by 50,000 veteran Irish soldiers in America ready for the word.—Faithfully yours,

“THOMAS MOONEY.”

But the most important capture that was made was of a person named Stephens, known also by various other feigned names, who was a conspicuous leader of the movement. In the language of the party he was termed the “Head Centre” of the Fenians in Ireland, and he was second in rank only to the Head Centre in the United States, John O’Mahoney. There was no doubt that Stephens had taken a very prominent part in enlisting adherents, and propagating the doctrines of the brotherhood throughout Ireland, and had had considerable sums of money remitted from the United States at his disposal. Some clue to the quarters of this man being given by an informer, the police were enabled to pounce upon him. The chief of the constabulary, Colonel Lake, accompanied by several constables, proceeded in the morning, between five and six o’clock, to Fairfield House, Newbridge-avenue, Sandymount, and there arrested him. He was known among the “Brotherhood” under the alias of “Power.” When the police arrived at the house, which is detached, and situated at the angle of two roads, they completely surrounded it, so as to make escape impossible. Acting-Inspectors Hughes and Dawson, accompanied by several detective officers, then scaled the garden walls, and Hughes knocked at the back door. Almost immediately James Stephens came to the door, and inquired “Who was there?” The constables announced themselves as police-officers authorized by warrant to enter and search the house. Stephens hesitated in opening the door, stated that he was undressed. The police asked that the door should be opened, promising, at the same time, not

to resort to force or violence if he complied with their request. This not being done they forced their way in and apprehended their prisoner. The house was then searched, and in the adjoining bedrooms were arrested three more of the brethren, Kickham, Duffy, and Brophy, who were all in bed at the time. The police, over thirty in number, were well armed, and entered with pistols in their hands, but the prisoners offered no resistance. Pistols and balls were, however, lying about their rooms, and the police found great quantities of bacon, flour, bread, &c. On one of them, 45*l.* in gold was found, and a bank-check for a larger amount, and others of them were likewise well provided with cash. The arrests were made in a most extraordinary short space of time, and beyond the appearance of a body of police in the neighbourhood, there was nothing to create suspicion or alarm. Fairfield House had been occupied by Stephens and his family since July, under the assumed name of James Herbert. The house was handsomely furnished, and indicated that the "Head Centre" was provided with ample means. The prisoners having been brought before the magistrates, evidence was given of their connexion with the Fenian organization, and it was shown by documents found in Stephens's house, that he had been in communication with the prisoners already committed for trial, through the medium of an attorney named Nolan; and, in fact, was taking a part in the management of their defence. A German, named Scholfield, who had been sent to Dublin by the British Consul in New York, proved that certain documents produced were in the handwriting of John O'Mahony. At the conclusion of the evidence, the magistrate asked the prisoners if they wished to say any thing. Stephens said he did not intend to obtain legal assistance, because, in making a plea or defence of any kind, he should be recognizing British law, and he deliberately and conscientiously repudiated the right or even the existence of British law in Ireland. He defied and despised any punishment that could be inflicted upon him. Brophy said he merely wished to deny a report in the newspapers that he had absconded. The other prisoners intimated that they would say nothing. They were all fully committed for trial.

No commotion or disturbance among the people took place either at the apprehension of Stephens or at his committal, but shortly afterwards the detectives Hughes and Doyle, who aided in the capture of Stephens and in other Fenian arrests, were shot at while they were entering the police office in Exchange-court. Hughes was struck by a ball in the shoulder, and Doyle was wounded near the spine. The shots were supposed to have been fired from a window of the house formerly occupied by Hopper, a tailor, then in custody on the charge of Fenianism.

The prisoners, on their committal, were lodged in Richmond gaol, but here a very unfortunate incident occurred, which, while it balked the course of justice, afforded, no doubt, great encourage-



ment to the Fenian party, and strengthened the impression which they desired to produce, that many persons in places of authority and trust were favourable to their principles, and could give them aid in any emergency. Stephens made his escape from Richmond prison on the night of the 24th of November, and eluded all the vigilance of the police to discover his retreat. Much consternation was caused by this event. The Government immediately offered 1000*l.* reward for his apprehension, also 300*l.* to any person who should give information that might lead to his arrest, with a free pardon to any person concerned in his escape who should give such information.

It was immediately surmised that this escape was effected through the aid or connivance of some of the persons employed in the prison. Stephens's cell door was found open at four o'clock a.m. with a duplicate key in the lock; six other doors had been passed through. The governor of the goal, Mr. Marquis, anxious to prevent any communication between the several Fenian prisoners, had placed an ordinary prisoner in each cell intermediate between two of the alleged Fenians. The prisoner so placed between James Stephens and Charles J. Kickham, stated that he heard, at a few minutes before one o'clock, a noise as of feet mounting the stairs. Shortly afterwards a sound struck his ear as of a lock being opened, and then, to use his own expression, 'two sets of steps' going down-stairs. He did not raise any alarm at the time, not suspecting that an escape was being accomplished, and thinking that it was the night watchman who caused the noise. At four o'clock, however, the governor was roused by a watchman named Byrne, who told him that Stephens was missing. An examination immediately took place, when the discoveries above described were made. Whoever planned the escape must have been thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the prison and its vicinity. An inquiry into the conduct of the officers of the prison took place, the result of which was the suspension of the governor, Mr. Marquis, and the committal of Byrne the watchman, who was shown to have been himself implicated in the Fenian movements, for trial. Upon an investigation which was afterwards made into the management of the prison, it appeared that very great negligence habitually prevailed, and that there were ample facilities for the escape of prisoners, in addition to such as might be afforded in this case from the complicity of some of the officers with Fenian principles.

Two days later, information was conveyed to the Government that an attempt would be made to rescue the Fenian prisoners confined within Richmond Bridewell. It was also stated that Stephens, before he left the gaol, had organized plans for the escape of his fellow-conspirators. In consequence of these and other rumours, as well as of great general apprehension prevailing through the city, a detachment of the 8th regiment, consisting of 50 rank and file, marched to the prison on the night of the 26th of November, and



took up the position assigned them. Sentries were placed on the ramparts, at all the gates, and pickets patrolled within the outer walls. Twenty-five of the metropolitan police, acting under the instructions of Inspector Armstong, of the A Division, were also placed on duty within the gaol in charge of the corridors in which the cells where the Fenian prisoners were confined are situated. All the officers of the prisoners remained on duty during the night, and the greatest vigilance was observed to prevent any surprise. The police in every quarter of the city were on the alert, but the night passed over without the slightest disturbance, or any thing transpiring that would lead to the belief that an attack on the prison from within or without had been contemplated.

A great number of additional arrests having now been made in Dublin and Cork, as well as in various parts of the provinces, the Government resolved to issue a Special Commission for the trial of the accused persons. The Commission was directed to two of the ablest judges on the Irish Bench, Keogh and Fitzgerald. It was opened at Dublin on the 27th of November, and after sitting there for more than a fortnight, proceeded to Cork, and subsequently returned to Dublin, where it was engaged till the end of the year and for some weeks afterwards, in trying prisoners. The first case, and one of the most important, which was tried at Dublin, will be found reported at some length in the Appendix to this volume. The facts and documents which were adduced in evidence in the succeeding trials, were very similar in their character and complexion, and proved the general design and machinery of the conspiracy to have been as above described. Among the letters and papers seized or found upon the persons of the conspirators were several which threw light upon the nature and extent of the organization. Among other documents the following "Address to the Brotherhood all over the World," fell into the hands of the Crown prosecutors:—

"Brothers!—We deem it prudent to withhold for the present from publication in the newspapers certain important resolutions having special reference to the revolutionary element in Ireland, which have been submitted to this convention by the Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, and unanimously adopted. Printed copies of these resolutions will be placed before the different circles of our organization in this country, and will also be transmitted, at the earliest fitting opportunity, to our friends at home. In the meantime, we do not wish to separate without addressing to you a few guarded words, such as we can afford to have read by all whom it may concern, respecting the present aspect of our cause. We are solemnly pledged to labour earnestly and continuously for the regeneration of our beloved Ireland. That pledge, with the blessing of Divine Providence, we shall redeem; and when the wished-for hour will have arrived we shall be prepared, with you, to meet the implacable persecutors of our

race in battle array, to put an end for ever to the accursed system under which our unhappy people have suffered such cruel tortures, or die like men in the attempt. And in what holier cause has man ever died? How much Irish blood has fallen upon the battle fields of the world? Alas! how much Irish blood has been shed in the service of our country's oppressor—the plunderer and murderer of her people—the fell enemy of her faith? Over this subject and others connected with it we have pondered long and bitterly. But our resolve is fixed and irrevocable; the foul stigma which attaches to our name must be wiped out. We do not ask, will you be ready? We know you are ready; nine-tenths of the Irish people have at all times been ready in the heart and will to dispute with armed hands the invaders' right to enslave and exterminate them. But this is not enough. We must be 'skilled to do,' as well as 'ready to dare.' We are thoroughly convinced of the utter futility of legal and constitutional agitations, Parliamentary 'policies,' and all similar delusions. These things have brought more suffering upon our people than would be caused by the most protracted and devastating war. The best of them would but expose the ardent and the brave to the vengeance of cruel despots, and be it remembered that such sacrifices beget no noble aspirations. No enslaved people ever regained their independence, or became formidable to their enslaver, without illegal (in the enslaved sense) pre-organization. . . . Here we have soldiers armed and trained (thousands of them trained in the tented field, and amid the smoke and thunders of battle) with able and experienced generals to lead them. Let the cities, and towns, and parishes of Ireland have their brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies of partially disciplined soldiers of liberty silently enrolled. Above all things, let every man be pledged to obey the commands of his superiors, and pledged also never to move without such commands, for obedience to command is the first and the most important requisite to the soldier; all the rest is secondary. Thus you will not only be prepared to strike with effect, but all rash attempts at insurrection will be prevented. Without such an organization as we contemplate, partial uprisings of the people will be sure to occur, leaving no results but the sacrifice of brave men, and, perhaps, the ruin of our cause. When we strike, let us strike home; and are there not strong arms within the enemy's own shores to second the blow? Circumstances are in our favour, such as Providence never before vouchsafed to an enslaved people. We have but to act as becomes brave and reasoning men, and ours shall be the pride and the glory of lifting our sorrowing Erin of the streams to her place among the nations. Brothers, rely upon us. We rely upon you.

"James Gibbons, Pennsylvania, Chairman; John O'Mahony, New York, President and Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood; Richard O'Doherty, Indiana; Daniel Grady, district of Colum-

bia; and Daniel Carmody, Wisconsin, Vice-Presidents; Henry O'C. McCarthy, Illinois, and John A. Stuart, Indiana, Secretaries."

The following are extracts from a pamphlet containing the rules and by-laws of the Fenian Brotherhood, which was found in the possession of one Moore, a blacksmith, one of the convicted prisoners. He was proved to have been employed under a contract to manufacture pikes on a large scale for the Brotherhood.

#### "CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

"1. The Fenian Brotherhood.—The Fenian Brotherhood is a distinct and independent organization. It is composed in the first place, of citizens of the United States of America, of Irish birth and lineage; and, in the second place, of Irishmen, and of friends of Ireland, living elsewhere on the American Continent, and in the provinces of the British Empire wherever situated. Its headquarters are, and shall be, within the limits of the United States of America. Its members are bound together by the following general pledge:—

"2. General Pledge.—I \* \* solemnly pledge my sacred word of honour, as a truthful and honest man, that I will labour with earnest zeal for the liberation of Ireland from the yoke of England, and for the establishment of a free and independent Government on the Irish soil; that I will implicitly obey the commands of my superior officers in the Fenian Brotherhood; that I will faithfully discharge my duties of membership as laid down in the constitution and by-laws thereof; that I will do my utmost to promote feelings of love, harmony, and kindly forbearance among all Irishmen; and that I will foster, defend, and propagate the aforesaid Fenian Brotherhood, to the utmost of my power.

"3. Form of Organization.—The Fenian Brotherhood shall be subdivided into State organizations, Circles, and Subcircles. It shall be directed and governed by a Head Centre, to direct the whole organization; State Centres to direct State organizations; Centres to direct Circles; and Subcentres to direct Subcircles. The Head Centre shall be assisted by a Central Council of five; by a Central Treasurer, and Assistant Treasurer; by a Central Corresponding Secretary and a Central Recording Secretary; and by such intermediate officers as the Head Circle may from time to time deem necessary for the efficient working of the organization.

"4. The Head Centre shall be elected annually by a general Congress of representatives of the Fenian Brotherhood, which Congress shall be composed of the State Congress and the Centres, together with elected delegates from the several circles of the organization—each circle in good standing being entitled to elect one delegate."

It appeared in the course of the trials that considerable sums



of money were sent from time to time from the Fenians in America to their brethren in England. American bills for 500*l.* and 1000*l.* each were found upon the persons of some of the parties apprehended. The money was applied freely in the purchase and procuring of arms. Large numbers of pikes were seized which had been made at the price of half-a-crown each, and were sent down from Dublin in cases containing fifty pikes, these weapons being described as "rods" in the correspondence of the brotherhood. A number of weapons were also found in possession of persons who were arrested. Several thousand belts were proved to have been ordered, and seizures of these and other implements of warfare were repeatedly made by the police.

In enforcing the penalties of the law against the deluded men who had embarked in this insane attempt to overthrow an established Government, the authorities met with less difficulty than might have been anticipated. Against those on whom the law laid its arm there was no lack of evidence. There is always a plentiful crop of informers when political offenders are to be tried in Ireland. All the records of conspiracies in that country show that if a treasonable secret be entrusted to a third person, one of the three will become an approver. The Fenian trials afforded a fresh illustration of this propensity of Irish conspirators to betray their confederates. The informers readily furnished the information which the agents of the Crown were in search of, and the secret councils and machinations of the brotherhood were displayed in the light of day. Nor did any obstruction to the course of justice arise from that reluctance of juries to convict, which in other political trials, and indeed in ordinary criminal proceedings, has often been found a great embarrassment to the Crown. In all the cases in which the indictment was satisfactorily proved, the juries before whom these conspirators were arraigned unhesitatingly pronounced them guilty; and the instances of acquittal were only in those few instances in which the evidence might fairly be thought too weak to warrant a conviction. The prisoners were sentenced, in the more aggravated cases, to terms of penal servitude ranging from five to twenty years. Most of these men comported themselves, both before and after sentence, with cool bravado and insolent defiance of the law, justifying their conduct by the wrongs inflicted, as they alleged, upon their country, and glorying in their resistance to English tyranny. It is observable that the class to which the convicted parties belonged was generally neither that of the cultivators of land, nor the rural peasantry; nor, on the other hand, were any of the wealthy or educated members either of the upper or middle ranks implicated—the accused belonging, with scarcely any exception, to the class just above the lowest, men possessed of little or no substance, inhabitants of towns, and having some slight smattering of knowledge and superficial education. They appeared to be entirely independent of any priestly or religious influences.



When the year closed, the trials were still proceeding, and the continued discovery of new links and ramifications of the conspiracy, and the successive arrests and seizures that were made by the police, seemed to threaten a long continuance of the labours of the Special Commission and a serious tax on the vigilance of the Government. The Counties of Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, and several more were from time to time "proclaimed by the Executive under the powers of the 'Peace Preservation Act.'" The military force was strengthened in various localities, and other precautions taken to obviate the contingency of any disturbance of the peace. With regard to the general maintenance of the Imperial authority in Ireland no apprehension was felt, nor could the supremacy of the law in that country be regarded as endangered by any filibustering attempt which it was competent for such conspirators to make. But on the other hand, it was in the power of these insignificant malcontents to inflict, as they unquestionably did, a serious blow upon the most important interests of Ireland from the sense of insecurity, most adverse to prosperity and progress, induced by this movement. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the result of this abortive outbreak of Fenianism will be to throw back at least a quarter of a century the slowly-dawning improvement of Ireland. Certainly nothing could be more effectual to check the development of trade and industry, to deter capitalists from investing funds in that country, and to frighten away resident proprietors from their estates, than these spasmodic, though futile, outbursts of chronic disaffection.

Making abatement for the two untoward events which have now been described, the public history of the United Kingdom during the year 1865 exhibits the features of steady progress and prosperous tranquillity. The picture indeed had, as must always be the case, its darker shades—the fortunes of the nation were chequered by some reverses unavoidable by human prudence, and by some evils more justly chargeable to its own ignorance or error. There was the usual,—perhaps not more than the average,—allowance of crime and wickedness, of losses and casualties by sea and land; there was more than the average tax paid to mortality in the death of eminent citizens, of statesmen and politicians, of men distinguished in the various spheres of science, literature, and art. The main elements of the national strength—its agriculture, commerce, and manufactures—were well sustained, and gave promise of increased development: the public finances were eminently buoyant, the transactions of foreign commerce were on the largest scale, though no increase of trade or revenue, however prodigious, has been able to effect any considerable abatement in that painful contrast which still exists in this country between enormous wealth and luxury in one quarter, and painful destitution and pauperism at the other extremity of the scale. The key to this perplexing problem, as yet unsolved by political economy or statesmanship, remains to be discovered.

A few words must be added with respect to the commercial and

monetary characteristics of the period. The Bank rate of discount, the acknowledged barometer of the fluctuations of capital, underwent an unusual amount of variation. During the year not less than seventeen changes were made in the rate. In January it opened at 6 per cent.; subsequently between January and May, it gradually receded to 4 per cent. At the end of May it was once more raised to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and between that period and July, progressively dropped to 3 per cent. Between July and October the rate was again steadily advanced to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., but in the latter month it suddenly rose, by three successive changes, to 7 per cent. On the 23rd of November the rate was reduced to 6, but again rose, on the 28th of December, to 7 per cent.

The highest amount of bullion in the Bank was on the 28th of June, when the total stood at 15,432,985*l.*; the rate of discount was then 3 per cent. The bullion was at its lowest point on the 11th of October, viz., 11,956,340*l.*, when the official *minimum* was 7 per cent. The internal drain was at that period very strong, and towards the close of the year the market was exposed to the effect of a foreign drain. The stock of bullion on the 27th of December was 13,403,102*l.* The highest amount of the private securities was on the 4th of October, when it reached a total of 24,170,280*l.*, and the lowest was on the 25th of January, when the aggregate ranked at 18,053,247*l.* The reserve of notes was highest on the 22nd of March, when they amounted to 9,530,845*l.*, and lowest was on the 11th of October, when they represented 4,294,145*l.*

The business of the country would appear to have been on the whole in a satisfactory state. Although, it is true, the great losses in produce, chiefly cotton, tea, sugar, and rice, in the early part of the year, resulted in some very large failures, the export branches exhibited remarkable vitality, and subsequently showed considerable progress. The balance in trade was nevertheless, at the close of the year, undoubtedly against us, and gave reason to apprehend a continued stringency in the money-market. The fluctuations in cotton were most violent while they lasted, and early in the year the depression was so great that it was never thought there would be a return to high prices. One feature in the failures taking place was discouraging; the amount of assets was put greatly in excess of liabilities, but the progress of liquidation was unfavourable, and in several notable instances not a fraction of dividend had been announced. For eleven months of the year ending 30th of November the total value of the exports was 150,832,344*l.*, against 148,340,865*l.* in 1864, and 132,135,368*l.* in 1863, being an increase over 1864 of 2,491,479*l.*, and of 18,696,976*l.* over 1863. The articles showing an increase were alkali, cotton-yarn, cotton manufactures, earthenware, haberdashery and millinery, hardware and cutlery, linen yarns, linen manufactures, metals, seed oil, silk manufactures, wool, and woollen manufactures. The decline was shown in beer and ale, coals and culm, and machinery. As regards imports, there was an improvement in raw cotton, animals,

flax and hemp, leather manufactures, flax seed and linseed, raw silk, tallow, woollen manufactures, coffee, spirits, tea, tobacco, and wine; but a decline in clocks and watches, guano, wool, cocoa, and sugar. In the case of cereals there was an increase in the importation of barley, oats, and wheat, meal, and flour; but a falling off in wheat, peas, beans, and Indian corn. In articles of provision there was an increase in the importation of bacon and hams, salt pork, cheese, and lard; but a decline in salt beef and butter.

The tendency to adopt the principle of "limited liability" was very apparent during the year. No less than 287 new Companies were introduced, though a considerable proportion of them proved abortive. The "limited" principle was developed in a somewhat novel direction. Instead of being applied to new undertakings, it was in many cases directed to the conversion of old private firms into companies, the arrangement being the absorption of the original house with the infusion of fresh blood into the management, and an extension of capital. A great number of these associations are likely to work well and successfully, but there are others which never can be developed, being hampered with stipulations which will not allow fair scope for their legitimate operation.

The operations in British Funded Securities showed a considerable depreciation in price. This may be ascribed to the variety offered to the public of more profitable classes of investment, both at home and abroad, the facilities afforded to investors of sharing in the higher rate of interest yielded by foreign undertakings being very much increased. The highest price of Consols for money was in April, when they were  $91\frac{3}{4}$ ; and the lowest in December, when they were sold at  $86\frac{3}{4}$ . In Exchequer Bills the range was from 8s. premium in February to 19s. discount in October. The following table exhibits the fluctuations:—

	Highest.		Lowest.
Consols, money . . . . .	April, $91\frac{3}{4}$	.....	$86\frac{3}{4}$ Dec.
Ditto, account . . . . .	" $91\frac{1}{2}$	.....	$87\frac{1}{2}$ Dec.
New Three per Cents . . . .	Aug., $90\frac{1}{2}$	.....	$86\frac{3}{4}$ Oct.
Red. Three per Cents . . . .	" $90\frac{1}{2}$	.....	$86\frac{1}{2}$ March and Dec.
Exchequer Bills . . . . .	Feb., 8s.	prem.	19 dis., Oct.

Railway shares were largely influenced by the general state of the money-market. With a few exceptions these securities showed a considerable decline in price.

The Foreign Loans introduced during the year were as follows:—

Loan.	Amount.	Called up.
Austrian. . . . .	£14,600,000	£2,188,482
Consolidated Peruvian Five per Cent. . .	9,000,000	7,515,000
Imperial Brazilian Five per Cent. . . .	5,000,000	1,250,000
Imperial Ottoman Five per Cent. . . .	3,636,363	1,818,181
Imperial Ottoman Six per Cent. . . .	6,000,000	1,260,000
Italian Five per Cent. . . . .	8,000,000	6,200,000
	£46,236,363	£20,231,663

With regard to these Loans, however, it is necessary to observe that the total is not so serious as it appears. Not merely was the 46,236,363*l.* of nominal stock issued at prices that would greatly reduce the amount, but some of the most formidable loans in the list, such as the Austrian, for 14,600,000*l.*, and the Ottoman, for 6,000,000*l.*, were almost exclusively subscribed in Paris, while the Peruvian, of 9,000,000*l.*, represented chiefly a proposed conversion of pre-existing bonds.

With regard to future monetary prospects, much will depend upon the prudence exercised by the financial and commercial community in discouraging the efforts of speculative promoters to launch projects which possess no elements of legitimate success. The flood of delusive schemes recently palmed upon the public, with the sole design of enriching their originators, at the cost of the unwary persons who are tempted to embark in them, has induced an outcry in some quarters for the intervention of the Legislature. But the protection of investors against the consequences of their own rashness is certainly no part of the duty of a Government—the evil must be left to work its own cure. It should be observed also, in reference to the policy on which some persons are disposed to father all the disasters that have occurred, that it is not the *principle* of limited liability which is really at fault. A great portion of the evils now witnessed have arisen from the previous interference of the Legislature with individual freedom by prohibiting Companies and the public from making voluntary bargains with each other upon such terms as they mutually think fit; the sudden removal of the artificial obstruction thus so long maintained having been followed by a rush of undertakings that would otherwise have been in course of gradual and rational development for years past.



# FOREIGN HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

### FRANCE.

Reception of the Diplomatic Body by the Emperor—The Encyclical Letter of the Pope—Conduct of the French Bishops with respect to its publication—The Finance Budget—Opening of the French Chambers, and Speech of the Emperor—Foreign Policy of the French Government—Report in the Blue Book of the internal condition of France—Report on the subject of Public Instruction—Debate in the Senate on the Address—Speeches of the Marquis de Boissy and others—Reply of the Emperor to the Address of the Senate—Death of the Duke de Morny, President of the *Corps Législatif*—Debate on the Address in the *Corps Législatif*—Speeches of MM. Ollivier, Rouher, and Thiers—Reply of the Emperor to the Address of the *Corps Législatif*—Reception of the news of the Assassination of President Lincoln—Bill for the Military Contingent for 1865—Visit of the Emperor to Algeria—His “Memorandum” in Algeria published on his return—Prince Napoleon’s speech at Ajaccio on the policy of the Emperor—Letter of rebuke addressed to him by the Emperor in consequence—Speech of M. Thiers on the Budget—Reply of M. O’Quin, the Reporter on the Budget—Close of the Session of the Chambers—Municipal Elections in France—Circular of the Minister of the Interior on the subject—Interchange of courtesies between the French and English Fleets.

THE state of France throughout the whole of this year was one of profound peace and material prosperity. Whatever may be thought of her form of government by those who are accustomed to the blessings of constitutional liberty, there can be no doubt that commerce and manufactures flourish, and wealth increases under the Imperial *régime*. Confidence is the soul of credit, and credit is indispensable to trade. Revolutions and insurrections destroy all confidence, and conduct the merchant and the shopkeeper to bankruptcy. The French nation seems at present to prefer order and tranquillity under a species of military despotism, to the chances of disturbance under free institutions; and however much the more educated and intellectual part of the people may view with disgust a system which reduces political liberty within the narrowest limits, and checks the free utterance of opinion, we believe that the great mass of the nation is content to purchase quiet and prosperity even at the price of constitutional liberty.

On the 1st of January, the Emperor received, as usual, the Diplomatic Body at the Tuilleries; and in answer to their congratulations, expressed by the Papal Nuncio, replied:—“The congratulations of the Diplomatic Body, of which you are good

enough to be the mouthpiece, touch me sensibly. I trust that concord may continue to reign among us, of which your presence around me is a sure guarantee. Be convinced that I will make every effort that my relations with foreign Powers may be ever animated by respect for right and love of peace and justice."

The Emperor, in reply to the Archbishop of Paris, said:—"I thank you for the sentiments which you express in the name of the clergy of Paris, and for the prayers which you address to Heaven for me. I am very glad to see my efforts to maintain religious interests appreciated by the Prelate who governs the diocese of Paris, and I request your prayers for me, for the Empress, and for the Imperial Prince."

A good deal of trouble was caused in France by the issue of an Encyclical Letter by the Pope, on the 8th of December last year, which was full of the usual extravagant pretensions of the Holy See; and asserted its antiquated claims to decide on every thing *ex cathedrâ* in the most unqualified terms.

It is contrary to the French law to publish a document of this kind from Rome without the leave of the Government. Even in the reign of Charles X., who was more than any French monarch in modern times under the influence of the priests, the Bishop of Beauvais, Monseigneur Feutrier, who was at the time Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, addressed, in 1829, on the occasion of an Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius VIII., a letter to his brother Bishops, in which he said:—"As for the Encyclical, which may have come to your knowledge, the Pope not having demanded, and the King not having accorded permission to publish, it cannot be printed in the instructions which you may deem it your duty to address to the faithful of your diocese on the occasion of the jubilee, nor published in any other form."

A circular from the Minister of Justice, addressed to each of the Bishops, dated the 1st of January in the present year, informed him, that—"As regards the first part of the Letter and the Appendix, your Eminence will understand that the reception and publication of these documents, which contain propositions contrary to the principles on which is based the Constitution of the Empire, could not be authorized."

And on the 5th of January, a decree appeared in the "Moniteur," which enacted as follows:—"Art. 1. The last part of the Encyclical Letter issued at Rome on the 8th of December, 1864, commencing by the words, '*Hiscæ—litteris auctoritate nostrâ,*' and announcing a universal jubilee for 1865, is received, and will be published in the Empire in the ordinary form.

"Art. 2. The above-mentioned part of the said Encyclical Letter is received without any approbation of the clauses, formulæ, or expressions which it contains, and which are or may be contrary to the laws of the Empire, as well as to the liberties, franchises, and maxims of the Gallican Church."

But the Archbishops and Bishops of the Ultramontane School

were little disposed to yield obedience to such a mandate; and no less than thirty-four Prelates, if not more, protested with more or less vehemence against the prohibition.

In a letter addressed by the Archbishop of Cambrai to the Minister of Justice and Public Worship, he said:—"The restrictive measure signified to me by your Excellency astonishes and saddens me, all the more that the diffusion of the most anti-Christian doctrines meets in our time with less obstacle. In our day every body is at liberty, as much and as often as he pleases, to deny the existence of God Himself, and to propagate atheism in writings to which he may give all the publicity he desires. Is it too much to ask for the same latitude for Catholic teaching? The prohibition imposed by your Excellency with regard to the Encyclical and its annex is characterized by a gravity of an exceptional character, which escapes no one. It applies not merely to a matter of discipline, but to doctrinal instruction proceeding from the Supreme Pontiff. No doubt, in certain circumstances and in certain countries, impediments may be offered to the communications of the Vicar of Jesus Christ with the faithful whom he has the mission to instruct and direct throughout the world; but nowhere, and in no case, should human Governments deprive his words of the power to bind the conscience, or release the Bishops from the obligation of transmitting, as much as in them lies, his instructions to the faithful of their dioceses."

The Bishops of Moulins and Besançon, having read the Encyclical Letter from their pulpits, were reprimanded by an Imperial decree, dated the 8th of February, which stated:—

"Art. 1. There is an abuse in the fact of having read from the pulpit a portion of the Encyclical Letter, the reception and publication of which were not authorized by us throughout the French Empire.

"Art. 2. Our Minister of State, &c., is ordered to see this decree carried out, which will be inserted in the 'Bulletin des Lois.' "

But the boldest and most contumacious Prelate was the Bishop of Orleans, who published a pamphlet addressed to the Papal Nuncio, the doctrines of which were utterly subversive of the liberties of the Gallican Church. And the Bishop of Poitiers, in a pastoral letter, gave utterance to similar sentiments. These drew forth two letters from the Papal Nuncio to the two Bishops, of which the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Drouyn de Lhuys complained to Count Sartiges, the French Minister at Rome. He said in his despatch:—"In writing to French Bishops to express an opinion on their conduct and to direct their course with respect to the Imperial Government, his Excellency has exceeded his functions, which, according to French public law, can only be those of an ambassador. But an ambassador fails in his most essential duty when he encourages, by his approbation, resistance

to the laws of the country in which he resides, and criticism of the acts of the Government to which he is accredited. It is true that his Excellency, in the explanations which he has given me on the subject, has disavowed the publication of those letters, which he attributes to a culpable indiscretion. But it is of the fact itself that the Emperor's Government has a just right to complain. It hopes consequently that the Court of Rome, in its wisdom, will not permit a recurrence of such irregularities, which, besides, the French Government is determined not to tolerate."

The Archbishop of Paris did not read the Encyclical Letter from his pulpit, but contented himself with publishing a pastoral, in which he said:—

"The Concordat between Pope Pius VII. and the First Consul is in the form of an international treaty. The two Powers meet each other as possessing a proper and independent existence. They stipulate in favour of mutual interests; they settle amicably how certain rights and certain obligations which they recognize in each other reciprocally shall be exercised and fulfilled. The Church is not, then, in the State as a particular society, borrowing from it all its life, and all its strength, and of which it may at pleasure, and in virtue of a one-sided right, modify the conditions of its existence,—it is rather a State which, geographically at least, should be in the Church, inasmuch as it extends throughout the whole world. The best thing to say is, that the Church is every where at home, and that the State is at home only within its own frontiers. Be that as it may, the Church, divinely instituted to procure salvation for men through the doctrine which it teaches, the sacraments which it administers, and the discipline which it fixes and maintains, cannot fulfil that mission without at the same time animating with its breath civil and public life, and without making of the social body a Christian State which honours and protects it. There are, then, established between Church and State relations which, without doubt, should be regulated and observed according to the spirit of Christianity."

Early in January M. Achille Fould, the Minister of Finance, published his Budget, from which we will quote the summary with which it ends, observing merely that the figures, of course, refer to francs.

"The year 1863 will leave a deficit less by 15,000,000 than had been anticipated; the Budget of the year 1864 will probably balance itself; in 1865 our military expenditure will be reduced—for the Army, by 21,000,000; for the Navy, by 23,000,000; together 44,000,000—and lastly, we shall carry forward to the Budget of 1866 the sum of 18,000,000 arising from the surplus of the resources of 1865. This sum may be notably increased at an early future, if, as is permitted to hope, the extraordinary expenses for the Army and Navy, which still figure in the Anticipatory Budget for 1865 to the amount of 65,000,000, shall successively decrease and at last disappear. There will then be con-



siderable resources, the employment of which will be hereafter determined.

“The situation, generally speaking, presents a favourable aspect. The monetary embarrassments have disappeared, a recovery of business seems near, and our revenues cannot fail to increase with the activity of commerce and industry.

“These happy results are due to the confidence inspired by the Government of the Emperor, and to the pacific sentiments with which Europe knows your Majesty is animated.”

The new Session of the French Legislature was opened on the 15th of February by the Emperor in person, who delivered the following speech:—

“MESSIEURS LES SÉNATEURS,

“MESSIEURS LES DÉPUTÉS,—

“At the period of your last assembling I entertained the hope that the difficulties which threatened the peace of Europe would have been obviated by a Congress.

“This has not been the case. I regret it; for the sword often cuts questions without settling them; and the only basis of a durable peace is the satisfaction given by the agreement of the Sovereigns to the true interests of nations.

“In presence of the conflict which has arisen on the shores of the Baltic, my Government, divided between its sympathies for Denmark and its goodwill towards Germany, has maintained the most strict neutrality. Called to a Conference to utter its opinion, it restricted itself to upholding the principle of nationalities and the right of the populations to be consulted as regards their fate.

“Our language, conformable to the reserved attitude which we meant to maintain, has been moderate and friendly towards both parties.

“In Central Europe the action of France had to be displayed with greater resolution. It was my wish to render possible the solution of a difficult problem. The Convention of the 15th of September, disentangled from passionate interpretations, consecrates two great principles—the firm establishment of the new Kingdom of Italy, and the independence of the Holy See. The provisional and precarious state of affairs which excited so much alarm will soon terminate. It is no longer the scattered members of the Italian nation seeking to connect themselves by feeble links to a small State situated at the foot of the Alps; it is a great country which rises above local prejudices—despising the ebullitions of unreflecting agitations—which boldly transfers its capital to the centre of the peninsula, and places it in the midst of the Apennines, as in an impregnable citadel. By this act of patriotism Italy definitively constitutes herself, and at the same time reconciles herself with Catholicity. She engages to respect the independence of the Holy See—to protect the frontiers of the

Roman States—and thus allows us to withdraw our troops. The Pontifical territory, safely guaranteed, finds itself placed under the protection of a Treaty which solemnly binds the two Governments. The Convention, therefore, is not a weapon of war, but a work of peace and reconciliation.

“In Mexico the new throne is being firmly established; the country is becoming pacified; its immense resources are being developed;—the happy result of the valour of our troops, of the common sense of the Mexican population, and of the intelligence and energy of the Sovereign.

“In Japan, our fleet, acting in concert with those of England, of Holland, and of the United States, has given a new proof of what it can do.

“In Africa a sudden insurrection has disturbed the safety of our possessions, and shows how much certain tribes are still ignorant of our power and of our benevolent intentions. It is at the very moment when, by a spirit of generous justice, France assured the property of the soil to the Arab population—when by liberal measures we were endeavouring to make that misguided people understand that, far from oppressing it, we wished to call it to the blessings of civilization—it is at this moment, I say, that, led astray by religious fanaticism, the Arabs, neighbours of the desert, have raised the standard of revolt. Despite the difficulties of the ground and the inclemency of the season, our army, ably commanded, soon got the upper hand of the insurrection, and after the combat no sanguinary reprisals or needless severity have saddened the victory. The zeal of the experienced Chief placed at the head of Algeria, the unity of command re-established, the belief in the generous intentions of France—all will, I trust, concur to prevent a recurrence of similar disorders. Thus, all our expeditions are nearly terminated. Our land troops have evacuated China; the fleet suffices to maintain our establishments in Cochin-China; our army in Africa is to be reduced; that of Mexico is already returning to France; the garrison at Rome will soon be withdrawn; and, closing the Temple of War, we may with pride inscribe upon a new triumphal arch these words:—‘To the glory of the French armies, for the victories achieved in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in Spain, and in America.’

“Let us give ourselves up without anxiety to the labours of peace. The interval between the Sessions is devoted to discovering the means for increasing the moral and material welfare of the people, and every useful and true idea is sure to be welcomed by me and adopted by you.

“Let us, then, examine together the measures suited to increase the prosperity of the Empire. Religion and public instruction are the constant objects of my thoughts. All confessions enjoy the same liberty. The Catholic clergy exercises, even beyond its ministry, a legitimate influence. By the laws on instruction it assists in the education of youth; by the electoral law it may take

part in the public councils; by the Constitution it sits in the Senate. But the more we surround it with respect and deference the more do we reckon that it will respect the fundamental laws of the State. It is my duty to maintain intact the rights of the civil power, which since the days of St. Louis no Sovereign in France has ever abandoned.

"The development of public instruction deserves your attention. In a land of universal suffrage, every citizen ought to know how to read and write. A project of law will be presented to you still more to promote primary instruction.

"I endeavour every year to diminish the obstacles which have so long opposed themselves in France to the free expansion of individual enterprise. By the law upon coalitions, voted last year, those who work, as well as those who employ, have learnt to settle their differences without reckoning upon the intervention of the Government, powerless to regulate the varying connexion between supply and demand. At present fresh projects will have the object of leaving greater liberty to commercial associations, and freeing the Administration from a responsibility always illusory. I have it at heart to destroy all the obstacles which opposed the creation of societies destined to improve the condition of the working classes. In promising the establishment of these societies, without abandoning the guarantees for public security, we shall facilitate a useful experiment. The Council of State has studied with care a law tending to give greater powers to the Municipal Councils and Councils-General.

"The Communes and the Departments will thus be called upon to transact their own affairs, which, decided upon the spot, will be more promptly settled. This reform will complete the arrangements made to simplify or suppress minute regulations which unnecessarily complicated the wheels of the Administration.

"Free trade, inaugurated by the Treaty with England, has been extended to our relations with Germany, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom of Sweden and Norway. The same principles ought naturally to be applied to maritime commerce. A Bill is under preparation to establish on the seas a competition that will engender progress. Finally, the rapid completion of our railway system, of our canals, of our roads, is the obligatory complement of commercial improvements. We shall this year fulfil one portion of our task, by appealing to private enterprise or by employing on public works the resources of the State, without compromising the healthy economy of our finances, and without having recourse to credit. The facility of communication at home as well as abroad gives impulse to trade, stimulates industry, and prevents too great scarcity or superabundance of produce, the effects of which are equally hurtful both to consumption and production. The greater development that is given to our merchant shipping, the greater will be the facility of transport, and the less reason will there be to complain of those sudden changes in the



price of goods of first necessity. It is thus that we shall be able to meet the partial distress which affects agriculture. Some attribute their temporary suffering to the suppression of the sliding scale; they forget that in 1851, when it was in existence, the depreciation in the price of cereals was far more considerable, and that this very year the export of wheat far exceeds the import.

"It is, on the contrary, due to a liberal legislation, to the impulse given to all the elements of national wealth, that our foreign commerce, which amounted in 1851 to 2 milliards 614 million francs, has now risen to the prodigious sum of upwards of 7 milliards.

"New Bills will be laid before you in another direction with the object of increasing the guarantees of individual liberty. The first authorizes provisional release, with or without bail, even in criminal cases; the second suppresses personal arrest in civil and commercial matters—an innovation, however, which is nothing but the re-enactment of a very ancient principle. From the earliest ages of Rome, it had been determined that the property and not the person of the debtor was responsible for a debt.

"Let us, therefore, continue to follow the course marked out. Let us live abroad in peace with the different Powers, and let us not cause the voice of France to be heard save for right and justice. At home let us protect religious ideas without ceding aught of the civil power; let us spread education throughout all classes of society; let us simplify, without destroying, our admirable administrative system; let us give the Commune and the Department a more independent existence; let us arouse individual enterprise and the spirit of association; lastly, let us elevate the soul and strengthen the body of the nation. But, while making ourselves the ardent promoters of useful reforms, let us firmly maintain the bases of the Constitution; let us oppose the exaggerated tendencies of those who provoke changes with the sole object of sapping that which we have founded. A Utopia is to welfare what illusion is to truth; and progress is not the realization of a more or less ingenious theory, but the application of the results of experience hallowed by time and accepted by public opinion."

In the month of February the Diplomatic Yellow Book was published by the Government, which gives an account of the foreign policy pursued by France during the previous year. We will quote a few of the most important passages. With reference to the question of Denmark and the Duchies, it stated:—

"The Government of the Emperor had neglected nothing which could contribute to an equitable and peaceful settlement of the difficulties which during the year 1864 occasioned a war in the North of Europe. He would have desired that the question of the Duchies of the Elbe, the grave character of which he had long foreseen, might be settled by a general understanding. Without mistaking



what was legitimate in some of the grievances of Germany, he thought that the titles of the Danish Monarchy to be treated with regard and goodwill by the Cabinets should be taken into account. He still believes it would have been possible to bring about an honourable arrangement between the two parties without having recourse to the employment of force. Animated by the most sincere desire to conciliate his traditional sympathies for Denmark with the neighbourly and friendly relations which exist between France and Germany, the Government of His Majesty could not see without profound regret a war break out between the two nations. From the commencement of hostilities, remembering that the first duty of neutrals in international differences is to contribute by their efforts to the re-establishment of peace, he did not hesitate to send a representative to the Conference of which the British Government had taken the initiative, although he entertained doubts of the efficacy of an arbitration restricted to a single question. . . . Far from disavowing the Treaty of London, which France had signed upon the same condition as the other Courts, without, however, guaranteeing its execution, we have conscientiously supported the labour of 1852 in the proposition in which we were concerned ; but, that duty accomplished, we could not refuse our acquiescence in the compromise which circumstances and superior interest rendered indispensable. The complications which had occasioned the war arose from the awkward distribution of the different groups of populations of which the Danish Monarchy was composed. Germany had asserted in arms the right of the German populations to a national existence ; it was just to claim the same advantages for the Danish populations. It was not intended further to oppose those principles to an intact sovereignty, though by the act of the German Powers the Duchies found themselves henceforth without masters. Faithful to the maxims of its policy, the Emperor's Government could not recognize the right of disposing of these peoples without their consent, and of distributing their territories according to the will and convenience of the strongest. It proposed to separate, as much as possible, the two nationalities co-existing in Schleswig, for the purpose of re-uniting them in the two groups to which they naturally belonged. The application of this idea would not have suffered any difficulty from the two extreme portions of the country. The districts of the North are Danish as incontestably as those of the South are German, and in this war of races their opinion was too well known to need being asked. As for the central districts, where the two nationalities are mixed, it is not possible to separate the populations of which they are composed, and, in whatever manner their fate was decided, it would necessarily happen that there were in that region Danes subjected to a German country, or Germans who were subject to Denmark. In these conditions it seemed equitable to leave the entirety of the mixed territories to that of the two parties which suffered the

severest sacrifices. But the Powers having refused to accept the line of demarcation traced out according to this plan, the Emperor's Government proposed to appeal to the inhabitants of the zone in dispute to clear up the doubts resulting from the confusion of races, and to obtain the indications best fitted to guide the negotiators in settling the frontier. The Government had neither engagement nor prejudice for the designation of the Sovereign under whose authority the group of States to be detached from Denmark should be placed, and it would willingly have lent its assistance to any arrangement conformable to the wish of the populations loyally consulted. Such is the entirety of the ideas the Plenipotentiary of France was desired to suggest or support in the course of the deliberations of the London Conference. . . . We admit with regret that the solution imposed upon the Danish Monarchy has not been conformable to the wishes we had expressed. The populations have not been consulted as to their future; the Scandinavian portion of Schleswig has not been left to Denmark, to which it is, nevertheless, allied by incontestable community of manners, origin, and language; and Germany has thus placed herself in the false position with which she has so long reproached the Cabinet of Copenhagen. This state of affairs has already aroused in the Duchies difficulties which are equally felt in the bosom of the Germanic Confederation, and experience has promptly justified the provisions of His Majesty's Government. In asking that, upon both sides, account should be taken of the principle of nationality, the only basis of durable peace, it had the consciousness of proposing the solution at once the most practical and most just. What is now taking place appears to prove this. The situation of the Duchies is in fact as anomalous as it is precarious, and the painful uncertainty weighing upon the future gravely compromises their moral and material interests. The inhabitants of the Danish part of Schleswig protest against their annexation to Germany. The succession question still awaits settlement, and arouses regrettable debates among the various German Cabinets."

As to Italy.—"The affairs of Italy have entered upon a new phase, characterized by the Convention signed the 15th of September last, between the Emperor and King Victor Emmanuel. Taken to Rome by an interest of the most elevated kind, France could only leave it after having accomplished her mission, the object of which was to secure the independence of the Pontifical power. More than once within the last two years the Italian Government had asked that of the Emperor to put an end to the occupation of Rome. The latter has invariably replied that we ourselves wished to be able to leave the Pontifical States, and that if the Cabinet of Turin proposed to us an arrangement offering sufficient guarantees we should be ready to examine it. This conduct, at once firm and benevolent, was dictated by an idea too much in conformity with the complex interests we had to take

into account to remain long without result. The sensible improvement in the situation of Italy we pointed out a year ago, has made fresh progress; and the Government of King Victor Emmanuel has been able to enter with us, under acceptable conditions, upon the examination of the question the solution of which is of essential importance to the destinies of the peninsula. In expressing to us, as in past time, its desire to see the occupation of Rome at an end, the Cabinet of Turin at the same time announced to us its determination of transferring the capital of the kingdom to Florence. In taking this step it gave an irrefutable pledge of the sincerity of its intentions, and thus testified more loudly than by words that it no longer made the possession of Rome a necessary condition of Italian unity. We were thenceforth able to enter upon the negotiations which have ended in the Convention of the 15th of September. It is sufficiently well known, and we shall not reproduce its clauses in detail. . . . In signing the Convention of the 15th of September, we have further intended only to stipulate in our own name, and in no wise in the name of the Holy See, although His Majesty's Government has been anxious above all to protect, as much as was in its power, the interests which had led it to Rome. The Holy See, therefore, remains free to maintain and renew its reservations with regard to accomplished facts; it remains entirely judge of the measure in which it may consider it advisable to concur in or lend itself to the application of the clauses of the Act of September 15th, the objects of which, in our opinion, are to come to its aid and secure its safety. If the partisans of the Pontifical Government, more zealous than prudent, have found that this Act did not do enough for the Papacy, or that it had the disadvantage of asking it to enter upon a course contrary to its right, other minds not less prejudiced have seen in the same Convention an attack upon the rights of the Italian nation, and an obstacle to the development of its unity. The discussion which has taken place in Parliament had done justice to these party exaggerations. . . . In reality, the Convention of the 15th of September tends to substitute a regular state of things for an indecisive and confused situation, which encouraged the rashness of parties, and risked, by its prolongation, becoming a cause of anarchy at home and of complications abroad; and, if a certain general appeasement has rendered it possible, we may hope it will have in its time the happy effect of contributing to cause Italy to re-enter into more normal conditions of order and tranquillity. The establishment of the capital at Florence cannot fail to strengthen the progress of Italian unification, by giving it a centre round which the various parties in the peninsula may more easily rally. Upon the other hand, the way to Rome ceases to be open to those who had inscribed the name of that city upon their flag. In place of continuing to threaten the existing frontier of the Pontifical State, Italy has taken the solemn engagement not to attack it, and even to defend it against all aggression from with-



out. There is, therefore, cause henceforth for the spirit of conciliation and of drawing near between the Court of Rome and the Italian Government; and if the Convention of the 15th of September is not the definitive solution of the Roman question, it may at least lead to that solution. Such are the considerations which have inspired the Emperor's Government in the agreement it has signed with the Government of the King of Italy. It has not in other respects intended either to approve or to assume the responsibility of all the facts that have taken place; it has, further, not had the pretension of foreseeing and settling all the eventualities of the future; that part belongs solely to Providence. It will limit itself to securing, so far as it is concerned, the precise execution of the Convention of the 15th of September, while reserving to itself entire liberty of action in cases unprovided for."

With reference to America.—"War still continues in the United States, and the indomitable resolution of the two belligerents does not permit us now, any more than a year ago, to see the end of this bloody and disastrous struggle. The Government of the Emperor has not departed from those principles of strict neutrality which it has laid down as the rule of its conduct since the commencement of the war. Decided, so long as circumstances were not more favourable, not to renew our efforts to open a way to an understanding, we have remained inactive but not indifferent spectators of a conflict in which so much ruin is accumulated. We have thought it our duty to turn our attention solely to the condition of our French subjects, as worthy of our interest. Owing to the peculiar situation of the Confederate States of the South, with which we do not keep up official relations, we can often do nothing but register the claims of French subjects in those States, reserving to ourselves the right of enforcing them at some fitting opportunity. We have at the same time neglected no means to bring the Federal Government to admit that it ought in strict equity to distinguish between those damages suffered by our countrymen resulting from military operations, and those which the authorities by irregular or forced requisitions have gratuitously inflicted upon them; and we have insisted that proper reparation should be granted for the latter injuries. We wish we could add that our efforts had obtained the result we were entitled to expect."

As to Mexico.—"The Emperor Maximilian has taken possession of the crown which had been offered to him by the national voice, and his arrival in his States has happily put an end to the provisional situation of Mexico. The reception of the Emperor in the capital and in the provinces by all classes of the population, the adhesion successively given in to the Imperial *régime* by distinguished men of all parties, admit of no doubt being entertained as to the wishes of the immense majority of the Mexican people. The new Sovereign will derive from these brilliant manifestations that force and confidence which are necessary to him for the ful-



filment of the grand and generous mission he has resolutely accepted. The pacification of so vast a country, where brigandage, taking advantage of the permanence of intestine dissensions, has constantly sheltered itself under the flag of a political party, could not be effected in a day. Nevertheless, it is being rapidly achieved, thanks to the activity and courage of our soldiers in the expeditions which they have made to the most opposite points of the territory. The return to France of our effective force has also commenced, and will continue to be carried out in the proportion which will indicate our solicitude for those interests which took us to Mexico. Officials borrowed from various branches of our Administration have, at its request, been placed at the disposition of the Mexican Government to assist in its work of internal reorganization. We hope thus to hasten the moment when the Administration will find itself settled in its new condition of order and regularity, and we await from it happy effects for the development of the prosperity of the country. Peace, progress, has already been accomplished, commercial transactions have become more active, and, with the help of time, the reign of the Emperor Maximilian will achieve the liquidation of a deplorable past."

In another report, called the Blue Book, a glowing, but we believe, a perfectly just picture is drawn of the material prosperity of France.

On the subject of the Press, the report states:—"On January 1, 1865, the number of political journals was 330; 63 of them printed in Paris, and 267 in the departments. On October 20, 1863, the number of political journals was 318. The number of non-political journals is 511 in Paris, and 250 in the provinces. From October 20, 1863, to December 31, 1864, the Government granted 16 authorizations for the creation of new political papers, 13 of them in Paris and 3 in the departments. Eight warnings have been given to the Paris Press, 16 to the departmental; and on four occasions certain journals have been suspended for two months. During the same period of 18 months and 10 days 40 judicial condemnations have been pronounced—viz., 17 against those in Paris, and 23 against the departmental. 1,355 works were submitted to the Colportage Commission, which authorized 1,237 and refused 118."

Commerce is thus dealt with:—"The commercial situation of the Empire is not less satisfactory than the industrial. There has been a constant and particularly marked progress in the exports of 1864. The returns are:—

	"1864.	1863.
Imports	2,480,214,000f.	2,426,379,000f.
Exports	2,909,439,000	2,642,559,000

In comparing those results it will be seen that our exports have exceeded our imports by 429 million francs in 1864, while during the corresponding period of the year 1863 the excess was only

216,000,000. The fact must also be remarked that, far from having, as in preceding years, to ask for corn from abroad, we have exported to a value of 28,000,000*f.* more than we have received. Navigation has also progressed, but in a less sensible manner; the movement in 1864 was as follows:—Inward, 4,663,000 tons, of which 1,952,000 were under the French flag. The year 1863 showed 4,561,000 tons, of which 1,919,000 were French. Thus, in the total of the movement inwards there was an increase of 102,000 tons, of which 33,000 were French; outward, 3,230,000 tons, of which 1,506,000 tons were under the French flag. For the same period in 1863 the amount was 3,172,000 tons, of which 1,527,000 were French: this is an absolute increase of 58,000 tons, and a decrease of 21,000 tons, French. . . . The sums arising from the sale of tobacco continue to increase. The revenue for the year 1863 had presented an advance of 6,000,000*f.* over 1862; and the year 1864 again shows an increase of nearly 7,000,000*f.* over 1863. The estimates on that point are thus exceeded by 6,000,000*f.* The Administration is endeavouring to maintain the prosperous state of that branch of the revenue, by constantly improving the manufacture, by introducing to consumers all kinds of French and foreign tobaccos, and by favouring the sale, by means of the retail in similar quantities.”

Imports and exports:—“During the year 1864 the imports from England into France for the principal articles not including corn and cotton (corn 463,000*f.*, and cotton 116,943,000*f.*) reached 297,000,000*f.*, against 338,000,000*f.* in 1863, a deduction of 131,000,000*f.* in the latter year for corn and cotton being also made. There was in this respect a decrease of about 41,000,000*f.* Our exports to England display remarkable progress. Thus, for the year 1864 the value of the principal merchandise exported reached a sum of 741,000,000*f.*, against 660,000,000*f.* in 1863, a deduction being made for corn, thus presenting an increase of 326,000,000*f.* in favour of 1864. The total of these facts shows that the economical reform, which at first gave rise to the loudest recriminations, far from being injurious to the industry of the country, has powerfully aided in its development. Fresh efforts have been made to improve the means of production, and we now receive the fruits, not only by the development of our foreign trade, but also by the satisfaction given to the French consumer. The experiment being complete, the Government has thought it advisable not to pause in the career opened in 1860. The Treaties concluded with the Zollverein and Switzerland will be shortly put into execution, and negotiations are opened with Holland, Sweden, and Norway for the purpose of extending to those countries, in consideration of certain compensations useful to the development of our trade, the benefit of our conventional tariffs.”

On the subject of the Navy, the report states:—“On the 1st of October, 1864, the number of men serving voluntarily on board the fleet, without counting officers, was 14,558, viz.:—

## “BELONGING TO THE INSCRIPTION.

Retained in the service . . . . .	952
Re-admitted . . . . .	4,178
Substitutes . . . . .	17
Called out at their own request . . . . .	903
Novices . . . . .	2,014
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>8,064</b>

## “NOT BELONGING TO THE INSCRIPTION.

Volunteers . . . . .	3,908
Re-engaged and engaged as Volunteers after liberation . . . . .	2,463
Substitutes found by the Administration . . . . .	123
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>6,494</b>

	Fast Vessels.	Mixed Vessels.	Total.
Ships of the line, not iron-clad	13	23	36
Frigates, iron-clad . . . . .	7	—	7
Frigates, ordinary . . . . .	18	6	24
Corvettes . . . . .	10	—	10
Advice boats . . . . .	46	—	46
<b>Totals . . . . .</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>123</b>

Thus, for 1864, the new fleet is only increased, in finished vessels, by one iron-clad frigate of 1,000 horse-power and three small advice boats. But the steam fleet counts besides, afloat and in course of completion, five iron-clad frigates, two iron-clad batteries, five screw corvettes, two paddlewheel advice boats, and three transports fitted up as workshops. Lastly, there are at present in our dockyards 26 steamers in various states of forwardness.”

The operations of the Mint are thus detailed:—“The coinage of gold has recovered its activity in 1864; it amounted to 274,000,000f., thus exceeding by 63,500,000f. the results of the preceding year. The emission of silver money of the standard of '79, authorized by the law of the 25th of May last, commenced at the beginning of August. The quantities produced at the mints of Paris, Strasbourg, and Bordeaux amount to 7,000,000f. There is therefore reason to conclude that commerce and industry will no longer have to suffer from the rarity of small coin, which scarcity was exciting general complaints.”

Early in March, the Minister of Education, M. Duruy, published a long report on the subject of Public Instruction, from which it appeared that in 1863 only 3,133,540 children, of from 7 to 13 years old, out of a total of 4,018,427, attended the primary schools, showing a deficit of 884,887 children without instruction. The

deficit was, however, slightly modified in this, that there were a certain number receiving the elements of instruction at home, or in the elementary classes of secondary schools, and also that there were others who entered school at the age of 8 or 9, or quitted it before their 13th year. Of the children who frequented the schools, more than a third of the number attended less than 6 months. Of 657,401 pupils who left school in 1863, 395,393 could read, write, and cipher; but 262,008 had learnt nothing, or next to nothing. "The country," observes the Minister, "expends annually on primary schools more than 58,000,000f., and employs 77,000 persons exclusive of 28,000 unpaid agents, without producing any more result than 60 children out of 100 quitting the public schools every year with their minds opened and fertilized by those primary studies which produce the intelligent working man and the good citizen. In mechanics, that which did not produce a more useful effect, would be reorganized immediately."

M. Duruy examined the Register of the Conscription for 1862, and found that out of 100 conscripts nearly one-third could neither read nor write; while the marriage registers of the same year showed that out of 100 men there were 28 who could not sign their name, and that for women the proportion was 43.

The Report was followed by a Bill submitted to the Council of State, of which the following is a summary:—

"1. Free primary teachers shall not be subjected to the obligation of obtaining a certificate of capacity.

"2. The communes containing a population of above 500 shall be bound to have a public school for girls.

"3. Premiums for constant attendance may be granted to the children who follow regularly the public school from the age of 7 to 13 years.

"4. The *minimum* annual salary for female teachers shall be fixed at 500f.

"5. The salaries of the assistant male and female teachers shall be increased, and their nomination be confided to the Prefect.

"6. The exercise of the right conferred on the communes by previous laws to establish schools enterely gratuitous shall be rendered more effective. Each commune shall be authorized to devote, besides its present resources, two centimes additional on the four direct taxes for the realization of such free teaching. In cases of insufficiency of funds, the commune may receive a subvention from the department, and the remainder of the expense shall be borne by the State. The salary of the primary teacher in a gratuitous school shall not be inferior to the emoluments which he derived from the school fees and the fixed allowance."

The debate on the Address commenced in the Senate on the 9th of March, when the Marquis de Boissy expressed a wish that the Ministers should be responsible for the policy of the Government. He deplored the insertion in the "Moniteur" of M.



Duruy's report, which he characterized as Socialist. He pointed out the deplorable conduct pursued by England, which was still the asylum of assassins ready to attempt the life of the Emperor, and continued:—"I do not believe that the Convention of September will ever be carried out. It is necessary that the Pope should remain at home, for if France is Bonapartist, much more is she Catholic."

Marshal Magnan animadverted in energetic language on the assertion of the Marquis de Boissy, that on the day of the Emperor's death, France would fall into a state of anarchy. Such expressions were much to be regretted. When this event occurred, the Senate, the *Corps Législatif*, the army, and the country, would proclaim the Prince Imperial, and France would be saved.

The Marquis de Boissy then continued. He condemned the French intervention in Mexico, but strongly expressed a wish that the war between the Federals and Confederates might be carried on to the complete ruin of both belligerents, rather than that the French army in Mexico should be made prisoners by the conclusion of peace. The Marquis de Boissy hoped, in conclusion, that the Emperor and his dynasty would long continue to reign.

M. Chaix d'Est-Ange asked what the Marquis de Boissy understood by the expression that he wished to see a Parliamentary Government re-established in the country. He (M. Chaix d'Est-Ange) did not wish to see the country governed by the Chambers. He regretted the impious wishes respecting America, and condemned the expressions of M. de Boissy in reference to England.

In the course of the debate in the Senate, Cardinal de Bonnechose said he doubted whether the Convention of the 15th of September would consolidate the power of the Pope. He maintained that the Italians were awaiting the departure of the French troops to foment a revolution at Rome, which would bring about the exile of the Pope. He finally implored the Government to preserve the power of the Holy Father.

M. Chaix d'Est-Ange reminded the Chamber of the origin and purpose of the expedition to Rome, and continued:—

"We have never been able to obtain from Rome any reforms or genuine liberal institutions. Our flag, in protecting the Holy Father, has had the misfortune to shelter all the abuses of the Pontifical Government."

M. Chaix d'Est-Ange said, in conclusion, that passions in Italy had become calm, and allowed of the conclusion of a Convention securing the protection of the Pope.

M. de Larochejacquelin opposed the Convention, and maintained that reconciliation between the Pope and Italy was impossible.

M. Rouher, Minister of State, said:—

"The Convention secures the homogeneity of Italy and the independence of the Papacy. It was loyally signed by France and Italy, and is not rejected by Rome herself, who regards the

Convention as a reality. The Pontifical Government will organize an army and regulate its finance, and will wish to really exercise its sovereignty. It is only the most odious revolutionary party which repels the Convention, and this should inspire the friends of the Papacy with confidence. The French troops cannot remain eternally at Rome, and the Roman Government has not the pusillanimity which is attributed to it. It comprehends that the autonomy of the temporal power necessitates a military force. The Pope can form an army, and it is not only his right, but his duty to defend himself, and he must subdue any insurrection attacking his sovereignty."

M. Rouher asked whether religion and civilization should eternally clash with each other, and made an appeal for conciliation. He entreated the ministers of religion to intercede with the Pope, and said the French Government must preserve its liberty of action. M. Rouher concluded by requesting a vote of confidence from the Senate.

The Address, which was an echo of the Speech, was adopted by 130 against 2 votes, and when it was presented to the Emperor he said in reply:—

"It is always a great satisfaction to me to see the acts of my Government properly appreciated by the first body of the State. Every year, at the commencement of the debates, a certain anxiety is at first felt. One would think that the divergence of opinion must prevent any common understanding. But soon truth forces itself into light, the clouds disperse, and the mind is reassured. Your almost unanimous vote on the Address has again shown the perfect union that exists between the Government and the deliberative assemblies. Do not let us regret those divergences of opinion so long as they allow us to congratulate ourselves on the harmony which unites in one single thought of stability, order, and progress, the members of these bodies, who from their personal merits or past services have been selected as the choice either of the people or the Sovereign. Be, therefore, the interpreters to the Senate of my sentiments and my confidence in their enlightenment and their patriotism."

On the 10th of March the Duke de Morny, President of the *Corps Législatif*, died after a short illness. The Emperor desired that he should have a public funeral at the expense of the Treasury. When M. Schneider, the Vice-President of the *Corps Législatif*, announced his decease to the Chamber, he said: "When the fatal event was made known, we felt frozen, and our labours were spontaneously suspended as a sign of mourning. I would have respected this silence of grief to-day, had I not to make an official communication to you on the very subject which afflicts our hearts and agitates our minds. I am informed that the ceremony of the obsequies is to take place precisely at twelve o'clock on Monday next, at the Madeleine. The entire *Corps Législatif* will assist at them. Each of you laments a friend, a friendly

advice; each of us will bid a last farewell to the colleague who honoured the presidency by so many qualities united in him. Each will desire to render a last homage to the illustrious man whom France loses, to the devoted servant, to the friend whom the Emperor loses."

The debate on the Address in the *Corps Législatif* commenced in the middle of March, when M. Emile Ollivier was the first to address the House. He said that he desired that the Government would follow the noble example given in a neighbouring country by a great statesman, Sir Robert Peel, who yielded to public opinion when it was clearly pronounced on a great question. He did not believe that any Government was ever overthrown by yielding to public opinion. On the contrary, if the first Napoleon had known where to stop, he would not have suffered exile in St. Helena. Had Charles X., in place of publishing *ordonnances*, listened to the advice of such statesmen as M. Royer Collard or M. Guizot, or taken M. Chateaubriand for Minister in place of M. Polignac, he would have consolidated his dynasty. Had Louis Philippe accepted the adjunction of the capacities as it was proposed to him, and formed a Thiers-Barrot Ministry, the country would have been satisfied. He considered that the present time was neither too soon nor too late to crown the edifice. If the Government did not do so, the coalition against it would increase; but if it yielded to public opinion, all would be satisfied.

On a subsequent day, M. Rouher said, with reference to the war raging in America, and to Mexico:—"France has maintained a strict neutrality. The Messages of President Lincoln indicate that the United States desire the maintenance of peace in the world. The United States do not forget that France has been their foster-mother. France has not, under a regard for her security in Mexico, formed the impious wish that the civil war might be prolonged."

M. Rouher maintained that the United States have no interest in annexing Mexico, for that would be to prepare forces for the South. The Minister, in conclusion, said:—"I consider, then, as phantoms any anticipations of a conflict between France and America. No reason exists for apprehending war. Let the French flag remain a few months longer in Mexico. We have nothing to fear on that account."

On the question of the Italian Kingdom, M. Thiers declared himself adverse to the unity of Italy, in which he saw danger and no utility to France. He thought the Government had set itself the following problem—"Towards Italy to appear willing to give that State possession of Rome, and towards others to appear to refuse this." "The Pope," continued M. Thiers, "is a poor priest, having moral force, but not 300,000 men at his back. He is therefore requested to yield, but has hitherto refused. For the rest the future will speak."

M. Thiers maintained that Catholicism was not an obstacle to



human thought, and said the destruction of the Papal Government would infallibly bring about the establishment of National Churches. He did not wish the Pope to reside at Paris, for then he would be too near the Tuileries.

Replying to M. Thiers, M. Emile Ollivier defended the September Convention, which, he said, consolidated Italian unity. He censured the idea entertained by M. Thiers of an alliance with Austria, and continued:—"Our most illustrious kings opposed this alliance, which was not unconnected with the misfortunes of the First Empire. The principle of nationalities in Hungary and Venetia separates us from Austria. The September Convention replaces the sovereignty of the Pope under normal conditions. Will the Convention destroy the temporal power of the Papacy? That will depend upon the Pope. The Roman people have the right of demanding to be well governed, and to have that liberty which M. Thiers so earnestly claims for France."

In replying to M. Thiers, M. Rouher said, that M. Thiers had stated that the war of the year 1859 appeared to him to be useless. It occurred to him that time rather than war would have accomplished the independence of Italy. He regretted that war had produced the unity of Italy, because he considered the unity of Italy to be opposed both to the interests of Italy and to those of France. In his opinion Italian unity was menacing for Rome and Venice, the first belonging to the entire of Catholicity, and the other defended by all Europe. In treating the question, M. Thiers gave proofs of his profound erudition and his inimitable art in retracing the great religion of Christianity from its birth. M. Thiers showed how the Church had renounced certain privileges conferred on it from its birth. He demonstrated the inconvenience and danger of a National Church and of those maxims at present so widely developed of a free Church in a free State. In this part of M. Thiers's speech M. Rouher said he was captivated by its eloquence, for it was not to the Government he appeared to address himself, but to friends to whom he offered advice. Descending then from his elevated position, he treated of the Convention of the 15th of September, which, according to him, was puerile and ridiculous. According to M. Thiers it professed to make Italy believe that it will abandon Rome, and at the same time make Catholic France believe that it will preserve the Eternal City for Catholicity. According to M. Thiers the surrender of Rome makes part of the Convention, and the liberty of action spoken of is illusory. M. Rouher said that he would in his turn endeavour to demonstrate the character of the Italian war and the mission of France; and in speaking of the Convention, he would inquire whether it was rightly interpreted. M. Thiers said the war was not necessary, inasmuch as time, and a very short time, would have secured the independence of that nation so dear to his heart. He (M. Rouher) would ask how the Emperor of Austria could be represented as the protector of public tranquillity in Italy while



the old treaties of Vienna declared that there was no independent State in Italy. The Kingdom of Italy was invaded by an Austrian army of 40,000 men—then came the Congress of Troppau and Laybach. In 1821 he found a Convention signed which regulated the itinerary of the march of Austrian troops through Tuscany, and permitted them to march at their pleasure from north to south and from south to north. Austria imposed on Piedmont an occupation of 12,000 men to protect the Austrian possessions against the Liberals. In 1822 Austria declared to the Duke of Parma that she would garrison Piacenza, giving the Duke permission to leave a few troops in the fortress. Such was the course pursued by Austria towards a country that ought to be independent. He would not speak of the movement in 1830, but he would come to 1847. Liberal feelings revived and the Pope placed himself at their head. He proposed new institutions; and he would ask, how did Austria respond? The Emperor of Austria occupied the Legations, which an eminent statesman described as the country house of Italy. At the same time Prince Metternich declared in the face of Europe that Italy was only a “geographical expression,” and this observation contributed greatly to its independence. M. Rouher read a despatch from Prince Metternich, in which he declared that Austria would maintain at any cost the Conventions concluded with the Italian princes. He said he would pass over the Revolution of February and arrive at the Congress of 1856. After the successful war in the Crimea, the Italian question came before the Congress. Piedmont advocated the freedom of Italy, and Austria was warned. Piedmont increased in strength, and Austria would not tolerate it as a neighbour. Austria challenged Italy, and France went to her aid. M. Rouher referred to the opinions expressed by M. Thiers in January, 1848, when he declared that the inveterate enemies of France called themselves at one time allies, and at another time Austrians. He did not then praise the sagacious Austria. Every time these inveterate enemies attacked France, they came either through the valley of the Danube or the valley of the Po. M. Rouher continued to read the quotation, in which M. Thiers declared that any intervention in Italy by Austria was always considered as a *casus belli* by French Governments. He did not consider it as a revolutionary or an Imperial, but a traditional policy—a policy followed by Maupas, Choiseuil, and even by the feeble Cardinal Fleury. M. Thiers said, moreover, speaking of Austria, that every time France saw a despotic Government replaced by a free State, she was delivered from an enemy, and gained a friend. Speaking of the Treaties of 1815, M. Thiers said in January, 1848, that France ought to observe them until war arose, but that she ought to detest them while she observed them. He maintained that Italy had a perfect right to give herself freely the institutions suited to her, and he recommended Italy to unite, engaging princes to deposit all the power not

necessary for them, and the people to limit their demands, so as to sacrifice their differences on the altar of their country. "Italians, be united," said M. Thiers: "people, princes, Piedmontese, Tuscans, Romans, Neapolitans, form one people against the common enemy." M. Rouher then explained why the idea of a federation in Italy was abandoned. It was killed at the battle of Novara; and when Italy conquered her independence she recollected the bombardment of Milan, the massacres of Palermo and Naples, and she demanded a guarantee of force. M. Rouher further stated that all M. Thiers said with respect to M. Thouvenel having resigned his place because he was opposed to the occupation of Rome, and of M. Drouyn de Lhuys being a partisan of the occupation, was erroneous. M. Thouvenel never demanded the evacuation of Rome, nor was it true that M. Drouyn de Lhuys was the partisan of permanent occupation. Both approved the policy of the Sovereign—the policy of conciliation.

The Address was finally voted, and presented to the Emperor on the 16th of April. On receiving it, he said:—"Every year you defend with firmness the fundamental laws which maintain a just equilibrium between the powers of the State. The country is grateful to you for this. Under the present *régime* its life is being developed. It sees administrative obstacles disappear, progress ensured, and security guaranteed. By the electoral movement and the voice of the tribune and the Press, it feels that it is free. Thus, far from wishing to cut down the tree which has borne good fruit, the mass of the labouring classes, the classes who possess property, the men who remember, and those who hear and read, fear the abuse of liberty even more than the abuse of power. Continue your labours, the object of which is the moral and material improvement of individuals by the education and labour of the communes and departments, and the extension of their powers. Without incessantly wishing to change every thing, let us be content with daily bringing a fresh stone to the edifice, the foundation of which is broad and cannot be raised too high."

When the news of the assassination of the President of the United States (of which an account will be found in our pages under the head of America) reached France, a profound feeling of sympathy and indignation was manifested, and on the 2nd of May M. Rouher addressed the *Corps Législatif* on the subject. He said:—"An odious crime has plunged a friendly nation into profound grief. The news of the assassination of President Lincoln has produced a sentiment of indignation and horror throughout the civilized world. Abraham Lincoln had, during the painful struggle which distracted his country, displayed that indomitable courage and energy which belong only to intellects of a high order, and are necessary for the accomplishment of important duties. Generous, moderate, and conciliatory, he was preparing, the day after the victory, to restore splendour and prosperity to America. The proofs of sympathy manifested throughout Europe will be

received by the American people as a consolation and encouragement. The Emperor's Government has sent to Washington an expression of its legitimate regret for an eminent statesman violently snatched from his Government by an execrable assassination."

M. Rouher then read the despatch sent by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the French Minister at Washington, to the following effect:—

"Paris, April 30.

"Sir,—The news of the criminal attack on President Lincoln has caused the Imperial Government a profound sentiment of indignation. His Majesty immediately charged one of his aides-de-camp to wait on the Minister of the United States in Paris, to request him to transmit to Mr. Johnson, the present President, the expression of his sincere condolence. I wished myself, by the despatch I addressed to you yesterday, to make known without delay my painful emotion, and to-day, conformable to the Emperor's intention, I render a well-merited homage to the memory of the great citizen whom the United States deplore. Elevated to the first rank in the republic by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens, Mr. Lincoln used the power entrusted to him with that firmness for which he was distinguished, as well as for the elevation of his principles. Thus his vigorous soul never sank under the trials reserved for his Government. At the moment when an execrable crime hurried him away from the mission which he was executing with the religious sentiment of duty, he had the consolation to know that the triumph of his policy was effectually secured. His proclamation, though stamped with moderation, showed his determination to reorganize the Union and establish peace. This supreme satisfaction was not granted to him, but this last proof of his wisdom, generosity, courage, and patriotism, has placed him among those most honoured by the country. I transmit this despatch by order of the Emperor to the Minister of State, to be communicated by him to the Senate and *Corps Législatif*. All France unites in feeling with His Majesty.

"DROUYN DE LHUYS."

A Bill was introduced in the *Corps Législatif* for calling out 100,000 men as the contingent for 1865, when M. Garnier Pagès proposed the reduction of the numbers mentioned in the Bill to 90,000. He recalled the words of the Emperor, that the temple of Janus was closed, and he reviewed the military positions of the European Powers at the present time. In the course of his speech he said:—"Some persons may have wished to revive old rivalries and old mistrust between England and France; but I declare solemnly to you that no feeling of mistrust exists any longer on the part of the English. I have had the happiness to be present



at many crowded meetings in England, and I declare to you that the heartiest good wishes were at all times expressed by the people towards the honest working classes of France and the French nation."

The Bill was referred to a Committee, and it made a Report from which it appeared that with an annual contingent of 100,000 men, the army really disposable for active service was 320,850 men, and the effective strength at home 197,236. The Report presented "the situation of the army up to the 1st of March, 1865, indicating—1, the number of men (officers included) forming the effective strength in activity; and, 2, the number of men composing the reserve—viz.:—In Algeria, 79,826 (officers included); in Italy, 13,041; in Mexico, 30,747; and in the interior (France), 276,513, making a total of 400,127, to which the reserve is to be added—viz., 214,002, which gives a total of 614,129 men." Ultimately the Bill was passed, by 219 against 12 votes.

The Emperor determined to pay a visit to Algeria this year. An insurrection had broken out there in 1864, which, beginning in the South, spread rapidly towards the North and reached the province of Oran, "as far as the zone of European civilization." We quote the words of the Yellow Book in January this year, which goes on to say:—"Energetic and prompt measures were taken; the superior authority hastened to send troops to the threatened points, and reinforcements from France, consisting of 20,000 men and 1400 horses, were sent to increase the effective strength of the Algerian army. Two leading columns were despatched towards the south of the provinces of Algeria and Oran, where large magazines of supply had been set up to enable our troops to keep the field without preoccupation as to subsistence. The tribes as yet unsubdued will not be long in imploring our protection in order to return to their country. Those whose fidelity was shaken became more calm, and our columns were enabled to return to their cantonments, content with keeping a vigilant watch over the populations that had returned to their duty. The troops sent out to Algeria will be soon recalled home."

The Emperor reached Algiers at the beginning of May, and issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants:—

"I come among you to learn in person your interests, to second your efforts, and to assure you that the protection of the mother country shall not fail you. You have for a long time past combated with energy two obstacles—a virgin soil and a warlike people; but better days are at hand. On the one side, private companies are about to develop by their industry and their capital the fertility of the land; on the other, the Arabs, restrained, and enlightened with regard to our own benevolent intentions, will no longer be able to disturb the tranquillity of the country. Have faith, then, in the future. Become attached to the land which you cultivate as to a new fatherland, and treat the Arabs, in the midst of whom you must dwell, as fellow-countrymen. We must be the masters,



because we are the more civilized ; we must be generous, because we are the stronger.

"Let us, then, justify unceasingly the glorious act of one of my predecessors, who, in planting, thirty-five years ago, on the soil of Africa the banner of France and the cross, unfurled at once the sign of civilization and the symbol of peace and charity.

"NAPOLÉON."

In another proclamation, addressed to the Arabs, he said :—

"When, thirty-five years ago, France placed her foot on the African soil, she did not come to destroy its nationality, but, on the contrary, to liberate the people from long-continued oppression ; she has replaced the Turkish domination by another Government—milder, juster, and more enlightened. Nevertheless, during the first years, impatient of foreign supremacy, you combated your liberators.

"Far from me be the idea of considering it a crime ; on the contrary, I honour the feeling of warlike dignity which led you, before submitting, to invoke by arms the judgment of God. But God has pronounced ; acknowledge, therefore, the decrees of Providence, which, in its mysterious designs, often guides us to a good end by disappointing our hopes and deluding our efforts.

"Twenty centuries ago our ancestors, like yourselves, courageously resisted a foreign invasion, but from their defeat dates their regeneration. The vanquished Gauls became assimilated to the victorious Romans ; and from the forced union of the contrasted virtues of the two opposing civilizations there arose, in the course of time, that French nationality which, in its turn, has propagated its ideas throughout the whole world. Who knows if a day will not come when the Arab race, regenerated and blended with the French, shall not regain a powerful individuality similar to that which for ages made it mistress of the Southern shores of the Mediterranean ?

"Accept, then, facts. Your prophet declares, 'God gives power to whomsoever He wills.' (Chapter ii., 'Of the Cow,' verse 248.) Now, the power I hold from Him I wish to exercise in your interest and for your advantage. You know my intentions ; I have irrevocably ensured to you the property of the lands which you occupy. I have honoured your chiefs and respected your religion. I intend to augment your well-being, and to make you participate more and more in the administration of your country, and in the blessings of civilization ; but it is on the condition that you, on your part, will respect those who represent my authority. Tell your erring brethren that an attempt at fresh insurrections would be fatal to them. Two millions of Arabs cannot resist forty millions of Frenchmen : a struggle of one against twenty is madness. You have, besides, sworn allegiance to me, and your conscience, like your sacred book, obliges you religiously to keep your engagements. (Chap. viii., 'Of Repentance,' ver. 4.)

"I thank the great majority among you, whose fidelity has not been shaken by the perfidious counsels of fanaticism and ignorance. You have understood that, being your Sovereign, I am your protector; all those who live under our laws have an equal claim to my solicitude. Great reminiscences and powerful interests already unite you to the mother country. For the last ten years you have shared the glory of our arms, and your sons have combated nobly by the side of our own in the Crimea, in Italy, in China, and in Mexico. The ties formed on the field of battle are indissoluble, and you have learnt to know our value both as friends and as enemies. Have confidence, then, in your destinies, as they are united to those of France, and acknowledge with the Koran that 'he that God leads is well led.' (Chap. vii., 'El Araf,' ver. 177.)

"NAPOLEON."

The Emperor visited the two great mosques in Algiers, and, addressing the Muftis, promised that his protection should never be wanting to pious men, who, by their instruction and good example, urged others to fulfil their duties towards God, towards their families, and towards the Sovereign who watched over the security and well-being of all. "I have Christian children, and I have Mussulman children," added the Emperor, "and I am responsible for both before God, the common Father of all men. My justice shall be equal for all. Tell your fellow-worshippers that I hold power for the good of all who walk in the right path, and that I shall find means to punish with rigour all those who will not remain in the track of obedience and good conduct."

On the return of the Emperor to France he published a "Memorandum" on the subject of Algeria, in the shape of a pamphlet, in which he pointed out the faults he had discovered in the management of the Arabs, and made known the measures by which he proposed to remedy them. These latter were principally the following:—

To declare that the Arabs are French citizens, since Algeria is French territory, but that they continue to be governed by their civil statutes conformable to the Mussulman law; that, nevertheless, such Arabs as may desire to be admitted to the benefits of the French civil law shall, on their demand, be invested with the rights of French citizens.

To proclaim the admissibility of the Arabs to all the military offices of the empire, and to all the civil offices in Algeria.

To respect the organization of the tribes, and not to create individual property, but as an exception, and wherever it is asked for by the parties interested.

To recall to the military territory the Arabs who are still organized in tribes; and not to admit into the civil territory any but those who live in houses, or possess property close to the European centres.

To restrict the action of the forest laws, and to revise them, so that the Arabs may not be deprived of the only means they have of procuring pasture for their flocks.

To settle the question of powers and competence between the French jurisdiction and Mussulman jurisdiction, so that this last shall take cognizance only of affairs having reference to the religious laws, while all other matters shall be referred to the French tribunals.

Military tribunals not to have cognizance of any crimes but those which involve capital punishment and hard labour for life. To leave the other crimes and misdemeanours to be judged by the disciplinary commissions established in each circle, with power to impose a sentence of two years' detention, at most, in the agricultural penitentiaries. At present, offences committed at Tugent—that is to say, in the desert—are judged at Constantine, and both the accused and the witnesses are obliged to perform a journey of 400 leagues, coming and returning.

In the civil territory to convert into a single impost, fixed once for all, the divers contributions due to the commune by the Arab admitted to European centres.

In the civil territory to increase to one-third the number of Mussulman members of the Municipal Councils. To name a native deputy in the communes where the natives are in sufficient number.

To recommend to all the administrative authorities to lay aside the abrupt and often contemptuous manner with which they receive the natives whose affairs oblige them to present themselves at the Bureaux Arabes.

The bureaucratic spirit of French government is well illustrated by the form it has taken in Algeria, and it is satisfactory to find that it has drawn down the condemnation of the Emperor, who says in his pamphlet:—"We have only to look into the 'Administrative Directory' of Algeria to see the immense number of functionaries composing the Civil Service. In the province of Oran, for instance, the Treasury employs 33 paymasters; the Domain Registration department 46 directors or controllers; divers Contributing-offices count 47 *employés*; Custom-house, 28 clerks; Forests, 15 inspectors and deputy inspectors; Public Works, 60 engineers and conductors; Civil-buildings Board, 15 inspectors; Topographical operations, 79 land surveyors and surveyors' pupils—the whole directed by one prefect, one secretary-general, four prefectural councillors, 1 *chef de cabinet*, 2 clerks, and 6 officers; and this for a European population of about 66,000 souls. In all Algeria, to administer 192,000 Europeans divided into 71 communes, there are 3 prefects, 13 sub-prefects, 15 civil commissioners—total, 31 high functionaries; not including a host of head clerks and divers other *employés*. Certain arrondissements in France, with an equal amount of population, have but 1 sub-prefect. Why not suppress in Algeria those 13 sub-prefects, those 15 civil



commissioners, and that mass of agents who follow in their wake; of course, finding them equivalent positions in the mother country? How often has it been proposed to suppress sub-prefects in France, as a useless piece of machinery? Is it not advantageous, above all, in Algeria, to have no intermediate agents between the mayors and prefects, since the former are in Africa salaried by the State?"

The "Memorandum" concluded in these words:—"The measures which I thus propose are to be discussed one by one with the Ministers and Governor-General of Algeria. When adopted they will form a complete system of administration, which will be followed in Algeria by the calming down of passion and the satisfaction of interests. Algeria will no longer be for us, as I said in the beginning, a burden, but rather a new element of force. The Arabs, kept within due bounds and satisfied, will give us that which they can give us best—namely, soldiers; and the colony, grown prosperous by the development of its territorial wealth, will create a commercial movement eminently favourable to the mother country."

Prince Napoleon, the cousin of the Emperor, got into disgrace this year, owing to a long speech he made at Ajaccio, in the middle of May, on the occasion of the inauguration of a monument erected to the memory of Napoleon I. He of course deified his great uncle and insisted that the Napoleonic tradition, although it ought to differ at present in its means, must in its object remain the same. He said:—"Our noblest victories abroad will always be populations emancipated—nationalities recognized. . . . One of the most salient points of the Empire is its foreign policy. The expansion of France prior to the Empire, and which the Republic had bequeathed to it, was one of the chief characters of the Revolution. Impartial reflection shows that it is far less the spirit of aggression of the Republic or the ambition of the Empire to which one ought to refer this than the hatred of Europe, and above all the inexorable logic of facts. The Old World and the New found themselves face to face; a struggle was inevitable: throughout history has progress ever been attained without the sanction of force? What great progress has ever been effected without also, unhappily, being stained with blood? The establishment of the Roman world, its fall, Christianity, the founder of which voluntarily shed his blood on the cross, and, in our own times, the establishment of reform, the emancipation of America, and now the abolition of slavery in the New World, are all cases in point. How could the French Revolution, which was not only for France but for humanity, which was the definite end of the middle age and of feudality, be established without the confirming sacrifice of human blood? Let the progress of wise ideas render such struggles henceforth impossible; with all my heart, and in common with every friend of humanity, I ardently desire it. But, in the time of the Empire, it was not possible. . . . The state of Europe in 1815 was im-



posed by force, violence, and hatred; it reposes on nothing that is true; it is a false equilibrium, the result of the passions of the moment; a medley of ancient right and modern fact; and you would establish that as a starting point for a state of peace, which can be based only on the satisfaction of the populations. We who, even within these few years, remained the vanquished of 1815, we were they whom you would force to adore those treaties; or, by a play of words, you would permit us to detest them provided that we observed their enactments. The idea of nationalities is not only good in itself, but there is no other that can serve to establish durable and peaceful relations of peoples, nor assure stability for the future; for what force has done force can undo. Does that mean that this is to deliberately propose to turn Europe upside down? Heaven forbid! The question is, as in every idea which is to become practical, to seek out the truth, to recognize it, and to endeavour to come as early as possible up to it by degrees, always with moderation, within all proper limits, and by comparing the end to be attained with the sacrifices to be undergone. Such should be our foreign policy. . . . It has always appeared to me that the liberty contemplated by Napoleon was far more that which applied to all, by which all should be benefited, than that liberty restricted to a minority, and which is only a privilege granted by the Sovereign. The characteristic features of the one are, universal suffrage sincerely applied, complete liberty of the Press under the common law, and the right of meeting. Those of the other are, on the contrary, the suffrage restricted to a privileged few, a special code for the Press, the negation of the right of meeting—the whole resumed in the omnipotence of an assembly of privileged persons which calls itself a Parliament. Are not these the salient characteristics of the two kinds of internal liberty? I love liberty under all its forms, but I will not conceal my decided preference for that which I call the liberty of all; it appears to me more in harmony with the spirit of my country; yes, I prefer liberty and a policy influenced by free public opinion, manifested by the Press and public meetings, to Ministers who are often the result of a Parliamentary coterie, which imposes itself on the Sovereign. . . . France was never ungrateful towards her hero; she hailed him with acclamations, and at all times the rights of the Napoleons have had their origin in the votes of the French nation. No other name has been so acclaimed for 50 years, when the entire nation was called to choose its chief. These are our title-deeds. I mention them with legitimate pride; the mighty shade of Napoleon hovers over France, and protects his successors. The organization of the democracy is the problem of the future; aristocracies are every where passing away, both good and bad, in Poland as in the United States; to France—to that great nation—belongs the duty of solving this necessity of the future, because she is always the initiator, by her past as well as by her genius. Have I suffered my deep feelings

to hurry me too far? Could it be otherwise in speaking of Napoleon, of his brothers, on this spot and under these circumstances? For long years past my mind has been haunted by the false interpretations given of Napoleon by those who will only see in him the agent of a reaction of alarmed interests—of paltry passions to be satisfied; whereas he is the initiator of all the great ideas and of progress. Such is his true tradition. O Corsicans! you ought to understand us. We have the same hope, the same faith in the triumph of these inseparable principles—nationalities, the grandeur of your country, liberty. My task is accomplished if with me you are convinced that the mission of Napoleon was to make the dictatorship the means of emancipation.”

The tone and sentiments of this speech gave great offence to the French Government, and the Emperor was determined not to be compromised by the indiscretion of his relative. He therefore addressed to him the following letter:—

“Sir and very dear Cousin,—I cannot refrain from expressing to you the painful impression which the perusal of your speech at Ajaccio has made upon me.

“In leaving you during my absence near the Empress and my son, as Vice-President of the Privy Council, I meant to give you a proof of my friendship and my confidence, and I hoped that your presence, your conduct, and your speeches would prove that union reigns in our family.

“The political programme which you place under the ægis of the Emperor can only serve the enemies of my Government. To judgments which I cannot accept, you add sentiments of hate and rancour which are no longer of our time.

“To know how to apply to present times the ideas of the Emperor, it is necessary to have passed through the hard ordeal of responsibility and authority; and, moreover, can we really, pigmies as we are, estimate at its proper value the great historical figure of Napoleon? As in presence of a colossal statue, we are powerless to take in the whole at once. We never see but that part which is turned to us; hence the incompleteness of the reproduction and the divergences of opinions.

“But what is clear to the eyes of every one is, that, in order to prevent the anarchy of minds, the formidable enemy of true liberty, the Emperor had established, first in his family and then in his Government, a severe discipline, which admitted but of one will and one action. I cannot depart henceforth from the same line of conduct.

“On this, Sir and dear Cousin, I pray God to have you in His holy keeping.

“NAPOLEON.”

The Prince in consequence resigned his office of Vice-President of the Privy Council, and the affair was soon forgotten.

Early in June M. Thiers made a great speech in the *Corps*

*Législatif* on the question of the Budgets, of which we give a few of the most important passages:—

“Gentlemen, when I last year had the honour of addressing you for the first time on the state of our finances, I endeavoured to give a retrospective view of them for the last 20 years, and to show from what causes our expenditure had risen in the last few years from about 1,500,000,000 to nearly 2,300,000,000. To me the causes are evident enough; and, had there been any doubt, the propositions now made to us would suffice to remove it. Within the last fortnight 360,000,000 have been demanded for France in general, and 250,000,000 for Paris; in all, 610,000,000. It is said that a law is now under consideration in the Council of State demanding 100,000,000 or 200,000,000 more, making 700,000,000 or 800,000,000 in the space of a few weeks. I need not dwell on the causes of the increase of our Budgets; I will only make a concise statement concerning them. I will afterwards show the financial situation which those causes have produced; in short, I will attempt to present a balance-sheet of our finances. I believe you will agree with me in thinking that the causes are these:—Since our new institutions have diminished the share which the nation took in managing its own affairs, it was feared that the activity of mind with which I am reproached might be dangerous, unless means should be found to occupy the attention of the country. These means, sometimes dangerous, always odious, have been wars abroad, and enormous expenditure and great speculations at home. After great wars came small ones—small, if we consider the number of men engaged, but large if we consider their distance and the serious complications they may cause. The war in Mexico has already cost us more than the Italian War, to say nothing of the complications it may entail. The war expenditure has of course been met by loans, and the public debt has consequently been considerably increased. Next come our great public works—an excellent employment for the country savings in time of peace, as every sensible man will acknowledge; but we ought to proceed prudently. It is a mistake to suppose, as some do, that there need be no limit to the application of our savings to public works; agriculture and manufactures ought to have their share, and if only a portion should be employed by the State in improving roads, canals, and other means of communication, still less should be devoted to the mere embellishment of towns. It is certainly necessary to widen the streets and improve the salubrity of cities, but there is no necessity for such vast changes as have been operated in Paris, where, as I think, all reasonable limits have been exceeded. The contagion of example is to be feared. The proverb says that he who commits one folly is wise. If Paris only were to be rebuilt, I should not have much to say against it, but you know what La Fontaine wittily says:—

‘*Tout bourgeois veut bâtir comme les grands seigneurs,  
Tout petit prince a des ambassadeurs,  
Tout marquis veut avoir des pages.*’



The glory of the Prefect of the Seine has troubled the repose of all the prefects. The Prefect of the Seine has rebuilt the Tuileries, and the Prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône wants to have his Tuileries also. Last year the Minister of State answered me that only a trifling expenditure was intended, not more than 6,000,000; but it appears from the debates of the Council-General that the expense will be 12,000,000 or 14,000,000, and some persons say as much as 20,000,000. I know that the Prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône is a Senator; but if it takes 12,000,000 to build him a residence, that is a large sum. All the other prefects will be eager to follow his example, as the Prefect of Lisle has already. The sub-prefects, also, will want new residences and new furniture. Where would all this lead to? The Minister of Public Works, full of glory, must have more consideration for the cares of the Minister of Finance. But here we have a new Minister of Public Works with a new glory to make, and demands for millions multiply. The Minister of Finance defends himself as best he can, but appears to be conquered; he might resist by resigning, certainly; but that is a means borrowed from past days. A compromise is at last effected. To spare the Treasury, 100,000,000 are to be obtained by selling part of the State forests. For this, however, your consent is necessary; but the matter is settled in principle, and the public domain will supply the funds which the Treasury refuses. By whom is this torrent of expenditure to be arrested? By yourselves, gentlemen; your wisdom, patriotism, and courage can alone achieve the task. Your responsibility is great, especially in financial matters; in politics your powers may be contested to a certain extent, but in questions of finance they are undisputed. In finances, you, therefore, are responsible for everything. It is time to halt in this course of expenditure; and not to imitate those sinners who are always talking of reforming and after all die in final impenitence. . . . You have five Budgets, and I will show the consequences of that multiplicity. First, there is the ordinary one, which ranges from 1,370,000,000 to 1,780,000,000; this year it is 1,700,000,000. Then there is a special Budget for the departments and communes, varying from 230,000,000 to 240,000,000. Next comes the extraordinary Budget, from 120,000,000 to 140,000,000. But that is not all. As the Budget is voted a year beforehand, all expenses have not been foreseen, and at the end of the year a rectificative Budget of 100,000,000 is required; so that the total Budget exceeds 2,200,000,000. Then, when the final settlement comes, it is found that certain expenses have exceeded the credits voted, while other credits have not been employed; the latter are made set-offs against the former, but there is always a balance required of from 20,000,000 to 80,000,000, which has to be voted by special laws. The Budget is thus raised to 2,200,000,000 or more; in 1863 it was 2,292,000,000. Such is the figure we reach with our five Budgets; and then we have to strike the final balance. This is done by the Court of Accounts,



and when the result is submitted to the Chamber, if there be an excess of expenditure, the floating debt is increased by so much. Last year you made a loan of 360,000,000, and it will be exhausted next year. This is how the Budget has risen to between 2,200,000,000 and 2,300,000,000. . . . Why should there be one Budget for the State and another for the departments and communes, when all the expenditure is paid from the same Treasury and made under the same responsibility? Separate Budgets may be reasonable enough in Austria, which contains distinct kingdoms and provinces, but there is nothing to justify them in France. Then, there is another illusion, that of the ordinary and extraordinary Budgets. When thousands of millions were concerned, as in the first establishment of railways, there was some reason for an extraordinary Budget; but when the expenditure is only for ameliorations which may be effected gradually, it can only tend to dissimulate real expenses. The extraordinary Budget contains the expenditure for repairs, which must always be a permanent item; why should it, then, not be put in the ordinary Budget? . . . The division into ordinary and extraordinary Budgets serves to put the real receipts in comparison with what are called ordinary expenses. As to the other expenses, they are met by instalments or other means. The rectificative Budget also serves to diminish the apparent amount of the ordinary Budget. The system of rectificative Budgets is justified by alleging the impossibility of providing for all necessary expenditure a year in advance. I admit the necessity of supplementary credits; but even to justify them the expenditure to which they correspond ought to be really expenses in some degree unexpected. An eminent member of the old Chamber, M. Le Pelletier d'Aulnay, was a severe critic of supplementary credits. But I repeat that the grand principle of such credits is the unforeseen. We have the rectificative Budget of 1865. Well, gentlemen, read it; and see if it is composed of expenses impossible to foresee. Out of 80,000,000 there are 60,000,000 for the occupation of Rome, for Cochin China, and for Mexico. Can it be said that last year nobody foresaw that we should have to pay all this in the present year? . . . The form in which a Budget is presented is of great importance; the present system enables people to say that we are nearly in equilibrium when we are very far removed from it. Let us take as an example the last three years. The Budget of 1862, voted in 1861, was composed of 1,777,000,000 for State expenses, and 125,000,000 for communal and departmental outlay—1,902,000,000 in all for the ordinary Budget; the extraordinary was 67,000,000—in all 1,970,000,000. In 1862 there came the rectificative Budget, which added 193,000,000, accounted for by the great cost of the Mexican expedition, and of the check at Puebla, so gloriously repaired. The liquidation arrived in 1863; and it was found necessary to add from 49,000,000 to 50,000,000, carrying the whole expenditure to 2,212,000,000. The Budget of

1863, voted in 1862, was composed of 1,721,000,000 for State expenses, and 217,000,000 for communal and departmental, besides 121,000,000 for the extraordinary Budget—total, 2,061,000,000; and the rectificative Budget and liquidation raised that amount to 2,292,000,000—the highest figure we have yet known. The Budget of 1864 showed 2,105,000,000 as ordinary, and 135,000,000 as rectificative—total, 2,240,000,000, swelled by the liquidation to 2,260,000,000 or 2,270,000,000. The Budget for 1865 was last year voted at a figure of 2,100,000,000; the rectificative Budget, which we are now discussing, has added 88,000,000, thus raising the figure to 2,188,000,000, and leading to the belief that the total will exceed 2,200,000,000. . . . . There appear to me but four divisions in which savings can be realized—Mexico, if you evacuate it; public works, if you restrict them within bounds; the army, if it really can be reduced; and the sinking fund, if the principle of it, as some say, is really an effete and antiquated theory. The evacuation of Mexico will perhaps wound the susceptibilities of the Government. But let me remind the Chamber of the admirable language held by M. de Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicence, to Napoleon I., at Dresden, in 1813. ‘Sire,’ said he, ‘conclude this peace; your *amour propre* may suffer, but not your glory; for your glory is that of France, and it is in no way tarnished by the proposals that have been made to you.’ I wish, then, to hold the same language to you. Let us imitate Spain in her conduct regarding San Domingo, since her *amour propre* did not hinder her from desisting from a fault which would cost her blood and treasure without any chance of success. By evacuating Mexico you may save about 50,000,000 per annum. Again, by a judicious restriction of public works you may realize savings to an extent of 20, 30, and in time of 50 millions annually. But respecting economies to be made in the army and in the sinking fund I feel considerable doubts. Can there be any notable reduction of our army expenditure? I think not. In 1830 my friends on the left of the Chamber demanded such a reduction, but without success, as the army was not diminished, but increased from 280,000 to 350,000 men. Personally, I share the opinion of Marshal Soult, who thought an effective force of from 360,000 to 380,000 men absolutely necessary. The figure was, indeed, reduced for a moment to 320,000, and what happened in 1840? That it was suddenly raised to 500,000 men, and at an enormous cost. The year 1848 arrived, and the effective was carried to 420,000, and continued so for two years. I come now to the Empire. Believe me, I am far from wishing to put the august prince who now occupies the throne in contradiction with himself, but desire merely to cite facts. Prince Louis Napoleon had often in his works applauded the Prussian system, and affirmed that an army of 200,000 men with a strong reserve was quite sufficient for France. Since he has become Emperor we are every day told that France cannot do with less than 400,000

soldiers. . . . A soldier under arms costs about 430*f.* a year; suppress 50,000 men, and what will be the economy realized? About 21,000,000*f.* Such an economy is certainly not to be condemned; but nothing on a large scale can be realized without inducing, by negotiation, all the great Powers to modify their military systems. Nor do I think there is any chance of success as long as Austria continues restless about Venetia, as long as Prussia aims at dominating all the small German States, and as long as Russia shall choose to retain Poland and foster her designs upon the East. I conclude, then, that any serious reduction of the army is impossible. I must now say a few words on the sinking fund. There is a certain school which affirms that public debts are not disquieting, but even advantageous, and that England is happy in having so large a debt, as so many creditors are interested in her prosperity. Such may be the reasoning of merchants at Rotterdam or Marseilles at the sight of their quays covered with merchandize: 'Oh, what splendid commerce!' they might exclaim; but if the bales contained goods which they could not pay for, they would change their note. A good financial market ought to be filled with goods representing the debts of other people. It is good here to cite the example of the United States. They redeemed the whole of their debt; and well it was for them, for they were thus enabled to find 20,000,000,000 francs to pay for the re-establishment of the American Confederation. I do not, however, wish you to redeem all your debt, but to diminish it. Public debts are like the lakes at the foot of great mountains: nature does not empty them; but after the snows and rains of winter and spring she diminishes gradually the mass of water by the dry heats of summer. Debts must be paid off in peace, so that we may be able to borrow when war comes. . . . In fine, you have only 1,904,000,000 of receipts, and your expenditure amounts habitually to between 2,200,000,000 and 2,300,000,000, and this deficit you only cover by means of the sinking fund and chimerical receipts. It will never do for the State thus to represent the finances to be flourishing when they are not,—like the directors of certain joint-stock companies, who distribute dividends which the state of their affairs does not justify. Be sure of one thing; when you engage in unlimited expenditure, apparently unaware of the course you are taking, it is our duty to tell you that you are on the road to ruin. You will be obliged either to fail in the engagements you have contracted in the name of France, or to have recourse to excessive taxation. I ask your pardon for speaking so warmly, but it is impossible to treat a graver or more interesting subject. I repeat that you are running towards the double rock, either of failing in your engagements, or of rendering inevitable the imposition of onerous taxes, which may give rise to deplorable divisions. I adjure you to reflect most seriously on this state of affairs. You are on the brink of a financial gulf if you persist in the present course. I



ask pardon for distressing you ; but it is my duty to tell you the truth, and I tell it, whatever the result may be."

M. Thiers was followed the next day by M. O'Quin, the Reporter on the Budget, who said, in the course of his speech:—"The general Budget shows the expenditure of the State for general purposes, the special Budget that of the departments and communes. Then, with regard to the ordinary and extraordinary Budgets, the former comprises all the expenditure indispensable for the public services, with the ways and means for meeting it. The expenditure of the extraordinary Budget is not of absolute necessity, but optional, as it relates to works that may be postponed if desirable. M. Thiers called attention to a credit in the extraordinary Budget for the repairs of cathedrals, which he considers to belong to the ordinary Budget. The credit alluded to is for extensive restorations of those edifices ; all common repairs are, of course, included in the ordinary Budget. The same observation applies to other public buildings. The hon. member further complained of there being a demand of 5,000,000 for roads in the extraordinary Budget : this sum is intended for permanent improvements, whereas for the usual repairs of the roads there is a credit of 30,000,000 in the ordinary Budget. As for the rectificative Budget, there is nothing new but the name. Deficiencies of credits used formerly to be supplied by supplementary credits opened by decrees in the intervals of the Session, where now they are regularly submitted for your approbation. . . . Let us now examine whether M. Thiers is right in asserting that the ordinary Budget presents a deficit of 50,000,000, and the extraordinary Budget another of the same amount. The financial year 1864 presented a deficit of 22,000,000, chiefly owing to a falling-off in the indirect taxes, especially in that on sugar, which produced 35,000,000 less than before, owing to the new legislation. This deficit had to be borne by the floating debt. I may here remark that M. Garnier-Pagès has exaggerated the amount of that debt, which was only 873,000,000 on the 1st of May last. I now come to the rectificative Budget of 1865. I pass over the supplementary credits for ordinary expenses, as they are open to no serious objection. As for the extraordinary credits, they form a total of 80,000,000, of which the principal sums are 36,000,000 for the Ministry of War, and 27,000,000 for the Marine. In 1864 the expenditure for Mexico was 71,000,000 ; this year it is only 40,000,000, and will probably be still less in 1866. The effective of the expeditionary army has been reduced from 34,000 men to 28,000. If the expenditure for Mexico diminishes, there will be a surplus of receipts which will enable the Government to reduce the *découverts*, or to restore the normal action of the sinking fund, which the Government desires to see at work as much as M. Thiers himself, as its acts testify. In 1859 and 1860 the sinking fund figured partially in the Budget, but was suspended, owing to the deficit caused by the commercial



reforms. With regard to the resources of the rectificative Budget of 1865, the expectation is, that there will be a surplus of receipts, which, if things hold on their usual course, will be about 4,500,000 from the direct taxes, and possibly 15,000,000 from the indirect, though the first quarter of the present year does not appear to justify that conclusion; but the first quarter is always the least productive, and cannot be taken as one-fourth of the yearly revenue. . . . Before leaving the extraordinary Budget of 1866, I should like to say a word on the savings which M. Thiers has declared to be impossible. Speaking for myself, I do not desire such sweeping reductions as those proposed by M. Garnier-Pagès, but think that a saving of 20,000,000 or 22,000,000 might fairly be realized. By a complete evacuation of Mexico, which will happen sooner or later, and by a reduction of our army in Africa to the figure of 55,000 men, that result may be attained. Let us now examine the extraordinary Budget. It involves 151,000,000 of credit; but that amount, if analyzed, is not greater than the extraordinary Budget of last year. Certain special charges which do not belong to public works must be taken into account. Last year there were in the extraordinary Budget 13,500,000 for guarantee of interest; this year there are 33,000,000. There are besides the expenses of the Universal Exhibition and some minor charges, which if deducted will leave the figure nearly at last year's estimate. It has been said that the payment of annuities to railways ought to be set down to the ordinary Budget; I maintain, on the contrary, that they represent extraordinary works, and are rightly placed where they are. . . . The amelioration of the State revenues has been continuous since 1851. In 1852 the net revenue was 951,000,000; in 1862, 1,329,000,000, showing a mean term of 37,000,000 per annum in the way of improvement. In 1861 the indirect revenues exceeded those of 1860 by 31,000,000; in 1862 over 1861, 91,000,000; 1863 over 1862, 55,000,000. In 1864 there was a falling off of 55,000,000, due to exceptional causes; in 1865 the advance will be from 25,000,000 to 28,000,000, and the accounts for 1866 will present the same feature. Those plus values will allow us some day to apply considerable sums either to public works or to the regular function of the sinking fund, and also to get rid of the second half of the demi-décime on registration." Here the hon. member went on to take a retrospective view of the financial periods from 1830 to 1847, from 1848 to 1851, and from 1852 down to the present day. He then went on to say:—"Between 1852 and 1862 we raised considerable sums by loans. The public debt increased from 230,000,000 to 341,000,000, and our Budgets presented a sum of 3,500,000,000 of extraordinary resources; but this period witnessed glorious wars and important expeditions in the Crimea, Italy, China, Cochin China, Japan, and Syria. We have maintained the power of the Papal See at Rome, accomplished commercial reform, employed 1,060,000,000 in public works, executed 13,000 kilo-

metres of railways, and enormously augmented the public wealth. Such have been our deeds, and I think they will bear comparison with those of any previous Government. While listening to M. Thiers, I could not help remembering a speech he made within these walls in 1848, when, as now, he told the Government it was on the brink of ruin. I was truly grieved to hear a man so eminent declare that France is in danger of bankruptcy. Let us protest energetically against these gloomy forebodings, and remind the country what great things the Government has done with the resources we have placed at its disposal. Let us show how the prosperity of France has been developed, her wealth increased, her influence extended, and that the past justifies confidence in the future."

The Session of the French Chambers closed in the early part of July; and in bidding farewell to the *Corps Législatif* the Vice-President, M. Schneider, pointed out the importance of the matters discussed during the Session, and the liberty of the debates, into which, he added, "political controversies have largely entered. Far be it from me to complain of this, since these controversies respond to those which occupy the public mind and enlighten the nation. They cannot but strengthen a Government such as that of the Emperor."

During the summer the municipal elections took place, and the Government seems to have acted with considerable fairness as regards non-interference in the choice of the candidates. When they were over, the Minister of the Interior, M. la Valette, addressed a circular to the Prefects, in which he said:—"Faithful to the rule it has traced out for itself, the Administration has directed its efforts to maintain the regularity and sincerity of the vote in every place. Whenever doubtful questions have arisen, it has not hesitated to solve them in the sense of the widest exercise of electoral right; every where citizens have been able with complete independence to bring forward their candidates, to form their lists, and to distribute their bulletins; every where the facilities which could be reconciled with respect to the law have been liberally secured to them. The country has replied by its attitude and by its votes to the legitimate expectations of Government. The elections have taken place with admirable calmness; no disorder has necessitated the intervention of the public force to ensure the execution of the law, or to protect the peaceable operation of voting. In presence of the experience which has just been accomplished, and in which the whole country has taken part, when the same day beheld in 37,000 communes several millions of citizens going to the voting-places to elect their representatives without any violence or corruption attempting to alter the character of this pacific and straightforward contest, the Emperor's Government has a right to rejoice; it can proclaim with a just pride that France lives and marches under the ægis of these two principles, which have ever been dear to her heart—order and liberty. But the fact

on which I have the especial pleasure of congratulating you, M. le Préfet, is one that I am anxious to signalize to all, and one that has the most deeply touched the heart of the Emperor—namely, that this external calm has only been the expression of the sentiment of concord which has been the distinct feature of the elections viewed in their aggregate. . . . The mayors and deputy-mayors, exercising their rights as citizens, to which title was added the authority of services rendered, presented themselves to the suffrage of the electors and proposed to them voting lists. Nothing less than the excitement of party feeling could have given rise to an opposition to the exercise of a faculty so legitimate, and which the Government had neither the right nor the desire to refuse to them. But the country has not failed to reply; in the chief towns of departments eight mayors only have not been elected; in the chief places of arrondissements 233 have been elected and 23 only have failed; while in the chief towns of cantons, against 1963 mayors chosen, 216 only have not obtained a sufficient number of votes. I mention only the great centres; in the rest of the Empire the proportion is still greater than the results I have mentioned. Thus, in the immense majority of communes, the electors, by maintaining or receiving the mayors in the municipal councils, have ratified for the past, and anticipated for the future, the choice of the Government. The greater number of the municipal councillors have also been re-elected. In some localities a still larger number of new members have been chosen. But, as I said in my circular of the 28th of June last, local questions alone were concerned in the discussion. There could not therefore be in the eyes of the Government either conquerors or conquered."

In the course of the autumn the English Channel fleet visited Brest, and their arrival was greeted by the French authorities with the most marked cordiality and kindness. Soon afterwards a portion of the French fleet returned the compliment by a visit to Portsmouth, where the inhabitants endeavoured to rival the reception given to our officers and men in France, by the warmth of their hospitality and the splendour of their festivities. In acknowledgment of this friendly feeling there appeared, on the 6th of September, in the *Moniteur*, the following bulletin:—"It affords us great satisfaction to call to mind with what courtesy the Government, the people, and the Press of England have greeted the French fleet in England. The *entente cordiale* which prevailed during the preceding reign has been rendered fruitful through the policy of the Empire. The friendly relations existing between France and England are founded upon their mutual interests and upon the uniformity of their principles in matters of public law. They rivalled one another in disinterestedness to ensure the independence of the Ottoman Empire, and when France had fought for Italy England on her part determined no longer to retain the Ionian Islands, and consented that they should be restored to the origin of their nationality."



## CHAPTER II.

## BELGIUM—PRUSSIA—AUSTRIA.

**BELGIUM.**—Death of Leopold I., King of the Belgians—Royal speech of his successor, Leopold II.—Sympathizing message from the Emperor of the French.

**PRUSSIA.**—Despatch of the Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Prussian Government in answer to the letter of Herr von Bismark—Speech of the President at the opening of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies—Speech of Herr von Bismark during the debate on the Address—Discussion on the Address—Reply of the King—The Prussian Budget—Bill for increase of the Prussian navy negatived—Bill to legalize the increase of the army also negatived—Speech of Herr von Bismark on the Schleswig-Holstein Question—Bill for defraying the expenses of the war with Denmark negatived—Speech of Herr von Bismark in closing the Session—Royal decree with reference to supplies—Convention between Prussia and Austria at Gastein with reference to the Duchies—Views of the English and French Governments on this Convention—Declaration of Prussia and Austria at the Frankfort Diet—Circular of delegates of the Minor German States on the subject of the Convention—Proclamations of the Prussian Governor of Schleswig and the Austrian Governor of Holstein—Opinion of the Prussian Crown lawyers on the question of succession to the Duchies—Reproofs addressed by the Prussian and Austrian Governments to the Frankfort Senate—Meeting at Frankfort of the German National Verein.

**AUSTRIA.**—Change in the Austrian Cabinet—Circular of Count Belcredi, the new Minister of State—Imperial warrant for the Convocation of the Transylvanian Diet—Imperial Manifesto—Speech of the Emperor at the opening of the Hungarian Diet—Addresses of the President and Vice-President—Resolution adopted by the Transylvanian Diet.

## BELGIUM.

LEOPOLD I., the King of the Belgians, and uncle of Queen Victoria, died on the 9th of December, this year, at his palace of Laeken. He was 75 years old and had reigned 34 years and a half. He was succeeded by his eldest son, now Leopold II., who was immediately proclaimed King, and on the 17th took the oath to observe the Constitution and the laws. The same day he addressed the Chambers in the following speech from the throne:—

“Gentlemen,—Belgium with myself has lost a father. The homage so unanimous which the nation is paying to his memory worthily accords with the sentiments which it professed towards him during his life. I am alike touched and grateful for it. Europe itself has not remained indifferent to this mourning. Sovereigns and foreign princes have wished to take part in the last honours which we pay to him whom they had placed so high in their confidence and friendship. In our name and in the name of Belgium I thank them for it. Succeeding to-day to a father so honoured in his lifetime, so regretted after his death, my first engagement before the elect of the nation is to follow religiously the



precepts and examples which his wisdom has bequeathed to me, and never to forget what duties are imposed upon me by the precious heritage. If I do not promise to Belgium either a great reign, like that which founded its independence, or a great King, like him whom we lament, I do at least promise a King Belgian at heart and in mind, whose whole life belongs to it. The first King of the Belgians to whom Belgium has given birth, I have from my infancy been associated with all the patriotic emotions of my country. Like it I have followed with joy that national development which fosters all the sources of strength and prosperity. Like it, I love those grand institutions which are at the same time guarantees of order and of liberty, and which form the most solid bases of the throne. In my thought, the future of Belgium has always been identified with my own, and I have always considered it with that confidence which is inspired by the right of a nation free, honourable, and courageous, which wills its independence, which has known how to conquer it, and which will know how to retain it. I have not forgotten, gentlemen, the marks of goodwill which I received at the period of my majority, when I came to associate myself in your legislative labours, and some months afterwards, on the occasion of my marriage with a princess who shares all my sentiments towards the country, and inspires them in our children. It has been pleasant to recognize in these spontaneous manifestations the unanimous agreement of populations. For my part, I have never made any distinction between Belgians. All devoted to their country, I regard them in a common affection. My constitutional mission places me beyond the contests of opinions, leaving it to the country itself to decide between them. I desire earnestly that their differences may always be tempered by that spirit of national fraternity which unites at this moment round the same flag all the children of the Belgian family. Gentlemen, during the last thirty-five years Belgium has been able to accomplish things which, in a country of such an extent, have rarely been accomplished by a single generation. But the edifice of which the Congress laid the foundation can and will be raised still higher. My sympathetic concurrence is assured to all those who devote to this work their intelligence and their labours. It is by persisting in this path of activity and of wise progress that Belgium will more and more strengthen her institutions within, while beyond she will preserve that esteem which the Powers guarantors of her independence and other foreign States have never ceased to exhibit, and of which they again to-day offer a renewed evidence. In mounting the throne, my father said to the Belgians, 'My heart knows no other ambition than to see you happy.' These words, which his entire reign has justified, I do not fear to repeat in my own name. God has deigned to grant the wish which they expressed. May He again listen to it this day, and render me the worthy successor of my father! And I beseech Him from the bottom of my soul to continue to protect our dear Belgium."

Sinister rumours had been afloat in some quarters as to attempts that might be made by the Emperor of the French to aggrandize France at the expense of Belgium, on the occasion of Leopold's death. But nothing of the kind happened, and the Emperor greeted the new Sovereign in the kindest and most friendly terms. He sent the following message by telegraph to Brussels:—

“The Empress and myself sympathize most deeply in the affliction which has befallen you. Your august father always displayed great affection towards me, and I always entertained for him the same feeling. King Leopold was renowned for his great intelligence and wisdom. He was one of the most justly revered monarchs of Europe. I hope that on the throne you will follow the great example bequeathed by your illustrious predecessor. On every occasion I shall be happy to give you proof of the affection I feel for you.”

### PRUSSIA.

WE mentioned in our last volume the sharp reprimand addressed by Herr von Bismark to the Minor German Governments in consequence of the resolution come to by the Frankfort Diet on the question of the cessation of “Federal Execution” in the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg. In reply to this, a despatch was written by Herr von der Pfordten, the Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he said:—

“It is certainly but natural, and has always been the case, that when a resolution of the Diet is impending, individual Federal Governments have endeavoured to gain over others to their opinions. But, unless I am mistaken, it has not been hitherto usual to enter upon a criticism of divergent votes after the resolution has been passed, and to engage in correspondence upon the subject outside the Federal Diet. At any rate, I find myself unable to do so at present, in order to avoid even the appearance of the King's Government recognizing the right of any other Federal Government to call it to account for its votes. In face of this objection the idea that such subsequent discussion might lead to a certainly desirable agreement of opinions can have no weight, and the less so as experience shows that retrospective polemics hardly ever bring about an understanding.

“In so far, on the other hand, as the Prussian Government wishes to call attention to dangers which threaten the continuance of the Federation, we are perfectly willing to follow it upon this field of examination, for we sincerely desire the preservation of this bond of the entire German nation, and recognize the duty of all Federal Governments to co-operate for the removal and guard-

ing against dangers which might be prejudicial to the preservation of the Diet.

“From this point of view we have very carefully considered the despatch of the Prussian Minister of State, and, with him, have arrived at the conviction that the continued existence of the Confederation was certainly seriously threatened upon the occasion of that question which was decided by the Federal resolution of the 5th December last. But we are unfortunately unable to admit the same identity of view as to the ground and origin of that danger.

“The danger of a break-up of the Confederation did not lie in the views of the minority upon the 7th of December in the preceding year, and the 5th of December last, as to the right of the Confederation to occupy the Duchies, but in the views of the Prussian Government as to its right to take the law into its own hands.

“The question of occupation is in other respects now settled; but the Prussian Minister of State at the same time considers it not superfluous to leave us no doubt as to the determination of the Prussian Government, in face of every wrongly-passed resolution of the Diet, to make full use of the liberty of action for the preservation of its rights accruing to it from the violation of treaties. We are, therefore, almost forced to believe that the real object of Herr von Bismark’s despatch is to deter the King’s Government from every further vote in the Federal Assembly to which the Prussian Government does not acknowledge its right. Should this be so, we must equally leave no doubt to the Prussian Government that it is our firm determination, as hitherto so also in future, to base our votes solely upon our own convictions, and only to permit the fundamental laws and resolutions of the Federal Assembly to decide upon its competence, and not the will of an individual Government.

“We attach value to the continuance of the Confederation, not, indeed, because it affords us greater advantages or security than any other members of the Diet, but because, as we have already stated, we consider it a duty to uphold the political bond of the entire German nation. But it is not our intention to allow the character of the Confederation, as an association of States having equal rights, to be shackled in such a manner that a single member should be able to prescribe the measure of its action.”

When the Prussian Chamber of Deputies met in January, Herr Grabow was elected President by an immense majority. Upon taking the chair he spoke as follows:—

“Gentlemen,—Elected by your choice to the arduous office of President of this House for the duration of the present Session, I return my warmest thanks for this new proof that your former confidence, honouring me with so high a degree, has been preserved unshaken. It imposes upon me the inevitable duty of responding to your call. I shall endeavour upon this occasion



also to fulfil my difficult task, so far as my bodily health will permit, with all my strength, knowledge, and mind, faithfully, conscientiously, and impartially; and I earnestly beg of you, gentlemen, to support me in the execution of my office and the conduct of business, as kindly, indulgently, and powerfully as you have formerly done. Gentlemen, at our last dismissal the hope of an understanding with this House was temporarily abandoned. Since that period prosecutions of the Liberal press, reprimands of Liberal officials, non-confirmations of Liberal communal elections, defamations, suspicions, and calumnies of Liberal citizens, have taken place to an even greater extent than in former years. Liberal opinions are outlawed. Fidelity to convictions, the greatest ornament of old Prussian officials, has been placed under the Neo-Prussian ban. The axe has been laid to the tree of the self-administration of towns and communes bearing since 1808 the glorious fruits of community of opinion and welfare, in order to turn back that thrice-tried public opinion which is the strongest power in the State, to compel the Chamber of Deputies to subjection, and thereby to lay violent hands upon the arteries of the Constitution. But the conscience of the Prussian people and of its chosen representatives, who have sworn before God and the Crown faithfully to observe that Constitution, will not allow itself to be intimidated by any power upon earth from maintaining the Constitutional rights of the Crown and the people. The Royal motto, 'He only stands upon the rock of honour and victory who places himself upon the rock of law,' we have adopted as our own. Under this banner we can only find the understanding we have urgently desired for years, but hitherto striven for in vain, a course which enables us not to surrender the sworn rights of the people entrusted to our conscientious keeping. May the Government of the King enter upon such a course with us, to the salvation and advantage of our country, whose prosperity and honour we always hold high and holy in our true Prussian hearts."

The delivery of this speech was received by the Chamber with great applause.

During the debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, Herr von Bismark declared constitutional rule to be based on a compromise, especially in Prussia, where there are side by side three Estates with equal powers. The Chamber of Deputies, by its resolution of September, 1862, had abandoned the path of compromise, and the present Government on its entry into office found a conflict already in existence. The Minister further said:—"The Chamber of Deputies asks that this conflict should be ended by an alteration of the present organization of the army. This is impossible. As regards foreign policy, a premature statement of the intentions of the Government in reference to pending questions is also impossible. I can only state that the interests of the country will be maintained. The blood of our soldiers will not have been shed in vain. The public Press and

the Chamber of Deputies have reproached the Government with having entered into an alliance with Austria. On this question the future will throw a clearer light. Any other course of policy would have made the late war a war between the Federal Diet and Denmark. The former would have entrusted to us the conduct of the war, but would not have taken into consideration our plans for the organization of the Duchies, as does Austria, who is friendly to us. The conduct of the war would then have been limited to the Prussian army, and to auxiliary bands of irregular troops." In conclusion, Herr von Bismark said: "I am bound to limit myself to these statements on account of the publicity which will be given to my speech."

Another Address was moved in opposition by Herr Reichen-sperger, which contained the following passages:—

"We shall most willingly meet any steps which the Government may take towards an understanding with the Chambers. But this is only possible by the Government acknowledging the constitutional right of the country, which has been called into question by its conduct during the last three years. For the future a solution of the conflict will only be possible by the Government formally acknowledging the constitutional right of the Chamber to vote the Budget, and by coming forward with proposals to diminish the military expenses of the country as much as possible. It is the conviction of the people, based upon the military valour, not only of the younger but also of the elder men in the Prussian army, that a military service of two years is quite sufficient."

This Address was supported by the Catholic party in the Chamber, but was negatived, as was also another by Herr Wagner, who said that the House must not reject the hand offered by the King. They were entering upon a course calculated to bring about a state of things similar to that existing in Denmark. The working of the Prussian Constitution was defective, because the constitutional laws of foreign countries had been misunderstood in Prussia.

The Minister of the Interior said that he recognized the moderate tone adopted by the Chamber. The real cause of the conflict was the military question. The present Ministry found a certain state of things existing on their entry into office, which was not of their creation. It was their duty to regulate these conflicts without infringing on the rights of the Crown. The King would not yield a single point on the question of military reform, and the House must, therefore, select another test of the extent of its constitutional power—viz., its right to vote the Budget.

Upon receiving the Address presented by the Upper House in reply to the Speech from the Throne, the King delivered the following answer:—

"I thank the Upper House for the renewed manifestation of its sentiments, which is so well expressed both in the contents and

form of the Address handed to me by you. It is a matter of course that I thankfully recognize the exploits of my army, but much has also been effected in other departments of the administration of my Government during the past year, by which Prussia has been raised to that stage of reputation in Europe which corresponds to her power. I have heard with pleasure that the Upper House gratefully acknowledges this action of my Government. I am convinced, further, that this thankfulness, as well for the praiseworthy attitude of the army as for the successful efforts of my Government, also exists among my people, and it is this conviction which is so agreeable to my heart. The great thing, however, is that all that has been done has been accomplished upon the basis which alone, by God's blessing, affords durability and permanence—upon the basis of the fear of God. The fear of God has been conspicuous in the army, and from it has proceeded that sympathy and readiness to make sacrifices which the nation has so warmly and zealously displayed towards the combating troops. It is my most ardent wish that the difference existing between my Government and a portion of the representatives should be brought to reconciliation. In the Speech from the Throne I made advances to the representatives; it is now for the representatives to make advances to me. But I shall unalterably adhere to what I said from the throne with regard to this reconciliation, as I am conscientiously endeavouring to do every thing compatible with the welfare of the country. These being my sentiments, I may trust that the want of harmony which undoubtedly still exists will soon be removed. Be good enough to express to the Upper House, and in especial to the movers, my Royal thanks for the Address now laid before me."

A Committee on the state of the public finances having been appointed by the Chamber of Deputies, made its report in March. From the document we learn that the Budget had increased since 1849 from 94,000,000 to 151,000,000 thalers, while the population, which at the beginning of the constitutional era amounted to 16,300,000, rose to only 19,500,000 in that period. To this total rather more than 11,000,000 thalers were contributed by the Income Tax, that particular item having risen from 20,500,000 to about 32,000,000. As to indirect taxation, it now yields the Finance Minister the sum of 37,000,000 thalers, having, as early as 1849, given him a net income of 28,000,000 thalers.

A Bill was brought in for the increase of the Prussian navy, and in the course of the debate, Herr von Bismark expressed the hope that the Government would succeed in obtaining the port of Kiel for Prussia, and, under certain conditions, for the German navy. The latter would grow out of the Prussian fleet by developing the maritime resources of the other States of Northern Germany. Herr von Bismark further said that he wished in the interest of the country that the Prussian Diet would declare that the acquisition of Kiel was necessary. The acquisition of this



harbour was intended by the Government, but on the basis of a common understanding. The tract of land situated between Holtzenar and Friedrichsort and the opposite villages was also required by the Government. He declined to state whether, under certain emergencies, the realization of this scheme, so far as foreign Powers were concerned, would be effected by force. Herr von Bismark further stated that the Navy Bill was a question of internal policy. The transfer of the naval station from Dantzic to Kiel was a measure which did not succeed the right of Prussia as co-possessor of the Duchies; and the resolution of the Government in adopting it was based upon the hope that an understanding with Austria would thereby be brought about. He added:—"The Government will strictly adhere to its determination of carrying out this measure, and will not allow itself to be urged by any protest whatever to adopt a different course. On the other hand, Prussia will in no way act at variance with her international obligations."

In reply to a question from Herr Virchow respecting the rumours that Austria would be compensated in the event of an increase of the power of Prussia in the Duchies, Herr von Bismark said that no proposal had either been made or accepted by which the rights of Prussia would be violated or her destinies influenced for a long period to come.

The loan, however, demanded by the Government for the increase of the navy was met by a hostile resolution, which declared that "the House of Deputies is not in a position to grant any loans to the existing Ministry of State, that Ministry having practically set aside the right of voting the Budget, constitutionally belonging to the House of Deputies."

And this resolution was carried by a large majority.

During the debate on the subject, Herr von Bismark said that Kiel and, indeed, the entire Duchies, were owned by Prussia. True, they were owned in common with the Kaiser; but the share Prussia had in the property would be never abandoned except on condition of Kiel Harbour being handed over to her for good. There was, then, no possibility of dispossessing this country of Kiel except by war, and he could not but ask the House whether they thought it patriotic to presume war would necessarily result in defeat and the loss of the coveted prize. If not, they might as well furnish him with the means for turning the naval resources of the Duchies to account. He must declare again and again that the Prussian claims on the Duchies had been accurately stated, and that nothing would be abated from them. He did not grudge the Duchies their Duke, nor did he care for any democratic institutions they might be tempted to establish; but it was his duty to prevent a third Schleswig-Holstein campaign, and to arrange matters in a way which would not expose him to the necessity of taking Düppel again. As to the concessions made by the Duke of Augustenburg, all he could say was, that, even sup-

posing them to be sufficient for Prussian purposes, they had been rendered dependent upon the sanction of the Schleswig-Holstein Estates. No concessions whatever, then, had been made in reality. Under these circumstances, nothing remained for Prussia but to wait for some arrangement being effected with the Kaiser on the one hand, and the future Duke of Schleswig-Holstein on the other (if, indeed, the title of a single person to the whole of the Duchies could be ever established). No votes of the Schleswig-Holstein Estates, no proclamations of the Pretenders, would drive Prussia from the Duchies; but she would stick to her programme, defending the justice and the necessity of it to the last man. Regarding the subject in hand, he could not but wonder that the Liberal party, with all their professed interest in the navy and the extension of our influence on the seas, were now in a fair way of refusing their co-operation for whatever was required to carry their wishes into effect. They no longer seemed to sympathize with what had been formally called the naval future of the land.

Another Bill which was brought in to legalize the increase of the army was also rejected by the Lower House.

With reference to the Schleswig-Holstein question Herr von Bismark said in the course of a speech he delivered on the 1st of June:—"Our demands have for their object solely to place Germany in a defensible condition by sea, and obtain a guarantee which may prevent the necessity of another attack upon the Düppel fortifications. These conditions are moderate. As long as no pretender can show what, in our opinion, would be a better title to the Duchies than our own, I do not know who should contest our possession. The dukedom of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg is vested in the Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia. Their Majesties purpose to convoke the Estates, and they will neither constrain that body nor allow themselves to be constrained by it. If no understanding be arrived at, no one-sided proceeding will be able to make us quit the Duchies. If you doubt our right, make your votes of the supplies dependent upon the condition of our acquiring Kiel, and say, 'No Kiel, no money.'"

When the Bill for defraying the expenses of the late war with Denmark was under discussion in June, Herr Wagner proposed an amendment, "That the Government be requested to endeavour to bring about the annexation of the Duchies to Prussia, even by indemnifying, if necessary, any claimant to their possession."

Herr von Bismark said:—"The programme for the solution of the question of the Duchies as proposed has been completely carried out, excepting the installation of the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. This can take place any day upon the Prince proving his hereditary right to the Duchies, which he has up to the present time failed to do. In a conversation with me last year, his Highness rejected the moderate demands of Prussia, and expressed himself as follows:—"Why did you come to the Duchies? We did not call you. Matters would

have been settled without Prussia.' Annexation to Prussia is the best thing for Schleswig-Holstein, but there is no prospect of its accomplishment on account of the large debts, for which it would be necessary for Prussia to render herself liable. After the refusal of our moderate demands by the Prince of Augustenburg, we shall be justified in subsequently increasing them."

A Committee had been appointed to report on this Bill, and the result was that the Bill brought in by the Government was rejected and the proposals of the Committee were adopted by a large majority.

At the close of the Session, on the 17th of June, Herr von Bismark addressed the Chambers, and said:—

"Gentlemen, Members of both Houses,—His Majesty has deigned to charge me to close, in his name, the two Houses of Parliament. The country is indebted to the united efforts of the Parliament and of the Government, during the Session which has just terminated, for the renewal of the Zollverein, the conclusion of treaties of commerce with France, England, and Belgium, a new law on mines, the settlement of the Land Tax in Silesia, the improvement of the condition of invalids, the construction of various lines of railway, and many other useful laws.

"But the united efforts of the representatives of the country and of the Government could not achieve any decisive and complete results unless the welfare of the country, even amid political differences, had been the main point in view for all parties. It has not been so. The intention clearly manifested by the majority of the House of Deputies to throw difficulties in the way of the councillors of the Crown, has led to the rejection of a law on banks, of a Bill for the construction of railways in Eastern Prussia, and has, consequently, been detrimental to the material prosperity of the country.

"By the rejection of the Army Bill, the new organization of the army, which was introduced with the consent of preceding Parliaments, and which showed its value in the last campaign, has again been challenged, to the detriment of the external situation of the country.

"The House of Deputies has refused to allow the Government to form a fleet in keeping with present times and wants. It has refused the support which it asked for to cull the fruits of the victories earned by the precious blood shed last year. It has even alienated itself from our brilliant deeds of arms by refusing to vote the war expenses.

"The Budget, which must be established, according to Articles 62 and 99 of the Constitution, with the co-operation in common of all bodies that participate in the framing of laws, has failed this year on account of the refusal of the House of Deputies to vote the indispensable estimates.

"The House has rejected the demands which the Government found it necessary to make. It has adopted resolutions which the



Government cannot carry out. Instead of a desirable harmony, the Session closes again amid a reciprocal coldness between parties which ought to act together. The Government of his Majesty has only one object in view—to shield the rights and the honour of the King and of the country, such as they are laid down in the Constitution, such as they may and ought to exist side by side.

“It cannot be of any service to the country that its elected representatives should endeavour to seize upon rights which are denied to them by their legal position in the constitutional path; it is only by devoting that position to co-operate in the work commenced by our Sovereign, and continued by him up to this day—a work the object of which is to make Prussia great and happy under future princes—that they will fulfil the mission entrusted to them by the King’s subjects.

“The Government of his Majesty has exerted all its efforts to fulfil the mission given to it by his Majesty in this sense, without allowing itself to be deterred by hostile and wanton attacks, in speech and writing. Strong in its conscience of right and of good intentions, the Government of his Majesty will maintain the regular march of public affairs, and will energetically represent the interests of the country at home as well as abroad. It is convinced that the line of conduct it has hitherto followed is just and salutary, and that the day cannot be far off when the nation, as it has already done spontaneously by thousands of voices, will address through the House of its representatives its thanks to our august Sovereign.

“I have yet to thank the House of Lords, in the name of the King, for its fidelity and devotion.

“In the name of his Majesty, I declare the Session to be closed.”

In the Chamber of Deputies, after the ceremony of proroguing the House had been gone through, the president, Herr Grabow, said:—“The debates have furnished a gloomy picture of the internal condition of the country, and have confirmed what I stated in my speech at the opening of the Chambers. The Speech from the Throne complains that no understanding has been arrived at; but what the Government demanded was the submission of the Chamber. The efforts to transform a constitutional into an absolute police and military State have reached the utmost limit, but they will suffer shipwreck upon the loyalty of the people to the Constitution, manifested by thrice electing its representatives. The Session has not been without results. Commercial treaties have been sanctioned, and measures for the extension of railways passed. Let us gather around the Constitution and the Sovereign who has sworn to protect it.”

In conclusion the President proposed three cheers for the King.

The refusal of the Prussian Chambers to vote supplies was met by the King with a counter-movement, in which he took it upon himself to determine his own Budget, and act as if a representative Constitution did not exist. On the 5th of July a royal decree

was countersigned by all the Ministers, in which the King said:—  
“Not having succeeded in coming to an understanding with the Diet upon the Bill for the Budget of the year 1865, I order, in accordance with the Report of the Ministry of State, dated the 4th of July inst., that the estimate returned herewith, showing the expected revenue and expenditure for the current year, shall serve as a regulation for the administration of the finances.

“I hereby, at the same time, place at the disposal of the Minister of Marine a sum not exceeding 500,000 thalers for the construction of heavy cast steel guns for the fleet, and the Ministers of Marine and Finance will have to account to me for the employment of this sum at the end of the year.”

An important Convention between Prussia and Austria was signed at Gastein on the 14th of August by Herr von Bismark and Count Blome; and it was afterwards signed at Salzburg by the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria. The Convention began by stating that “their Majesties the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria having become convinced that the co-dominion hitherto existing in the countries ceded by Denmark through the Treaty of Peace of the 30th of October, 1864, leads to inconveniences which endanger at the same time the good understanding between their Governments and also the interests of the Duchies; their Majesties have, therefore, come to the determination no longer to exercise in common the rights accruing to them from Article 3 of the above-mentioned treaty, but to divide geographically the exercise of the same until further agreement.”

The following Articles were then agreed upon:—

“Art. 1. The exercise of the rights jointly acquired by the high contracting parties through the Vienna Treaty of Peace of the 30th of October, 1864, will, without prejudice to the continuance of these rights of both Powers to the whole of both Duchies, be transferred, as regards the Duchy of Schleswig, to his Majesty the King of Prussia, and as regards the Duchy of Holstein to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria.

“Art. 2. The high contracting Powers will propose in the Federal Diet the establishment of a German fleet, and to appoint for that purpose the harbour of Kiel as a Federal harbour. Until the execution of the Diet's resolutions referring thereto, the war vessels of both Powers will use this port, and the command and police of the same will be exercised by Prussia. Prussia is authorized not only to construct the necessary fortifications for the defence of the entrance opposite Friedrichsort, but also to erect marine establishments corresponding with the object of the military port upon the Holstein shore of the bay. These fortifications and establishments are also placed under Prussian command, and the requisite Prussian naval troops and men for their garrison and guard may be quartered in Kiel and the neighbourhood.

“Art. 3. The high contracting parties will propose at Frankfort to raise Rendsburg into a German Federal fortress. Until the

settlement by the Diet of the garrison relations of this fortress, its garrison will consist of Prussian and Austrian troops with the command alternating annually upon the 1st of July.

“Art. 4. During the continuance of the division agreed upon by Art. 1 of the present Convention, the Prussian Government will retain two military roads through Holstein, the one from Lubeck to Kiel, the other from Hamburg to Rendsburg. The more detailed regulations respecting the halting-places for the troops, and also respecting their transport and maintenance, will be settled as early as possible by a special Convention. Until this takes place, the existing regulations for Prussian halting-places upon the roads through Hanover will be in force.

“Art. 5. The Prussian Government retains control over a telegraph line for communication with Kiel and Rendsburg, and the right to send Prussian post vans with Prussian officials over both routes through the Duchy of Holstein. Inasmuch as the construction of a direct railway from Lubeck through Kiel to the Schleswig frontier is not yet assured, the concession for that object for the Holstein territory will be given at the request of Prussia upon the usual terms, without Prussia making any claim to rights of sovereignty with respect to the line.

“Art. 6. The high contracting parties are both agreed that the Duchies shall join the Zollverein. Until this takes place, or until some further understanding, the system hitherto in vogue, and including both Duchies, shall remain in force, with equal partition of the revenues. In case it should appear advisable to the Prussian Government, pending the duration of the division agreed upon in Art. 1 of this present treaty, to open negotiations with respect to the succession of the Duchies to the Zollverein, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, is ready to empower a representative of the Duchy of Holstein to take part in such negotiations.

“Art. 7. Prussia is authorized to carry through Holstein territory the German Ocean and Baltic Canal, to be constructed according to the result of the technical examinations directed by the King's Government. So far as this may be the case, Prussia shall have the right of determining the direction and dimensions of the canal, of acquiring the plots of ground requisite for its site, by way of pre-emption, in exchange for their value; of directing the construction; of exercising supervision over the canal, and its being kept in repair; and of giving assent to all orders and regulations affecting the same. No other transit dues or tolls upon ships and cargo shall be levied throughout the whole extent of the canal than the navigations duty to be imposed by Prussia equally upon the ships of all nations for the use of the passage.

“Art. 8. No alteration is made by this present Convention in the arrangements of the Vienna Peace Treaty of October 30, 1864, with regard to the financial obligations to be undertaken by the Duchies, as well towards Denmark as towards Austria and Prussia, save that the Duchy of Lauenburg shall be released from all duty



of contribution to the expenses of the war. The division of these obligations between the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig shall be based upon a standard of population.

“Art. 9. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria makes over the rights acquired by the above-cited Vienna Peace Treaty to the Duchy of Lauenburg, to His Majesty the King of Prussia, in exchange for which the Prussian Government binds itself to pay to the Austrian Government the sum of 2,500,000 Danish dollars, payable at Berlin in Prussian silver coin, four weeks after the confirmation of this present Convention by their Majesties the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria.

“Art. 10. The execution of the above-agreed division of the co-dominion shall commence as early as possible after the approval of this Convention by their Majesties the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria, and be terminated at latest by the 15th of September.

“The Command-in-Chief, hitherto existing in common, shall, after the completed evacuation of Holstein by the Prussian, and of Schleswig by the Austrian troops, be dissolved, and at latest by the 15th of September.”

The British and French Governments showed much displeasure at the terms of this Convention, and Earl Russell addressed a despatch on the subject to our diplomatic agents abroad, in which, as will be seen, very strong language was used by him. It was as follows:—

“Foreign Office, Sept. 14.

“Sir,—The Prussian Chargé d’Affaires has communicated to me the substance of a despatch relative to the Gastein Convention, and since then the text of that despatch has been published by the Berlin papers.

“On the first communication to Her Majesty’s Government of the preliminaries of peace signed at Vienna, I caused the views of the Government upon these preliminaries to be expressed in that city and at Berlin.

“The present Convention only serves to augment the regret expressed by Her Majesty’s Government at that period.

“The treaties of 1815 gave the King of Denmark a seat in the Germanic Diet as Duke of Holstein.

“The treaty of 1852 recognized the right of succession to the whole of the Danish Monarchy, which the late King had constituted in the person of the present Sovereign.

“This treaty, notwithstanding the assurances given in the despatches of the 31st of January, 1864, has been completely set aside by Austria and Prussia, two of the Powers who signed it.

“It might justly have been expected that when treaties are thus annulled, the popular feeling in Germany, the wishes of the inhabitants of the Duchies, and the opinion of the majority of the Diet, so expressly stated by Austria and Prussia at the London

Conference, would at least have been consulted in their place. In this manner, if one class of rights were passed over, others arising from the assent of the populations might have been substituted for them, and these rights, received with respect, might have had some chance of duration.

“But all rights, old or new, whether based upon a solemn agreement between Sovereigns or on the clear and precise expression of the popular will, have been trodden under foot by the Gastein Convention, and the authority of force is the sole power which has been consulted and recognized.

“Violence and conquest, such are the only bases upon which the dividing Powers have established their Convention.

“Her Majesty's Government greatly deploras the disregard thus manifested for the principles of public law and the legitimate claim that a people may raise to be heard when their destiny is called into question. The present despatch does not authorize you to address observations upon this subject to the Court to which you are accredited, and is solely intended to acquaint you in what sense you will speak of it when the occasion arrives.

“I am, &c.,

“RUSSELL.”

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, was quite as decided and more cutting in his tone. He said in his circular, which was dated “Paris, August 29 :”—“The newspapers have made us acquainted with the text of the Gastein Convention. I have no intention to examine its stipulations in detail, but it is not without interest to seek the objects which have guided the two great German Powers in these negotiations. Did they intend to consecrate the right of former treaties? Assuredly not; the treaties of Vienna had settled the conditions of existence of the Danish Monarchy. These conditions are upset. The Treaty of London was a fresh proof of the solicitude of Europe for the duration of the integrity of that monarchy; it is torn up by two Powers who had signed it. Have Austria and Prussia acted in concert for the defence of a disputed right of succession? Instead of restoring to the most authorized claimant the inheritance in dispute, they divide it between them. Do they consult the interest of Germany? No; their confederates only heard of the Gastein arrangement through the newspapers. Germany wanted an indivisible State of Schleswig-Holstein, separated from Denmark, and governed by a prince whose pretensions it had espoused. This popular candidate is set aside, and the Duchies, separated instead of being united, pass under two different dominations. Have the two Powers wished to guarantee the interests of the Duchies themselves? No; for the indissoluble union of the territories was, we were told, the essential condition of their prosperity. Was the object of the division at all events to disintegrate two rival nationalities, and terminate their internal discussions by ensuring

to each an independent existence? By no means; for we see that the line of separation, taking no account of the distinction of races, leaves the Danes undistinguished from the Germans. Have the wishes of the people been studied? They have not been consulted in any way, and there is no hint even of assembling the Schleswig-Holstein Diet. Upon what principle, therefore, does the Austro-Prussian combination rest? We regret to find no other foundation for it than force, no other justification than the reciprocal convenience of the co-sharers. This is a mode of dealing to which the Europe of to-day has become unaccustomed, and precedents for it must be sought for in the darkest ages of history. Violence and conquest pervert the notion of right and the conscience of nations. Substituted for the principles which govern the life of modern society, they are an element of trouble and dissolution, and can only overthrow the past without solidly building up any thing new. Such, sir, are the considerations that the events of which Germany is just now the scene suggest to the Emperor's Government."

At the sitting of the Frankfort Diet on the 24th of August, the Prussian and Austrian representatives laid before the Diet copies of the Gastein Convention, and at the same time made the following declaration:—

"The Governments of Bavaria, the Kingdom of Saxony, and the Grand Duchy of Hesse expressed the wish, at the sitting of the Diet held on the 27th ult., that the Governments of Austria and Prussia would communicate to the Diet what steps they had taken, or intended to take, to bring about a definitive solution of the questions still pending with regard to the Elbe Duchies, and at the same time expressed other wishes having reference to the same matter.

"The Governments of Austria and Prussia have in the mean time considered it their most pressing duty to remove the obstacles which had arisen out of the unsuitableness to the purpose of the form in which the rights acquired by Article 3 of the Vienna Treaty of October 30, 1864, have hitherto been exercised, in order thereby to obtain facilities for further negotiation as to a definitive solution. It affords the two Governments satisfaction to be now able to acquaint the Diet that by their exertions they have succeeded in coming to an understanding upon an organization of the administration of the Duchies, removing those obstacles, and the Ambassadors are commissioned to communicate to the Diet the Convention discussed upon the 14th of August last year, and agreed to upon the 20th inst. between the two monarchs, by handing in the annexed authentic copies of the same.

"The Diet will be thereby convinced that the Governments of Austria and Prussia are earnestly endeavouring to bring the question of the Elbe Duchies to a definitive solution, and to remove the obstacles by which such solution is still opposed.

"The further points mentioned in the motion of the Govern-



ments of Bavaria, the Kingdom of Saxony, and the Grand Duchy of Hesse are at present objects of negotiation between Austria and Prussia. The two Governments entertain the assurance that these negotiations will lead to a generally satisfactory result, and request the Diet to look forward thereto with confidence, as they reserve for the present further communications."

The Convention gave, as might be expected, great offence to the smaller German States, who saw all the pretences on which the war with Denmark had been undertaken, and the spoliation of that kingdom had been effected, thus openly thrown aside, and the aggrandizement of Prussia the only result. A circular was issued by a Committee which sat at Frankfort, consisting of delegates from the minor German States, in which they said:—

"By the Gastein Convention the Governments of Austria and Prussia have violated in the most flagrant manner the clearest principles of right, and especially that of the Duchies to settle their own future, only limited by the interest of the German nation. The measures which it was to be foreseen would follow this Convention threaten, in addition to shaking the sentiment of right of the German people, to annihilate for years the material and moral prosperity of the Duchies, freed from the Danish yoke by German blood. The undersigned committee considers itself therefore in duty bound to request the re-assembly of the members of the German Diets, already unanimously determined by the special committee of the Schleswig-Holstein clubs, in order to discuss and resolve upon the best means of saving the condition of public right in those lands. The Committee expect that the German delegates, who solemnly promised at the meeting of December 21, 1863, and by the protest handed in at the London Conference of April, 1864, to advocate the free right of self-disposal of the Duchies and to support their rights generally, will now redeem this promise by their appearance at the new assembly."

General von Manteuffel was appointed Prussian Governor of Schleswig, and he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, in which he said:—

"By the Gastein Convention you are transferred to a separate administration under the authority of the King of Prussia. Government by Prussia signifies justice, public order, and the advancement of the general prosperity. In assuming the government, I promise to regard your interests, and expect obedience to His Majesty's commands."

Field-Marshal von Gablenz, the new Austrian Governor of Holstein, said in his proclamation:—

"I will maintain the system of self-administration, which is so far advanced amongst you, and, above all, I will allow the native-born citizens of Holstein to share in the public management of the affairs of the Duchy.

"I promise you the conscientious application of the existing laws, the utmost possible advancement of your moral and material

prosperity, energetic and rapid execution of the duties of government, and the strict exercise of an impartial administration of the law. Holding aloof from the exercise of any decided policy, I am inspired solely by the desire of remaining a stranger to all party intrigues, of striving incessantly to develop the prosperity of the country, and, strengthened by the confidence of the population, of meeting the justly founded wishes of the people."

On the 15th of September a Royal proclamation was published at Ratzeburg, in Lauenburg, declaring that Prussia had taken possession of the Duchy, "in compliance with the wishes expressed by the Representative Assembly" of that Duchy; and that the King of Prussia had assumed the title of Duke of Lauenburg.

The question of the legal rights involved in the dispute relative to the Duchies had been submitted, at the close of last year, by the Prussian Government to a Commission, including the Crown lawyers, and in the month of October their opinion was published, which was substantially to the following effect:—

"The Commissioners have come to the conclusion that the succession law for the Danish monarchy of July 31, 1853, according to which the succession of the throne in its entirety over the lands united under the King's sceptre was transferred to the then Prince Christian, of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, now King Christian IX. of Denmark, has legally settled the hereditary succession to the three countries. That, further, King Christian IX. has ceded by the peace of October 30, 1864, the rights of the three Duchies appertaining to him to the Crowns of Prussia and Austria, and that the two allied Powers, in disposing of the Duchies, are not bound to recognize other hereditary claims. It follows from these resolutions that the question does not in any degree whatever depend upon the elucidation of formerly existing hereditary rights. In compliance, however, with His Majesty's command, the Crown lawyers have gone into these also. Reserving more detailed communications as to this examination, it may be stated at present that, with regard to the Augustenburg claims, the Commissioners have come to the following legal conclusions: That Duke Christian Augustus of Augustenburg (the father), by the treaty of renunciation with regard to the succession to the two Duchies concluded between him ('for himself and his heirs') and the Danish Crown upon December 30, 1852, has receded behind King Christian IX. and that Sovereign's male posterity. That the hereditary Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, as matter of course, cannot exercise the dormant right of his father in his stead. That, lastly, the said Prince, after his father's decease, cannot lay claim to a privileged right of succession to the Duchies."

It thus appears that, in the opinion of the Prussian lawyers, the King of Denmark was the rightful Sovereign of the "entirety" of the Duchies Schleswig, Holstein, Sonderburg, and Glücksburg, and that the only pretence of title on the part of Prussia and Austria to those provinces, was the cession of them by the treaty of October, 1864, which had been extorted from King Christian IX.

at the point of the sword. Further, that the claim of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg was barred, as we insisted in our last volume, by the renunciation made by his father "for himself and his heirs" in December, 1852. In other words, the only title of Prussia and Austria was derived from the right of conquest, because they had been victorious in an unprovoked and unjust war.

A sharp reproof was administered in the early part of October by Count Bismark to the Frankfort Senate, in a note addressed by him to the Prussian envoy in that city. He said, with reference to some meetings of German delegates which took place there:—  
"We, up to the last moment, entertained hopes that the Senate, conscious of its engagements towards the two great German allied Powers, and remembering the remonstrances made on previous and similar occasions by Austria and Prussia, would prevent the meeting of those delegates. We regret that we have been disappointed, and that we are again convinced that the Senate is willing for Frankfort to become the source of all senseless schemes. We can no longer tolerate such indulgence to revolutionary tendencies. We cannot permit that the seat of the Federal Diet should be made the principal scene of efforts for undermining the authority of the two first German Powers, and that from that town should issue publications surpassing all others in coarseness. The history of this meeting of German delegates proves that the more enlightened portion of the population has no sympathy for such attacks. But the indulgence shown by the Senate of Frankfort is none the less deserving of blame. We agree with the Austrian Government that the recurrence of such a public scandal, even in the form of a discussion leading to no result, cannot be permitted. . . . I hope that the Senate of Frankfort will not act in such a manner as to compel the two great German Powers to intervene in order to prevent the further consequence of an indulgence which has already been carried too far."

The Austrian Minister, Count Mensdorff, also wrote a despatch to the representative of Austria at Frankfort to the same effect, and concluded by saying:—"We feel assured that not only will such passionate invectives and so extreme an expression of party opinion as at the meeting of the late Congress of Delegates no longer find an asylum in Frankfort, but that the Senate will henceforth not permit the meetings of the new Assemblies summoned upon Frankfort territory by the Committee of Thirty-Six. The authority of the Senate, to which we first address ourselves, will, it is to be hoped, relieve us from the necessity of deliberating upon other steps to prevent in future such illegal attempts as have hitherto been made at the seat of the Federal Diet."

The Frankfort Senate thought it would best consult its dignity by resolving to take no notice of these two offensive remonstrances. A meeting of the German National Verein took place in the city on the 29th of October, when the following resolutions were agreed to:—

"1. The National Verein maintains its original programme,



that Germany should be constituted as a Federal State, the central authority of which should be transferred to Prussia, upon condition that such transfer be sanctioned by a Parliament representing the whole German nation.

"2. The National Verein declares that the settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question can be brought about solely by a vote of the population of the Duchies, the free exercise of which can only be limited by the common interests of Germany."

It was further resolved, that should a German central authority not be formed, Prussia alone could effectually defend the northern frontiers of Germany.

In conclusion, the National Verein resolved that the Convocation of the Schleswig-Holstein Estates could no longer be delayed.

## AUSTRIA.

A change took place this year in the Austrian Ministry, and Count Belcredi became the head of the new Cabinet, or, as it is called, Minister of State. He issued a circular at the end of July to the Governors of all the kingdoms and provinces of Austria not belonging to the Austrian Crown, in which he said:—

"The important task of the administrative authority in upholding legal order requires above all for favourable solution a correct understanding of the matter—an understanding for legally settled free action of the various elements of life; and I must in particular request the generous to insist with all emphasis upon the proceedings of the authorities being not only legally correct, firm, and worthy, but upon their also conveying in themselves evidence of understanding for a free and independent development of forces. I can only consider it as one of the most blessed efforts of our time gradually to enlarge the circle of those affairs which are to be handed over to the self-administration of those whose interests are immediately concerned.

"Every branch of legal order finds its firmest support in the consciousness of its necessity, and this is strengthened by participation in public life, not only in legislative, but also in administrative respect. It is, therefore, the duty of the authorities to support these efforts with all zeal so far as they remain within legal bounds, and to confirm the good understanding essential to the general interest by tact in their behaviour towards independent bodies.

"It is certain that a firm and energetic attitude in the maintenance of legal authority is an indispensable requisite for a serviceable official, and I remark here that I can neither recognize a liberal nor an illiberal interpretation of the law as the correct

one, but only such as corresponds to the spirit and text of the statutes, and therefore to the duty of the department. The political official, however, cannot nearly discharge his duty by energetic action alone.

"A judicious line of conduct is just as indispensable, to prevent every obstacle opposed to official usefulness leading to serious complications; and I must request the Governors, in such cases as may occur, to judge the action of the officials and their suitability with just strictness from these points of view.

"In immediate verbal intercourse with the population, and in forms calculated to rouse confidence, it is an important condition that the official should not fall into dead formalism, that he should form his views out of and according to life, and thereby secure to official action a true result, which is certainly not to be found in settlement by means of documents and figures. Written communication has undoubtedly also its correctness, but within far closer limits than has hitherto mostly been the case. . . .

"Free expression of opinion by the Press, if guided by truth, must be regarded by officials as a valuable blessing. Subjective considerations are to be set aside, and the judicial power is only to be appealed to to give full effect to the laws when an objective decision of the case appears worthy of punishment.

"In these provinces, where several nationalities are included, I must most urgently recommend the strictest impartiality, and an equally just line of conduct towards each.

"The department and the individual officials are to communicate with the people in their own language, and the capability for so doing is a weighty and decisive point in judging of the usefulness of an official."

On the 12th of September an Imperial warrant was issued for the convocation of the Transylvanian Diet. The Emperor said:—

"In order to render possible the definitive regulation of the political relations of the countries belonging to the Hungarian Crown, we find it good to re-establish the constitutional institutions of those countries in so far as they are within the limits prescribed by our Imperial diploma of the 20th of October, 1860.

"That the political relations of our Grand Principality of Transylvania, which is in intimate connexion with our Hungarian Crown, may be satisfactorily and definitively settled, we have deemed it advisable, in accordance with the 11th Article of the law of 1791, to convoke the constitutional Diet of our Grand Principality of Transylvania for the 19th of November. The place of assembly will be the Royal free city of Klausenburg. The sole object of discussion for the said Diet will be the revision of Article 1 of the law of 1848, which relates to the union of Hungary and Transylvania.

"Formerly certain classes of society laboured under political disabilities, and we therefore, in order that complete equality may be established, do ordain that all persons paying direct taxes (the

poll-tax and war contribution not being included) to the amount of 8fl. Austrian currency, shall be entitled to a vote. Care will be taken that persons belonging to the above-mentioned classes shall, if duly elected, be admitted to the Diet.

“Our dearly-beloved Lieutenant-General Count Louis Folliot de Crenneville will preside over the Diet as the representative of our Royal person. . . .”

On the 20th of September the Emperor issued an important manifesto to his people, which is sufficiently interesting to justify us in quoting it *in extenso*.

“The power and influence of the Monarchy must be upheld by means of one common treatment of the highest affairs of the State, and the unity of the Empire maintained, due regard being had to the differences in its component parts, the historical and legal development of which must be secured. This is the fundamental idea of my diploma of the 20th of October, 1860, and I, for the benefit of my faithful subjects, shall continue to entertain it.

“The right of the legal representatives of my peoples to co-operate, by means of resolutions, in the legislation and in the management of the finances—the best security for the furtherance of the interests of the Empire and of its component parts—is solemnly guaranteed and irrevocably fixed.

“The way in which this right is to be exercised is defined in my Patent Law of the 26th of February, 1861, relative to the representation of the Empire. In the 6th Article of that Patent I have pronounced the contents of the preceding, of the revived, and of the newly-published fundamental laws to be the Constitution of my Empire.

“The harmonious development of the several parts of the Constitution was to be left *to the free co-operation of all* my peoples.

“I warmly acknowledge that for a series of years a great part of the Empire did readily respond to my summons to send representatives to the metropolis to assist in the discharge of various highly important public duties.

“Still my intention—an intention to which I unalterably adhere—to give a safe guarantee for the interests of the whole Empire by means of a Constitution in which *all* my people should of their own free will participate, remains unfulfilled.

“A great part of the Empire, loyal and patriotic though it be, has steadfastly refused to participate in the work of general legislation, because it is of opinion that some of its fundamental laws are not in accord with the general Constitution given to the Monarchy.

“My duties as a Sovereign do not allow me longer to refuse to take cognizance of a state of things which prevents the development of a Liberal Constitutional form of Government, and imperils the fundamental rights of *all* my peoples, the privilege of legislation enjoyed by the provinces that do not belong to the Hungarian Crown being based on Article 6 of the Patent Law of



February, 1861, which provides for the general representation of the Empire.

“Until the fundamental laws of the different provinces are brought into accord, the great and promising idea of a general and constitutional representation of the Empire cannot be properly realized.

“In order to redeem my Imperial promise, and to avoid sacrificing the reality to the form, I shall endeavour to come to an understanding with the legal representatives of my peoples in the eastern parts of the Empire, and shall propose to the Hungarian and Croatian Diets to accept the diploma of the 20th of October, 1860, and the fundamental law relative to the representation of the Empire which was published with the Patent Law of the 26th of February, 1861.

“It being legally impossible to make one and the same ordinance an object of discussion in the one part of the Empire, while it is recognized as a binding law in the other parts, I am compelled to suspend the law relative to the representation of the Empire, at the same time especially declaring that I reserve to myself the right, before I come to a decision, of submitting to the legal representatives of my other kingdoms and countries, whose opinions will receive the consideration due to them, the results of my negotiations with the representative bodies of my eastern kingdoms, should they be in accordance with the law which provides for the maintenance of the unity, power, and influence of the Empire.

“I regret that this measure, which is absolutely necessary, will lead to an interruption of the constitutional action of the Lesser Reichsrath, but the organic connexion and equal value of the various parts of the fundamental law on which is based the action of the Reichsrath, renders it impossible that the one part of it can be in force while the other is in abeyance.

“As long as the Representative Body is not assembled, it will be the duty of my Government to take all those measures which admit of no delay, and particularly such as concern the financial and political economical interests of the Empire.

“The road which leads to an understanding on the basis of lawful rights is open; and to my faithful peoples—in whose conciliatory sentiments I have full confidence—this Imperial manifesto is addressed.”

A “Patent Law” was appended to this manifesto, by which the Government was empowered to take all those measures which may appear to be necessary to the well-being of the State until such time as His Majesty had come to an understanding with the inhabitants of the eastern provinces of the Empire, and the *whole* Monarchy was represented.

Soon afterwards a circular was addressed by Baron Meysenberg, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Austrian *Corps Diplomatique*, for the purpose of “enlightening public opinion” upon the subject of the manifesto. The circular said.—

“Endeavour above all to combat the idea generally entertained, which consists in representing the present resolution as the signal of a return to absolute rule, and an abandonment of the principles which serve as the basis of the diploma of the 20th of October. It is a sort of legislative *interregnum*. The Emperor’s wish is to confirm anew and expressly the right accorded to all his peoples of participation by their legal representation in the Legislature and the conduct of the finances. . . .

“But in loyally seeking to come to an understanding with the eastern portion of the Empire, in thus rendering homage to established rights, the Imperial Government has never had the idea of depriving the other provinces of the rights which have been granted them. It is not, therefore, a renewal of the Constitution, but a provisional suspension; and haste will be made to return as soon as possible to the normal condition. In addressing Hungary, it is desired to establish definitively constitutional institutions by the agreement of all. . . .

“Francis Joseph makes an appeal to public opinion in order that justice may be done to the loyalty of his intentions. He wishes to place upon a real and solid basis institutions comprising the totality of the Monarchy. The Emperor desires that his frank and sincere words should be every where known and thoroughly appreciated; and, in addressing himself directly to his subjects, he has wished to dissipate all doubts upon the real character of the measures which have just been promulgated. . . .”

On the 14th of December the Hungarian Diet was opened at Pesth by the Emperor in person, who delivered a speech, in which he said that a contradiction existed between the statement of some Austrian statesmen who asserted that Hungary had forfeited all her ancient constitutional rights by the insurrection of 1848-9, and the claim of the Hungarian political parties to have all constitutional reform rigorously carried out on the basis of historical rights. This contradiction could only be reconciled by the Pragmatic Sanction, which both parties had taken as their point of departure. He recognized the necessity of the self-government of Hungary, so far as it did not affect the unity of the Empire and the position of Austria as a great European Power. His Majesty wished to re-establish the integrity of the Hungarian Crown; and in order to effect this, steps had been taken that Transylvania and Croatia should be represented in the Diet at Pesth. The first task before the Diet was to take into consideration those questions which concern all the provinces. The Emperor wished the Diet to keep in view, as their principal aim, the unity of the Empire and the position of Austria as a great Power. The second object of the Diet must be the revision of the laws of 1848, which were to be modified, since they were incompatible, not only with the unity of the Empire, but with the rights of the Sovereign. These principal questions having been solved, the Diet must then discuss the programme of the coronation, after which the coronation of

the Emperor of Austria as King of Hungary would take place. He hoped that the confidence between the nation and the King would be increased, and that the great work of decentralizing Austria and Hungary would give satisfaction to all the nationalities composing the Empire.

At the sitting of the Lower House, Herr Carl von Szentivanyi, the President, said, in the course of his address:—"I will not dwell upon the sorrows and sufferings of past times, but rather turn to the future, which smiles upon us with joyful hope. The present summer was the first occasion for many years when new confidence began to arise in the hearts of the nation, and the last clouds began to disappear from the horizon of our country. The long-expected Diet was opened, and His Majesty spoke to us with that sincere confidence which invariably arouses sincerity and confidence in return. The Royal Speech set aside for ever that dangerous doctrine which occasioned so much bitterness, and rendered all sincere approach impossible—the detestable doctrine of forfeiture of right—and chose as its point of departure the mutually-admitted basis of the Pragmatic Sanction. His Majesty further recognized in the Speech from the Throne the political and autonomous independence of Hungary and the adjacent countries guaranteed by the Pragmatic Sanction, and declared that the Crown would keep intact all clauses of that compact referring to the integrity of the Hungarian Crown. Upon this clear and firm legal foundation we must and will settle the pending political questions; and although we cannot conceal from ourselves that we shall have to encounter serious obstacles, we may yet hope that pure patriotism, mutual confidence, and invincible goodwill may set them aside, and secure a happier future to the general satisfaction both of the country and the ruler of Hungary. . . ."

The senior Vice-President, Count Julius Andrássy, afterwards addressed the House, and said:—" . . . We must not despond, for this is not the first time that it has been the will of Providence that Hungary should take part in the decision of European questions. Confiding in the good fortune of the nation, we may hope that Hungary, which has overcome so many dangers and always issued from them stronger than before, will not belie her reputation upon this occasion as well. Still, in order that we may attain success as securely as possible, I believe one of our tasks will be—thereby in a manner completing the work of the Diet of 1861—in demonstrating that the right of this nation is also the interest of the realm. Therefore I think it desirable to convince the peoples of the other half of the Empire, that when the common ruler restores the integrity of Hungary he strengthens the whole realm, for the crown of St. Stephen unites the interest of many races through the rights and liberties of a Constitution a thousand years old, and places their centre of gravity in the middle of the realm. We must convince them that while the common ruler recognizes the principle of continuity of right upon the basis of the



Pragmatic Sanction, he acts as much in their interest as in ours; for a continuity of right cannot be begun from a given day—it can only be preserved in constant action. Before, therefore, it would have been possible to put this principle in practice in both halves of the Monarchy, both halves must have had returned to them what was their exclusive property. It is necessary and desirable that those who are called to guide the destinies of the hereditary States—taking into consideration the nature of the elements of Austria—should perceive that the realm does not belong to those States which increase in strength and durability by centralizing legislation, but that she is an exceptional State, which can only be great and powerful by alliance with the past and with history. Lastly, it is necessary that the other half of the realm should rightly understand its interest and its task. These do not consist in conquering Hungary, but, with her help, in winning back for the common ruler and the entire realm that position in the Council of the European Powers to which they are rightfully entitled. It is only when all, summoned by the Royal word to ultimate co-operation in the great work, are fully convinced of these truths, that we can safely calculate upon the result which is the ardent desire of us all. That desire is to see both halves of the Monarchy equally free and constitutional in their own way.”

We should mention also that the Transylvanian Diet adopted a resolution, that the Emperor should declare the Diet incompetent to change the Union law of 1848, and that, consequently, Transylvania should send deputies to the Hungarian Diet. His Majesty was therefore petitioned to summon Transylvania to send members to the Hungarian Diet.

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## CHAPTER III.

### SPAIN—ITALY—GREECE—JAMAICA.

**SPAIN.**—Diplomatic circular of the Spanish Ministry on the causes of the rupture with the Peruvian Republic—Termination of the Dispute—Recognition by Spain of the Kingdom of Italy—Rupture between Spain and Chili—Circular of the Spanish Foreign Minister on the alleged grievances of Spain—War declared between Spain and Chili—Military Insurrection in Spain.

**ITALY.**—General Election—Circular addressed by the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects—Opening of the Italian Parliament at Florence—Speech of the King.

**GREECE.**—Speech of the King at the opening of the Chambers.

**JAMAICA.**—Outbreak of the blacks at St. Morant's Bay—Atrocities committed by them—Seditious papers—Energetic measures taken by Governor Eyre—Arrest, trial, and conviction of Mr. Gordon—His execution and that of Bogle—Suppression

of the Insurrection—Speech of the Governor at the opening of the Chambers—Replies of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly—Bill for abolishing the Constitution—Suspension of Governor Eyre, and appointment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry.

## SPAIN.

WE mentioned in our last volume the seizure by Spain of the Chincha islands as a “material guarantee” in consequence of a quarrel which had broken out between the Government of Her Most Catholic Majesty and the Government of Peru. At the beginning of this year there was published a long diplomatic circular, addressed by the Spanish Minister to the representatives of Spain in Europe and America, in which he went very fully into the causes of the rupture of amicable relations with the Peruvian Republic. He said:—

“These relations have for a long time past been anomalous and irregular, notwithstanding the known and often expressed goodwill of Her Majesty’s Government, altogether foreign to any views of domination or reconquest in the American continent, and disposed to enter into treaties of peace with all the new States, as well as to recognize their sovereignty and independence. An unequivocal proof of this disposition was afforded by the treaty concluded between Spain and Mexico on the 28th of December, 1836, which was followed at different periods by similar conventions with various States forming part of what was Spanish America. It was equally resolved to recognize the Republic of Peru under another arrangement of the same kind; and the negotiations were so far advanced that, a Peruvian Plenipotentiary having been nominated to that effect, a treaty was signed by both parties in Madrid, which the Government of Lima, however, refused to ratify. It must be stated that the latter did not even think fit to fulfil the obligations of courtesy and established usage, by acquainting Her Majesty’s Government with the motive of this resolution, either before or after the term fixed for the exchange of the ratifications; and Her Majesty’s Government was thus in ignorance upon the subject for a considerable time; and might have continued so except for having received intelligence thereof through a completely unofficial source. It has appeared to be opportune to revert to this diplomatic incident, which shows how extraordinary are the proceedings of the Peruvian Government in its international policy, and makes it clearly understood who is to be held responsible for the state of our relations with that Republic.

“Under the influence of such circumstances and such irregular relations, in a state of things that was neither war—that having terminated many years before—nor peace resting upon definite and solemn bases, persons of Peruvian nationality enjoyed in the Peninsula the uninterrupted and unfailing protection of the laws and the Government, while Spanish subjects in Peru have suffered innumerable vexations, without finding the protection due from

the authorities ; vexations which, being known to your Excellency, I need not enumerate, and which were subsequently lost sight of before the general indignation produced in Spain and America by the sanguinary catastrophe of Talambo.

“At the same time this Government continued to be actuated towards Spain by a spirit of perpetual hostility, not always concealed, but openly declared upon those occasions when it could in any way thwart Spanish policy in matters having no connexion with the interests of Peru.

“With the establishment and reciprocal admission of Consuls in both States it was thought the first step had been taken towards a good understanding ; but these hopes were frustrated as before, since, under frivolous pretexts, this Republic resolved to withdraw her agents from Spain. An attempt was subsequently made to have recourse to arbitration, only used under extreme circumstances, in order to place Spanish subjects under the protection of the French Chargé d’Affaires at Lima, who would also undertake to urge our just demands. Affording a fresh proof of its loyal and friendly disposition, the Imperial Government granted the required authority to its representative ; but this intervention was rejected by the Government of Lima in the strongest and most peremptory terms, the subjects of Her Catholic Majesty in those countries being thus deprived of all hope of diplomatic support and protection.

“The news of this unjustifiable repulse and of the already mentioned horrible events of Talambo obliged the Spanish Government, having no other available course, to send a diplomatic agent to claim from the Peruvian Government, on behalf of the victims of that and other previous attempts, the justice denied or wrongfully retarded by the tribunals of the Republic.

“I consider it unnecessary to refer to other subsequent injuries and offences, described and commented upon with rigorous equity in the circular dated the 24th of June last, addressed by Señor Pacheco, my predecessor in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to the representatives of this Government abroad. That document merits especial mention, since in it are expressed the views of the Spanish Government upon the events in Peru, as well as the limit and foundation of its moderate demands.

“These were stated with still greater precision in the project of arrangement dated the 25th of June, presented by Señor Pacheco to the Peruvian Government through Señor Moreira, its Consul in Spain, of which I have the honour to append a copy.

“The equity of these proposals, exactly corresponding to the spirit of the above-mentioned circular, has been recognized by all, both in Spain and abroad. In Spain, nevertheless, there have not been wanting some who consider that Her Majesty’s Government has shown itself by no means rigorous in expressing a sense of its injuries, and excessively indulgent in fixing the nature and limits of the satisfaction it demands. There are those also who, ani-



mated by ardent zeal for the national honour, reason that moderation should not alone be kept in view, and that on similar occasions Governments prove themselves in the right by confining themselves within the limits of strict justice, at the same time preparing, as circumstances may require, for equitable arrangement or vigorous resolutions if they become indispensable.

“But with much less reason the proposals of the 24th and 25th of June have been received in a contrary sense by Peru as a fresh and great affront to the dignity of the Republic. In a document signed by Señor Ribero, the Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs, it is affirmed that the attempt of the 24th of April was less grave—that is to say, the sequestration of the Chinchas on the ground of revindication.

“In another circular, of the 25th of August last, the same Minister states that the proposals transmitted through Señor Moreira ‘were a graver offence to Peru than that of the violent usurpation of a portion of territory and the capture of a ship of war.’

“The insult consisted in having offered the restitution of the islands occupied and the conclusion of a treaty, the first base of which would have been the recognition of the independence of Peru, on condition that this Government gave the moderate satisfaction required.

“Her Majesty’s Government has gone to the extreme of moderation and prudence; it explicitly disapproved the proceedings of the chief of the squadron and the diplomatic agent in making use of the expression ‘revindication’ on taking possession of the Chincha islands, not certainly as the fundamental and exclusive motive, but as one of the arguments serving as an apology for their conduct in employing this coercive measure instead of others specified in their instructions.

“The Government has frankly and expressly renounced any views of aggrandizement and any project of reconquest in the continent that some time formed part of the Spanish monarchy. Before the occupation of the Chinchas was known in Europe, it had already protested, on the 24th of May, against any such design as that attributed to it, of recovering forgotten rights; and immediately the news arrived, it reiterated its protests in the clearest and most impressive manner.”

The circular ended by declaring on the part of the Spanish Government,—

“1. That it is still willing to consider as sufficient satisfaction the proposals contained in the scheme of arrangement of the 25th of June last. But these proposals will be considered withdrawn and as null and void in the event of their not being accepted within the time which Her Majesty’s Government may fix, and whereof it will give previous notice to the Government of Peru.

“2. That whatever may be the termination and settlement of future events, it now again disavows any views of reconquest and domination in the territory of the American continent.

“3. In like manner Her Majesty’s Government insisted upon not considering the Chincha Islands as occupied under the title of revindication, but as a coercive measure to obtain from the Peruvian Government just redress for repeated and manifest injuries.

“4. That it is possible it may be obliged to make ulterior arrangements with regard to the exportation of guano and the trade in that article in the Chincha Islands, as much in order to prevent the Peruvian Government from obtaining by this means resources that might be applied to hostile preparations, as to obtain an indemnity for losses incurred or that may arise from the occupation of the islands until their future abandonment when the present differences shall have terminated. But in any case it is contemplated to proceed in such a manner that no prejudice may result to the commerce and agriculture of other nations nor to the foreign creditors of Peru who became such under contract approved by the Peruvian Congress and published prior to the 14th of April last, the date of the occupation, in as far as regards the lien or guarantee that may have been established in their favour upon the proceeds of those securities. These obligations contracted and these securities given, the exact fulfilment of which will be a point of honour with the Spanish Government, it only remains for me to state, in its name, the profound regret which it feels in being compelled to commend the redress of so many offences to the sole means it is possible to employ when, all ways of negotiation being closed, the natural limits of endurance and prudence are reached. Though an independent Government may place in jeopardy the destinies of the land to which our ancestors carried the blessings of civilization and Christianity, at least the countries in past times the theatre of the prowess of Spaniards should not now become the scene of continued and unpunished affronts. The bonds of a domination which no one dreams of or has an interest in re-establishing being for ever broken, may they soon be replaced by the ties of friendship and commerce, the only link that will maintain and strengthen mutual respect for the rights and interests of both nations.”

The differences between the two Governments were adjusted in the early part of the present year, and in February the Chincha Islands were restored to the Peruvian authorities.

The long-delayed step of recognizing the Kingdom of Italy was at last taken by Spain in the course of the present year; and, in a despatch dated June 26, Señor Bermudez Castro, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, announced to the Spanish Ambassador at Rome the determination of his Government. He gave an account of an interview he had with the Apostolic Nuncio at Madrid, and said:—

“I represented that Spain, for the protection of the Holy Father, and from sympathy with his great misfortunes, had deferred during several years the solution of this question, whereby the Spanish Government had been exposed to violent attacks, and become voluntarily isolated from the European concert, in the

hope that an arrangement between the interested parties or an agreement between the European Powers would settle Italian affairs in a definitive manner. This hope has not been realized up to the present, notwithstanding our most ardent desire; and Her Majesty's Government would have all the less reason to persevere in this line of policy since time and the course of events have demonstrated that it is not only sterile, but contrary to the object held in view. Neither the dangers of a course strongly attacked at home nor the inconveniences abroad of a systematic isolation from the great nations of the world, which, with a single and natural exception, have recognized the Kingdom of Italy, were compensated by the certainty, or even the hope, of contributing to the re-establishment of the fallen Sovereigns, or to the complete restoration of the temporal power of the Holy See.

"The base of our policy has been, and necessarily could only be, neutrality; but the continuation of our isolation would injure Spain without being useful either to the Pope or to the princes for whose misfortunes we have displayed such public and constant sympathy. I further said to the Nuncio that the Ministers, as well as all Spaniards, following the example of their Queen, professed for the Holy Father, the visible Head of the Church, the deepest veneration, and felt for his august person the respect and admiration which his misfortunes, his constancy, and his virtues inspire. But while deploring his tribulations, and their entire inability to remedy them, they could not disguise that to serve one day the sacred and permanent interests of the Papacy, it was indispensable that Spain should again establish political relations with the Kingdom of Italy, thus re-entering the European concert and putting herself in a position in which her voice might be heard, and she would be enabled to employ on behalf of the independence and dignity of the Holy See the influence which she might derive from circumstances. In this manner would be reconciled the necessity of terminating a difficult state of things with the interest we feel in all that concerns the visible Head of the Church.

"I added, also, that in treating with Italy, and re-establishing with this new State ancient and indispensable relations, Her Majesty's Government did not approve past events, nor seek to lessen the weight that the protests of the Court of Rome against them might possess.

"Reserving all their rights on the Italian question, but having regard to the interests of Spain, Her Majesty's Government does no more than follow the example of nearly all the Catholic nations of the world. And when the Holy See, in its high wisdom and profound prudence, has deemed it expedient to treat with a representative of King Victor Emmanuel for the settlement of religious questions in the new Kingdom of Italy, it cannot appear strange that public opinion is more resolved in demanding that Spain



should re-establish political relations with this same Kingdom of Italy.

"Finally, I informed the Nuncio that, determined by so many powerful reasons, the Government considered it to be indispensable to take this step, and to immediately commence the necessary negotiations with the Florence Cabinet. . . ."

A rupture took place at the latter end of the year between Spain and the Republic of Chili, which led to a state of war between the two countries. The quarrel arose out of the dispute between Spain and Peru last year, in the course of which the Spanish Government alleged that they had cause to complain of the conduct of the Government of Chili. The grievances are enumerated in a despatch addressed by Señor Castro, the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the representatives of Spain abroad. He said that the misunderstanding between Spain and the Republic of Peru gave occasion to the Chilian Government to manifest towards Spain "a spirit of hostility and malevolence," and then continued:—

"In a short time our grievances were multiplied. The Spanish flag was insulted and degraded by the populace, in the presence and with the consent of the armed force of Chili, who remained the passive witnesses of an act unworthy of a civilized nation. A periodical entitled *El San Martin* made a point of insulting in an outrageous manner the Spanish nation, and even the personification of its institutions. The Government did nothing to prevent this, not even protesting in Parliament or through their organs in the Press against such unworthy conduct, thus establishing by their acquiescence or default of reproof a tacit approbation or complicity in these scandalous events.

"Violating the laws of neutrality and oblivious of the treaties uniting Chili with Spain, the Chilian Government permitted the public enlistment of men for the crew of the Peruvian war steamer 'Lersundi;' animated by an avowedly hostile spirit, they declared coal as contraband of war, with the sole object of preventing the Spanish squadron getting supplies of this material, thus causing risk and damage to our vessels and heavy charge upon our Treasury. And for greater proof of their hostile partiality, French vessels acting against Mexican ports were permitted to take in coal.

"It would be long to enumerate and describe the grievances so wantonly offered by Chili to a friendly and allied nation, against whom it had no cause of offence, and with whom it was united by a solemn treaty of peace and amity.

"This conduct gave rise to a long series of diplomatic negotiations between Her Majesty's Minister and the Chilian Cabinet, the correspondence commencing on the 4th of May, 1864.

"The Chilian Government, however, made no reply, except by evasion and subterfuge, and sometimes by disdain, adding to the

grievance the bitterness of irony and contempt as to the repeated communications of the Spanish Minister stating the series of grievances received, the violation of treaties, and what was due, not only to old friendship and solemn treaties, but to the rules of the simplest neutrality between nations not at war. The Chilian Government similarly treated the demands made in the most moderate and courteous terms, the earnest desire expressed by us to avoid all motive for complaint and coolness between the two nations, the solicitude, in fine, of the Spanish Government to use every conciliatory means that the friendly relations we desired to maintain with the Chilian Republic should not be disturbed."

We need hardly say that all these charges were emphatically denied by the Chilian Republic, but Spain persisted in demanding the following reparation for her real or imaginary wrongs:—

1. A salute of 21 guns to the Spanish flag on the day that it can be returned by a ship of the Spanish squadron.

2. An explicit declaration, constituting a satisfaction for the offences offered to Spain.

3. The faithful and exact fulfilment of the Treaty of Peace.

The Government of Chili refused to submit to these terms, an assent to which would have been an acknowledgment that they were in the wrong. They made active preparations for defence, and sent artillery and troops into Valparaiso. The Spanish Admiral, Pareja, then proclaimed a blockade of the Chilian ports, which was followed by a declaration of war against Spain by the Government of Chili.

We should add that Señor Castro concluded the despatch which we have already quoted, in the following terms:—

"The Queen's Government now reproduces the declarations made on the 7th of August: Spain does not aspire to insensate conquests nor territorial acquisitions in America; she does not desire to exercise any exclusive or preponderant influence among the American republics tracing their origin from the old Spanish monarchy; she respects their independence and self-government, and only desires in exchange what she cannot renounce—which is, that she may receive that respect and consideration mutually due among civilized nations, and that she may be treated with the same respect as is observed towards other foreign nations.

"As regards the Republic of Chili particularly, we do not entertain against that State any sort of hostile or unfavourable prejudice; and as Her Majesty's Government is resolved not to permit that their dignity, causelessly and gratuitously affronted, should remain without the just reparation to which they are entitled, so are they ready, when that object is attained, to renew their former friendly relations and consign to oblivion the differences that now separate the two nations."

Towards the close of the year a military insurrection broke out in Spain, headed by General Prim, who with his disaffected ad-

herents was closely pursued by the Royal troops, and contrived to effect his escape into Portugal. The causes of this *émeute* have not yet been explained, and it seems to have been entirely abortive.

## ITALY.

A general election took place in Italy in the autumn, and with a view to it a circular was addressed to the Prefects of the kingdom by the Minister of the Interior, in which he indicated what were intended to be the principles and policy of the Government. He said:—

“In view of the great questions which accumulate and press upon us on all sides, Italians will be able to regard the future with confidence, if the new deputies are men of incontestable honesty, sound judgment, practical good sense, and inspired by an unshaken faith in the principles of the national public law, being open enemies of any opposing constitutional monarchy, or labouring for the restoration of a detested past; if also they have the sincere intention of interesting themselves in the moral redemption of the masses, in improving the condition of the economic interests of the country, in the solution of the arduous problems of the new life upon which Italy has entered; if they are the supporters of an honest and Liberal Administration, above parties, following a judiciously active policy, but at the same time avoiding both inconsiderate impatience and the resignation produced by discouragement; if, finally, they are resolved to support the realization in the kingdom of the benefits which, in the order of liberty of thought and conscience, are the dearest patrimony of modern societies, and if they are determined not to contest in Parliament for purely local advantages, solely having in view the object of assuring the prosperity and greatness of the common country. . . .

“In order to meet, as in duty bound, the legitimate wishes of public opinion, the principal points to which the Ministry contemplate drawing the attention of the new Chamber so soon as it shall have been constituted, are the following: Faithful to an engagement undertaken with pleasure before the country, and convinced that the conquests of present civilization and the interests of society loudly call for the suppression of religious bodies and the organization of the ecclesiastical property, the Ministry will promptly bring forward a Bill upon this subject. This measure will propose an equitable improvement in the present miserable position of the greater part of the country clergy, and in the repartition of the revenues enjoyed by the suppressed religious bodies: the amount formerly employed for secondary and ele-



mentary instruction will still remain for that purpose. In addition to this, in the communes, where the religious bodies have their principal seat, a part of these revenues will be assigned to works of public utility, and above all to education, to better transform the masses into an intelligent people worthy to live in a free country. . . .

“Within the last few years our Italy has made great progress in the path of liberty and independence, and now occupies an honourable place among civilized nations. But she has had to support immense sacrifices, which would still further augment in the future, if efforts were not made at the proper moment to improve our financial condition, which continues to present an aspect that, if not menacing, is certainly very serious, since the deficit for the year 1866 would be nearly 280,000,000 lire, if we did not promptly enter upon the double task of not arresting the reductions in the expenditure and of progressively augmenting the revenue.”

King Victor Emmanuel opened the Session of the Italian Parliament in Florence, the new capital of Italy, on the 18th of November, with a Royal Speech. He said:—“When I opened Parliament in the city which was the first guardian of Italy’s destinies, I always spoke words of encouragement and hope, and my words have always been followed by prosperous events. It is with the same confidence that I speak to you here, where we shall also be able to vanquish all obstacles for the complete vindication of our autonomy. My Government welcomed, from deference to the Papacy, and for the satisfaction of the religious interests of the majority of the population, the proposals for negotiations, which it broke off when it judged that they might be prejudicial to the rights of the Crown and of the nation. Time and the force of events will solve the questions pending between Italy and the Papacy. We must remain faithful to the Convention of September, which France will completely carry out within the appointed time. Henceforth it will be easy to wait. The situation has much improved.”

The King then alluded to the good relations existing between Italy and the Powers of Europe and North and South America, and spoke of the recognition of Italy by Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony. His Majesty continued:—“The Latin nations, united by fresh ties, are acquiring a community of interests and aspirations with the noble peoples of Germany, thus causing ancient prejudices and rancours to disappear. Italy will take her place among the great States of Europe, co-operating in the triumph of justice and liberty. Liberty has produced favourable results at home; the administration, public works, the laws, and the army have been assimilated, with results which in other countries have required the work of generations. This is a good augury for the future. The Ministry will bring forward Bills to complete the assimilation of the laws of the kingdom, and others relating to the

education of the poorer classes, the improvement of the public credit, and the execution of works of public utility. The principal difficulty is to bring about an equilibrium of the finances without impairing the organization of the military and naval forces. It is painful to me that fresh sacrifices must be asked of my people, but its patriotism will not be found wanting. We shall divide the taxes as equitably as possible, reducing at the same time the public expenses as much as lies in our power. Italy must free herself from the ruins of the past. You will deliberate upon the separation of the Church and State, and the suppression of the religious bodies. Nothing will destroy the national work. A complete change is taking place among the peoples of Europe. The future belongs to God. If fresh combats should become inevitable, the sons of Italy will rally around me. If the force of civilization prevails, the wisdom of the nation will know how to profit by it in order to maintain intact the rights and the honour of Italy. We must advance frankly in the path of the national policy, and we are certain of your concurrence. Confiding in the affection of my people and the valour of the army, I will not fail in the great work which we must transmit complete to our descendants."

### GREECE.

On the 9th of June the King opened the Session of the Greek Chambers and delivered the following speech:—"Gentlemen Deputies,—I have pleasure in seeing around me the representatives of the people, for whom I feel a constantly increasing affection. I have the satisfaction to announce to you that my relations with foreign Powers remain friendly, and that the maintenance of these relations is one of the principal cares of my Government. The consolidation of public order has claimed particular attention from my Government, whose conduct has been guided by the free exercise of the rights established by the nation and by Royalty. I congratulate the Greek people upon having once more demonstrated during the elections that they are animated by the same spirit. Urgent and recognized wants concerning the general administration of the State, the maintenance of public order, the assimilation of the legislation of the Seven Islands, now happily annexed, to that of the rest of Greece, solely within the limits demanded by the Administration of those provinces—all have required to be dealt with immediately by my Government by acts of the Executive power. These acts will be submitted for legislative sanction, and I am persuaded that you will rightly judge both the motive which dictated them and the end they proposed to fulfil.

My Government has considered that the gratitude due to the great guaranteeing Powers and the good of the country itself required the definitive settlement of the question of the loan of 60,000,000 drachmas. This settlement, by introducing order in our finances and rendering the State Budget a reality, will enable us to take seriously into consideration the fulfilment of our other obligations, and thus to establish our foreign credit. Negotiations have been opened with this object, and their result will be communicated to you in due course. By reason of the events of the last few years the State Budget shows a considerable deficit. My Government has attentively studied this important matter, and will lay before you different projects tending to establish a balance between revenue and expenditure. Moreover, as the Assembly has not discussed the Budget of the current year, this Budget, as well as that for next year, will be laid before you during this Session.

"You will also have to examine Bills relative to three questions of the highest importance, since they affect the moral and material welfare of the people: I allude to the partition of the national lands, the alienation of national territory upon which settlements have been made, and the modification of the system of taxation.

"My Government will also lay before you various Bills relating to the conditions to be required for nomination to the public service, to the education of the different classes, and especially to a combination between primary instruction and the functions of the lower clergy, which, while meeting the wants of the latter, will have the effect of improving and completing the moral and religious education of youth. Bills for administrative and municipal organization upon the bases of decentralization, economy, and the good government of the country, and for modifications to be introduced into the organization of the tribunals, for the purpose of making their jurisdiction correspond to the administrative circumscriptions, will also be submitted to you.

"The attention of my Government has been directed to the measures to be adopted for the improvement of the army, which ought to be released as soon as possible from the discharge of duties foreign to its functions. You will have at the same time to discuss a more intelligent organization of the National Guard.

"The increase and the improvement of the means of communication, and the especial requirements of navigation, have already attracted the attention of my Government, which will lay before you different Bills for these objects. Bills relative to the introduction of a system of accounts at the Consulates and to the extension of their judicial functions will be submitted to you.

"I ask your patriotic and enlightened study of all these Bills, which refer to the dearest interests of the nation. I am, further, most firmly convinced that the happiness of the country can only be attained by the sincere application of our fundamental law. While invoking with you the blessing of the Most High, I now declare open the first Session of the first Legislature."



## JAMAICA.

In the month of October this year, an outbreak of the negroes took place in Jamaica, which was followed by deplorable consequences. For some time previously there had been a good deal of discontent amongst the black population, which had been fostered by the harangues of agitators and the addresses of Baptist ministers, who attributed the distress from which the island suffered to the misgovernment of its rulers. That there were grievances which required redress, we are not disposed to deny; but the poverty which had overtaken a great part of the community was chiefly caused by the indolent and thoughtless character of the negro, who abhors labour and thinks idleness the most precious boon of liberty.

The disturbance began on the 7th of October, at Morant Bay, in the district of St. Thomas-in-the-East, about twenty miles east from Kingston, and we will give an account of its commencement in the words of Baron von Ketelhardt, the Custos of the district, who himself fell a victim to the murderous violence of the blacks. He says, in a despatch addressed to the Secretary of the Governor:—

“A number of over 150 men, armed with sticks, and preceded by a band of music, came on Saturday, the 7th October, with the openly expressed intention to rescue a man who was that day to be tried for some offence, if found guilty. Leaving the band of music outside the town, they proceeded to the square in front of the Court-house. A man having been ordered into custody on account of the noise he was making in the Court-house, a rush was made by a body of the men referred to, and the man rescued from the hands of the police, one of whom was left with his finger broken, and several others beaten and ill-treated.

“In consequence of this outrage, warrants were issued yesterday against twenty-eight individuals who had been identified, and the warrants placed to-day in the hands of six policemen and three rural constables for execution.

“On, however, the attempt being made by this force to arrest one Paul Bogle, I am informed by the policemen, who have just returned, that on a signal being given, a body of over 150 men, armed with cutlasses, bayonets, and pikes, appeared, and made prisoners of three of the policemen, on two of whom they placed handcuffs, and only suffered them to leave after having obtained an oath from them that they (the police) would join them.

"The oath was administered by Paul Bogle on a Bible he had at hand."

The next day, to quote the language of the Clerk of the Peace of St. Thomas-in-the-East, "there was a meeting of the vestry at Morant Bay, at which his Honour the Custos and several magistrates were present. About three o'clock in the evening, and while the vestry was still sitting, a band of music was heard, and shortly after, from about 400 to 500 men appeared, armed with sticks, cutlasses, spears, guns, and other deadly weapons. The Custos then appeared on the steps of the Court-house, and entreated the people not to come into the square of the Court-house, and requested to know of what they complained. At this time the volunteers, eighteen in number, were drawn up in front of the Court-house; the mob still persisted in entering the square, and when about fifty yards from the volunteers the Riot Act was read by the Custos, but which had no effect on the rioters. On the rioters coming within ten yards of the volunteers they fired a volley of stones at them; the order was then given to fire, and several of the rioters killed. The fury of the rioters was such that every one had to take refuge inside the Court-house; several shots were fired into the Court-house, the windows were all smashed to pieces, and ultimately fired and burnt down; his Honour the Custos was murdered in the most brutal and savage manner, with other magistrates and gentlemen of the parish."

Almost the whole of the small band of volunteers was cut to pieces, after making a gallant and determined resistance to the attack. After their victory at the Court-house, the negroes dispersed in various directions and committed acts of violence and murder elsewhere, entering plantations, from which the proprietors had to fly for their lives, and causing the utmost terror to the whole white population, which is outnumbered by the black in an immense proportion. Amongst other documents, the following was found, which shows that the outbreak was premeditated, and shows also its character and objects:—

"Mr. Graham and other gentlemen, it is time now for us to help ourselves. Skin for skin, the iron bars is now broken in this parish, the white people send a proclamation to the Governor to make war against us, which we all must put our shoulder to the wheels and pull together. The Maroons sent the proclamation to us to meet them at Hayfield at once without delay, that they will put us in a way how to act. Every one of you must leave your house, takes your guns, who don't have guns take your cutlasses down at once. Come over to 'Stony Gut' that we might march over to meet the Maroons at once without delay. Blow your shells, roal your drums, house to house take out every man, march them down to Stoney Gut, any that you find in the way takes them down, with there arms; war is at us, my black skin war is at hand from to-day to to-morrow. Every black man must turn at once, for the oppression is too great, the white people are now cleaning up they

guns for us, which we must prepare to meet them too. Chear men, chear, in heart we looking for you a part of the night or before daybreak.

“ We are, &c.,

(Signed)

“ PAUL BOGLE,

“ J. G. McLARREN,

“ B. CLARKE,

“ P. CAMERON.”

. Nothing could exceed the brutality with which the infuriated negroes perpetrated their atrocities. At the Court-house the eyes and hearts of some of their victims were torn out, and the women showed themselves even more cruel than the men.

When the news reached Governor Eyre at Spanish Town he immediately caused a body of troops to be sent by sea to Morant Bay, and on the 13th of October, having summoned a council of war at Kingston, he issued a proclamation, which declared that martial law should prevail throughout the whole of the county of Surrey (in which St. Thomas-in-the-East is situated), except in the city and parish of Kingston. The Governor himself proceeded with a man-of-war and a gunboat, the only naval forces at his command, to Port Morant and other places on the coast where disaffection prevailed, and having made all the dispositions in his power to crush the insurrection, returned to Kingston on the 17th of October. What followed we will give in his own words, as his conduct has been the subject of vehement attack in this country, and the matter is at present under inquiry. He says, in his despatch to the Colonial Secretary, dated October 20, 1865:—

“ Having thus discussed and settled with the General all that could be at present accomplished, I met, at nine a.m., the Custos, Mayor, and Magistrates of Kingston, to whom I explained what had been accomplished, and the present state of affairs, and I succeeded in satisfying them that, under existing circumstances, it would not be expedient at present to extend martial law to Kingston.

“ There was one very important point to be decided upon. Throughout my tour in the ‘Wolverine’ and ‘Onyx’ I found every where the most unmistakable evidence that Mr. Geo. Wm. Gordon, a coloured member of the House of Assembly, had not only been mixed up in the matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentation and seditious language, addressed to the ignorant black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion. Mr. Gordon was now in Kingston, and it became necessary to decide what action should be taken with regard to him. Having obtained a deposition on oath that certain seditious printed notices had been sent through the post-office directed in his handwriting to the parties who have been leaders in the rebellion, I at once called upon the Custos to issue a warrant and capture him. For some little time he managed to evade capture; but finding that, sooner or later, it was inevitable, he proceeded to the house of



General O'Connor and there gave himself up. I at once had him placed on board the 'Wolverine' for safe custody and conveyance to Morant Bay.

"Great difference of opinion prevailed in Kingston as to the policy of taking Mr. Gordon. Nearly all coincided in believing him to be the occasion of the rebellion, and that he ought to be taken; but many of the inhabitants were under considerable apprehension that his capture might lead to an immediate outbreak in Kingston itself. I did not share in this feeling. Moreover, considering it right in the abstract, and desirable as a matter of policy, that whilst the poor black men who had been misled were undergoing condign punishment, the chief instigator of all the evils should not go unpunished, I at once took upon myself the responsibility of his capture.

"Having placed Mr. Gordon on board the 'Wolverine,' and having obtained a supply of arms and ammunition from General O'Connor for the use of the Maroons and others, I at once set off again in the 'Wolverine,' about noon on the 17th of October, on my return back to Morant Bay."

The grave difficulty which Mr. Gordon's case presents is the fact that he was arrested at Kingston, where martial law did *not* prevail, to be tried in a district where martial law had been proclaimed. But it should be mentioned that his residence was within the proclaimed district, and if it could be proved that he took an active part in promoting the insurrection at his place of residence within that district, it would probably be held that his accidental presence and consequent arrest out of the limits of the district did not exempt him from the liability to be tried by martial law. An authentic account, however, of his trial and the evidence against him have not yet been received in this country, and we must therefore suspend our opinion as to the legality of his arrest and subsequent conviction.

Gordon was tried on the 20th of October before a military court, consisting of two naval lieutenants and an ensign. He was found guilty of the charges brought against him, which were high treason and sedition, and inciting to murder and rebellion; and he was sentenced to death. He was executed very soon afterwards. While in prison awaiting his doom, he wrote a letter to his wife, which was published in the newspapers, and tended not a little to increase the sympathy that was felt in some quarters for his fate. In it he said:—"I do not deserve this sentence; for I never advised or took part in any insurrection. All I ever did was to recommend the people who complained to seek redress in a legitimate way; and if in this I erred or have been misrepresented I do not think I deserve the extreme sentence. It is, however, the will of my Heavenly Father that I should thus suffer in obeying His command, to relieve the poor and needy, and to protect, as far as I was able, the oppressed. . . . I certainly little expected this. You must do the best you can, and the Lord will help you, and do

not be ashamed of the death your poor husband will have suffered. The judges seemed against me; and from the rigid manner of the court, I could not get in all the explanation I intended. The man Anderson made an unfounded statement, and so did Gordon; but his testimony was different from the deposition. The judges took the former and erased the latter. It seemed that I was to be sacrificed. I know nothing of the man Bogle. I never advised him to the act or acts which have brought me to this end."

Bogle, who seems to have been the chief leader amongst the blacks who actually took part in the scenes of murder and violence, was afterwards tried by a military court, and found guilty, and hanged.

The active and energetic measures adopted by the Governor soon quelled the insurrection. Troops were despatched in different directions in pursuit of the negroes, who fled at their approach; but a considerable loss of life occurred amongst the blacks, many of whom were shot down or hanged when they fell into the hands of the soldiers, if they were unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves. The total number who perished is not yet accurately known. Besides these, many were flogged.

At the opening of the Jamaica Chambers, consisting of a Legislative Council and House of Assembly, the Governor made a long speech, of which the recent insurrection was the absorbing topic. He said:—

"The present is indeed a most critical period in the history of Jamaica, and the Session now being inaugurated will, in all probability, be one of the most important and momentous ever held in this colony. The occurrence of a most wicked and unprovoked rebellion in the eastern division of the island has brought sorrow and suffering upon the whole community. The valuable lives of many noble and gallant men, who were ornaments to the land, have been sacrificed (while peaceably meeting in the discharge of their duties to the State) by a most savage and cruel butchery, only to be paralleled by the atrocities of the Indian Mutiny. A large amount of property has been destroyed, an immense expense has been entailed upon the country, and one of the richest and most productive districts of the colony has been left without resident proprietor or manager to reap the abundant crops now ready for the harvest. Through the hearty co-operation of the civil, military, and naval authorities, and through the promptness and untiring zeal and energy of all, but, above all, through God's blessing upon the means used, this most diabolical conspiracy to murder the white and coloured inhabitants of this colony has been effectually subdued, and the principal actors in, and chief instigators of it, have been brought under the punishment of death, so justly due to their most heinous offences."

He then spoke in complimentary terms of the officers principally engaged in putting down the revolt, and continued:—

"But to each and all of the officers and men of the civil, mili-

tary, and naval services, as well as of the volunteers (who have done their duty nobly), the colony owes a deep and lasting debt of gratitude and thanks: all vied with each other in zealously doing their duty; and that they did it well is evidenced by the successful results attained. Within three days from the first intelligence of the rebellion reaching Kingston, it was headed, checked, and hemmed in; within a week it was fairly crushed, and arrangements made for scouring the entire district, to capture and punish the guilty, who had not yet met their just doom. So wide-spread a rebellion so rapidly and so effectually put down, is not, I believe, to be met with in history, and speaks volumes for the zeal, courage, and energy of those engaged in suppressing it. To this prompt and decisive action I firmly believe we owe it, under God's Providence, that we are able to meet here this day. One moment's hesitation, one single reverse, might have lit the torch which would have blazed in rebellion from one end of the island to the other, and who can say how many of us would have lived to see it extinguished? It is my duty to point out to you that, satisfactory as it is to know that the rebellion in the eastern districts has been crushed out, the entire colony has long been, and still is, on the brink of a volcano which may at any moment burst into fury. There is scarcely a district or a parish in the island where disloyalty, sedition, and murderous intentions are not widely disseminated, and in many instances openly expressed. The misapprehensions and misrepresentations of pseudo-philanthropists in England and in this country, the inflammatory harangues or seditious writings of political demagogues, of evil-minded men of higher position and of better education, and of worthless persons without either character or property to lose; the personal, scurrilous, vindictive, and disloyal writings of a licentious and unscrupulous Press, and the misdirected efforts and misguided counsel of certain ministers of religion—sadly so mis-called, if the Saviour's example and teaching is to be the standard—have led to their natural, their necessary, their inevitable result among an ignorant, excitable, and uncivilized population—rebellion, arson, murder. These are hard and harsh words, gentlemen, but they are true; and this is no time to indulge in selected sentences or polished phraseology. A mighty danger threatens the land, and in order to concert measures to avert it and prevent, so far as human wisdom can, any future recurrence of a similar state of things, we must examine boldly, deeply, and unflinchingly into the causes which have led to this danger. I know of no general grievance or wrong under which the negroes of this colony labour. Individual cases of hardship or injustice must arise in every community, but, as a whole, the peasantry of Jamaica have nothing to complain of. They are less taxed, can live more easily and cheaply, and are less under an obligation to work for subsistence than any peasantry in the world. The same laws as to the imposition of taxes, the administration of justice, and the en-



joyment of political rights, apply to them and to the white and coloured inhabitants alike. They ought to be better off, more comfortable, and more independent than the labourers of any other country. If it is not so, it is due to their own indolence, improvidence, and vice, acted upon by the absence of good example and of civilizing influences in many districts, and by the evil teaching and evil agencies to which I have already referred in all. It is a remarkable fact, too, that many of the principal rebels in the late outbreak have been persons well off and well to do in the world—possessing lands, cottages, furniture, horses or mules, or other property, and with an education above the average of the peasantry. It is necessary to bring these facts before you, in order to convince you how widely spread and how deeply rooted the spirit of disaffection is, how daring and determined the intention has been and still is to make Jamaica a second Hayti, and how imperative it is upon you, gentlemen, to take such measures as, under God's blessing, may avert such a calamity. These measures may be summed up in a few words—create a strong Government, and then, under a firm hand to guide and direct, much may be accomplished. In order to obtain a strong Government there is but one course open to you—that of abolishing the existing form of Constitution (compensating the officers whose offices are abolished) and establishing one better adapted to the present state and requirements of the colony—one in which union, co-operation, consistency, and promptness of action may, as far as practicable, be secured. I invite you, then, gentlemen, to make a great and generous sacrifice for the sake of your country, and, in immolating on the altar of patriotism the two branches of the Legislature, of which you yourselves are the constituent parts, to hand down to posterity a noble example of self-denial and heroism.”

To this speech the Legislative Council, the next day, presented the following reply:—

“May it please your Excellency,—We, the Legislative Council of Jamaica, thank your Excellency for the speech with which you have opened the present Session, one of the most important to the interest of the colony, after the sad and solemn events to which your Excellency alludes. While joining your Excellency in acknowledging the zealous and able services of his Excellency the General commanding, the senior naval officer, and of the military and naval forces, as well as of the volunteers, we desire also to record our grateful thanks to your Excellency for the energy, firmness, and wisdom with which you have carried the island through this momentous crisis. We are well aware that the slightest hesitation on your part would have been fraught with the most imminent danger to the lives of the loyal inhabitants throughout the island, and we are well assured that all our loyal fellow colonists unite in the expression of gratitude which it is now our privilege to convey to you. We have pleasure in bearing testimony with your Excellency to the fidelity and loyalty of the

Maroons, and their prompt and useful services under Colonel Fyfe. We certainly concur in the painful statement your Excellency has made—that there is scarcely a district throughout the island where disloyalty, sedition, and murderous intentions are not widely disseminated and openly expressed. We agree with your Excellency as to the causes which have created the danger that now threatens the country, and will heartily co-operate with you in endeavouring to remedy this state of affairs. Your Excellency may confidently rely upon our giving our best consideration to any measure tending to establish that strong and efficient Government so necessary for the well-being of this community. And we trust that the Almighty may guide our deliberations, and enable us, in co-operation with your Excellency and the other branch of the Legislature, to secure the future safety, peace, and prosperity of the colony.”

And the address of the House of Assembly echoed the same sentiments in still more emphatic language:—

“May it please your Excellency,—We, Her Majesty’s loyal subjects the Assembly of Jamaica, thank your Excellency for your speech at the opening of the Session. We assure your Excellency that the advice and co-operation which you seek of the Legislature, in a crisis consummated by rebellion, and which threatens by a most diabolical conspiracy the lives of the white and coloured inhabitants of the colony, will not, on the part of the Assembly, be withheld. We most readily acknowledge that while the thanks of the island are due to his Excellency Major-General O’Connor, for the readiness and promptitude with which he met the occurrences of the outbreak, and no less to all the other civil, naval, and military authorities engaged in its suppression, as well as to the Maroons for their fidelity and loyalty, the gratitude of the island is chiefly due to the unexampled skill, energy, and self-devotion which characterized all your Excellency’s measures. We desire to express our entire concurrence in your Excellency’s statement that to the misapprehension and misrepresentations of pseudo-philanthropists in England and this country, to the inflammatory harangues and seditious meetings of political demagogues, to the personal, scurrilous, vindictive, and disloyal writings of a licentious and unscrupulous Press, and to the misdirected efforts and misguided counsel of certain miscalled ministers of religion, is to be attributed the present disorganization of the colony, resulting in rebellion, arson, and murder. We cordially agree with your Excellency that this great wickedness cannot be attributed to any just grievances under which it can be said that the peasantry suffer in this country. We entirely coincide with your Excellency in the opinion that they have advantages which the peasantry of no other country enjoy; and that it is to the causes to which your Excellency alludes that they have failed to reap the benefits of their position. Deeply impressed with the full conviction that nothing but the existence of a strong

Government can prevent this island from lapsing into the condition of a second Hayti, we shall carefully take into consideration any measures recommended by your Excellency. We feel ourselves bound in this emergency to aid, so far as the resources of the country will admit, the Government in all steps which may be necessary for ensuring the security of the colony and the protection of life and property."

A Bill was introduced for abolishing the Constitution and substituting a new one, of which the chief features were that there should be only one Chamber, composed partly of nominees of the Crown and partly of elected members. A Bill was also proposed to regulate Places of Public Worship, full of the most stringent provisions which excited warm opposition on the part of the Dissenters.

Ultimately, however, a Bill was passed, simply abolishing the Constitution of Jamaica, and giving the Crown power to substitute whatever kind of Government it thought fit.

So great was the excitement amongst some classes in this country when the news of these deplorable events reached England, and so persevering was the agitation which they kept up, that the Russell Ministry determined to issue a Commission of Inquiry, and in the mean time suspend Governor Eyre by sending out, as temporary Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Storks, G.C.B., who was hastily summoned from Malta for the purpose. He sailed for Jamaica before the end of the year, and was followed by the Commissioners, Mr. Russell Gurney, Q.C., M.P., the Recorder of London, and Mr. Maule, the Recorder of Leeds, who, with Sir Henry Storks, are to investigate and report on the facts connected with the late outbreak. Until those facts are collected and presented in a trustworthy form, it is impossible to come to a fair and just opinion in a case where on the one side it is alleged that the severest measures were imperatively necessary to save the colony from destruction, and on the other it is clamorously asserted that a riot was mistaken for a revolt, and that the course pursued by the authorities implicates them in the crime of murder.



## CHAPTER IV.

## AMERICA.

March of General Sherman from Savannah to Goldsboro'—Capture of Fort Fisher by the Federals and abandonment of Wilmington by the Confederates—General Fast proclaimed by President Davis—Urgent call by General Lee for delivery of arms—Disasters of the Confederates—Message by President Davis to the Confederate Congress—Surrender of Richmond—Terms of Surrender of the Confederate army arranged between Generals Grant and Lee—Inauguration of Mr. Lincoln as President, the second time, of the United States—His Address—Speech of Mr. Johnson, the Vice-President—Assassination of President Lincoln—Capture and death of the assassin—Mr. Johnson takes the oaths of office as President—His reply to an Address—Proclamation charging President Davis with being privy to the assassination of President Lincoln—His capture and imprisonment—Execution of persons implicated in the assassination.

THE war which has so long raged with such devastating fury in America came this year to a sudden and unexpected end. The superior power and resources of the North, backed by the indomitable perseverance of its people, triumphed over the South, which, isolated from the rest of the world by a rigorous blockade, and deprived of all external support, could no longer support the unequal conflict, and was forced to succumb after one of the most heroic struggles for independence ever recorded in history. Drained of men, money, and munitions of war, and subject to privations of every kind, it could not keep head against the increasing armies which the North was able to pour into the field; and at last it was girdled by such a wall of fire that it was obliged to yield, to escape utter destruction.

In our last volume we gave an account of the victorious march of General Sherman from Atlanta, and his capture of Savannah, and we now propose to follow his conquering army on its northern expedition, which did more than any thing else to complete the discomfiture of the Confederates.

General Sherman remained a month at Savannah, preparing for his northward march. The left wing of his army under General Slocum, with the cavalry under General Kilpatrick, were ordered to rendezvous near Robertsville, South Carolina; but as the heavy rains had swollen the river, they did not succeed in crossing the Savannah until the first week in February. In the mean time, General Grant sent a division to garrison Savannah, and Generals Terry and Palmer operated on the coast of North Carolina, to prepare the way for Sherman's approach. On the 19th of January all the preparations were complete, and the order to march was given. General Sherman intended to advance to

Goldsboro', North Carolina, where he hoped to arrive in the middle of March. He himself embarked from Savannah for Hilton Head, off Charleston, where he held a conference with Admiral Dahlgren, and then proceeded to Beaufort and Pocotaligo, where Major-General Blair was encamped at the head of a corps of the Federal army. He says, in a despatch giving an account of his campaign:—"On the 25th, a demonstration was made against the Combahee Ferry and Railroad Bridge across the Salkahatchie, merely to amuse the enemy, who had evidently adopted that river as his defensive line against our supposed *object*, the city of Charleston. I reconnoitred the line in person, and saw that the heavy rains had swollen the river, so that water stood in the swamps for a breadth of more than a mile at a depth of from one to twenty feet. Not having the remotest intention of approaching Charleston, a comparatively small force was able, by seeming preparations to cross over, to keep in their front a considerable force of the enemy disposed to contest our advance on Charleston."

He continues:—"The 17th and 15th corps drew out of camp on the 31st of January, but the real march began on the 1st of February. All the roads northwards had for weeks been held by Wheeler's cavalry, who had, by details of negro labourers, felled trees, burned bridges, and made obstructions to impede our march. But so well organized were our pioneer battalions, and so strong and intelligent our men, that obstructions seemed only to quicken their progress. Felled trees were removed and bridges rebuilt by the heads of columns before the rear could be closed up."

The Confederates held the line of the Salkahatchie in force, but their positions were forced, and they fell back behind the Edisto at Branchville, where they burnt two bridges. On the part of the Federals, General Sherman says, "all hands were at once set to work to destroy railroad track" from the Edisto by way of Bamberg and Blackville as far as Windsor. By the 11th of February his army was on the railway all the way from Midway to Johnson's Station, whereby the Confederate forces were divided between Branchville and Charleston on the one side, and Aiken and Augusta on the other. He then began his movement on Orangeburg, and the next day found the enemy entrenched in front of Orangeburg Bridge, but they were driven across the bridge and closely followed. Before the close of the day the Federals were in Orangeburg. General Blair was then ordered to destroy the railway as far as Lewisville and push the enemy across the Congaree, "while," says General Sherman, "without wasting time or labour on Branchville or Charleston, which I knew the enemy could no longer hold, I turned all the columns straight on Columbia."

Early in the morning of the 16th of February the leading column reached the bank of the Congaree, opposite Columbia, but too late to save the bridge which crossed the river at that point, and which was burnt by the Confederates. A few shots were fired

by the Federals, but no white flag was shown, or other sign of surrender by the occupants of Columbia. A flying bridge was then thrown across Broad River, about three miles above the town, and a portion of the Federal army having crossed that river, a pontoon bridge was laid across the Congaree, when the news arrived that Columbia had surrendered, and General Sherman entered the town. He says:—"I was the first to cross the pontoon bridge, and, in company with General Howard, rode into the city. The day was clear, but a perfect tempest of wind was raging. The brigade of Colonel Stone was already in the city, and was properly posted. Citizens and soldiers were in the streets, and general good order prevailed. General Wade Hampton, who commanded the Confederate rearguard of cavalry, had, in anticipation of our capture of Columbia, ordered that all cotton, public and private, should be moved into the streets and fired, to prevent our making use of it. Bales were piled every where; the rope and bagging cut, and tufts of cotton were blown about in the wind, lodged in the trees and against houses, so as to resemble a snow-storm. Some of these piles of cotton were burning, especially one in the very heart of the city, near the Court-house, but the fire was partially subdued by the labour of our soldiers."

The public buildings were set on fire by the Federals, but, according to General Sherman's statement, before this was done, the fires that General Hampton had kindled took hold of the surrounding buildings; and the result was a great destruction of private houses and other property. General Sherman says:—"I disclaim on the part of my army any agency in this fire, but on the contrary claim that we saved what of Columbia remains unconsumed. And without hesitation I charge General Wade Hampton with having burned his own city of Columbia, not with a malicious intent, or as the manifestation of a silly 'Roman stoicism,' but from folly and want of sense in filling it with lint, cotton, and tinder."

The left wing of the Federals, under General Slocum, reached Winnsboro' on the 21st of February, and was followed by the cavalry under General Kilpatrick. The latter then moved upon Lancaster, with orders to keep up the delusion that a general march was intended upon Charlotte, North Carolina, to which place General Beauregard and all the Confederate cavalry had retreated from Columbia. We do not think it necessary to give a detail of all the various movements that now took place, which, without the aid of a minutely-marked map, would only confuse the reader. We need only mention that Sherman's forces marched onward, through Chesterfield and Cheraw, upon Fayetteville, which was reached on the 11th of March, and where a sharp contest took place between General Hampton and General Kilpatrick, which resulted in the defeat of the Confederates.

Three days were passed at Fayetteville, where a great destruction of property took place. General Sherman says:—"I was then aware that the fragments that had left Columbia under Beaure-



gard had been reinforced by Cheatham's corps from the West and the garrison of Augusta, and that ample time had been given to remove them to my front and flank about Raleigh. Hardee had also succeeded in getting across Cape Fear River ahead of me, and could therefore complete the junction with the other armies of Johnston and Hoke in North Carolina. And the whole, under the command of the skilful and experienced Joe Johnston, made up an army superior to me in cavalry, and formidable enough in artillery and infantry to justify me in extreme caution in making the last step necessary to complete the march I had undertaken."

On the 15th of March the Federal columns resumed their march. The enemy were discovered next morning with artillery, infantry, and cavalry in an entrenched position in front of the point where the road branches off towards Goldsboro' through Bentonville. An engagement took place, and the Confederates were again defeated. They retreated during the night in the direction of Smithfield. Here General Johnston awaited the Federals, and the two hostile forces came into collision on the 18th of March, near Bentonville, when General Slocum's leading column was attacked by them and sustained a temporary check. General Sherman says:—"The left wing received six distinct assaults by the combined forces of Hoke, Hardee, and Cheatham, under the immediate command of General Johnston himself, without giving an inch of ground, and doing good execution on the enemy's ranks, especially with our artillery, the enemy having little or none. Johnston had moved by night from Smithfield with great rapidity and without unnecessary wheels, intending to overwhelm my left flank before it could be relieved by its co-operating columns. But he 'reckoned without his host.' I had expected just such a movement all the way from Fayetteville, and was prepared for it."

Sherman made his dispositions, and in the afternoon of the 20th, he says:—"A complete and strong line of battle confronted the enemy in his entrenched position, and General Johnston, instead of catching us in detail, was on the defensive, with Mill Creek and a single bridge to his rear." Next day a general attack was commenced by the Federals, and, to use General Sherman's own expression, "quite a noisy battle ensued;" the result of which was that the Confederates were obliged to retreat upon Smithfield, and the Federals remained in possession of the field.

On the same day the Federal columns entered Goldsboro', "the real 'objective,'" says General Sherman, "with its two railroads back to the seaports of Wilmington and Beaufort, North Carolina." General Sherman here left his army under the command of General Schofield and proceeded alone to General Grant's head quarters, which he reached on the 27th of March, "and soon learned the general state of the military world, from which he had been in a great measure cut off since January." He adds:—"Of course the abandonment to us by the enemy of the whole sea coast, from Savannah to Newbern, North Carolina, with its forts, dockyards,

gunboats, &c., was a necessary incident to our occupation and destruction of the inland routes of travel and supply; but the real object of this march was to place this army in a position easy of supply whence it could take an appropriate part in the spring and summer campaign of 1865. This was completely accomplished on the 21st of March by the junction of the three armies and occupation of Goldsboro'."

We shall return hereafter to the further movements of Sherman's army, and in the mean time give an account of what took place elsewhere while he was marching towards Richmond.

In the middle of January, Fort Fisher, which commanded the entrance of Cape Fear River, on which Wilmington is situated, the port where blockade-running had been successful to a large extent, was captured by the Federal squadron under the command of Admiral Porter. This sealed the fate of Wilmington itself, which was evacuated on the 22nd of February. In Fort Anderson 700 prisoners were taken and 30 guns. A sham vessel, built like a monitor, but of canvas, had been sent up the river with the tide to explode the torpedoes. The garrison was followed by General Terry for some distance, but effected their escape.

On the 25th of January, President Davis issued a proclamation for a general fast. In it he frankly admitted the reverses which had befallen the Confederate arms, and said:—"It is our solemn duty at all times, and more especially in a season of public trials and adversity, to acknowledge our dependence on His mercy and to bow in humble submission before His footstool, confessing our manifold sins, and supplicating His gracious pardon, imploring His divine help, and devoutly rendering thanks for the many and great blessings which He has vouchsafed to us. Let the hearts of our people turn contentedly and trustfully unto God. Let us recognize in His chastening hand the correction of a Father, and submissively pray that the trials and sufferings which have so long borne heavily upon us may be turned away by His merciful love; that His sustaining grace be given to our people, and His divine wisdom imparted to our rulers; that the Lord of Hosts will be with our armies, and fight for us against our enemies, and that He will graciously take our cause into His own hand, and mercifully establish for us a lasting, just, and honourable peace and independence. And let us not forget to render unto His holy name the thanks and praise which are so justly due for His great goodness, and for the many mercies which he has extended to us amid the trials and sufferings of a protracted and bloody war."

The straits to which the Confederates were reduced for want of a proper supply of arms, were sufficiently shown by the urgent call made by General Lee on the 25th of January for the delivery of small arms by civilians for the use of the army. He said:—

"To arm and equip an additional force of cavalry, there is need of carbines, revolvers, pistols, saddles, and other accoutrements of mounted men. Arms and equipments of the kind desired are

believed to be held by citizens in sufficient numbers to supply our wants. Many keep them as trophies, and some with the expectation of using them in their own defence. But it should be remembered that arms are now required for use, and that they cannot be made so effectual for the defence of the country in any way as in the hands of organized troops. They are needed to enable our cavalry to cope with the well-armed and equipped cavalry of the enemy, not only in the general service, but in resisting those predatory expeditions which have inflicted so much loss upon the people of the interior.

“To the patriotic I need make no other appeal than the wants of the service, but I beg to remind those who are reluctant to part with the arms and equipments in their possession, that by keeping them they diminish the ability of the army to defend their property, without themselves deriving any benefit from them. I therefore urge all persons not in the service to deliver promptly to some of the officers designated below such arms and equipments, especially those suitable for cavalry, as they may have, and to report to those officers the names of such persons as neglect to surrender those in their possession.

“Every citizen who prevents a carbine or pistol from remaining unused will render a service to his country. Those who think to retain arms for their defence should remember, that if the army cannot defend them, the arms will be of little use. . . .”

On the 17th of February, President Lincoln issued a proclamation convening an Extraordinary Session of the Senate of the United States at Washington on the 4th of March.

Disaster after disaster to the Confederate arms now followed in quick succession. On the night of the 17th of February, Charleston, which had sustained a prolonged siege, with apparently every prospect of success, was abandoned by the Confederates; a large quantity of cotton having been first set on fire and burnt.

The evacuation was not discovered by the Federals until the morning of the 18th, when a force from James Island took possession and occupied the forts. Admiral Dahlgren and General Gilmore, on board of gunboats, steamed up the harbour and landed at the wharf. They found nobody in the city but negroes and the poorer part of the population, all the richer citizens having left a fortnight or three weeks previously, in anticipation of the evacuation. Two hundred cannon and a quantity of ammunition fell into the hands of the Federals. The Confederate garrison moved off in a northerly direction.

In a message to the Confederate Congress, on the 15th of March, President Davis said:—“Events have so materially affected the state of the country as to evince the necessity of further and more energetic legislation than that of November last. The country is environed with perils which it is our duty to calmly contemplate, and thus alone can the measures necessary to avert the threatened calamity be wisely devised and efficiently enforced. Richmond is



now threatened and in greater danger than heretofore during the war. Though the country is in danger, calamities will be averted, and triumph secured by fortitude, courage, constancy, and endurance."

After alluding to the failures of an attempt to establish peace by means of Commissioners deputed from the North and South, the President concluded thus:—"No choice remains, then, but to continue the contest to its final issue. The people of the Confederacy can have but little love for him who supposes it possible they would ever consent to purchase at the cost of degradation and slavery permission to live in a country garrisoned by their own negroes, and governed by officers sent by the conqueror to rule over them."

In the mean time severe fighting was going on in the vicinity of Richmond, and the losses on both sides were heavy. At last Richmond surrendered to the Federal army under General Grant on the 3rd of April. It was evacuated by the Confederate troops during the preceding night, and the Federals entered the city the next morning without any opposition. Grant's forces immediately marched in pursuit of General Lee, to whom, on the 7th of April, the Federal General addressed the following note:—"General,—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia."

This led to correspondence as to the terms of the proposed surrender, and ultimately the following were agreed upon as expressed in a letter from General Grant to General Lee, dated "Appomattox Court-house, April 9."—"Together with rolls of all the officers and men, to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be retained by such officers as you may designate, the officers to give their individual paroles not to take arms against the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be packed and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside."

The inauguration of Mr. Lincoln as the newly-elected President of the United States took place at Washington on the 4th of March. He delivered on the occasion the following address:—"Fellow-Countrymen,—At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than at first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of the course

to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper; now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have constantly been called forth concerning every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

“The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself. It is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With a high hope for the future, no prediction in that regard is ventured. On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it. All sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, the insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide the effects by negotiating. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let it perish, and war came. One-eighth of the whole population were coloured slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but located in the Southern part. These slaves contributed a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew the interest would somehow cause war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest, was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected the magnitude or duration which it has already attained; neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astonishing. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God. Each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God’s assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men’s faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayer of both should not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully, for the Almighty has His own purposes. ‘Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come; but woe unto that man by whom the offence cometh.’ If we shall suppose American slavery one of those offences which in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as was due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern that there is any departure from those divine attributes which believers in the living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away; yet if it be God’s will that it continue until the wealth piled by bondsmen by 250 years’ unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3000 years ago, so still it must be said that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous

altogether, with malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right. As God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for those who shall have borne the battle, and for their widows and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

A very painful scene occurred at the inauguration. Mr. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, had been elected Vice-President, and when he rose to address the crowd in the Senate-house, it was obvious that he was intoxicated. He spoke in a manner which could only be possible for a man in such a position whose senses had deserted him. He said, according to the report of his speech transmitted to Europe, and which we copy from the "Times" newspaper:—"I am a-going for to tell you—here—to-day—yes, I am a-going for to tell you all that I am a plebeian. I glory in it. I am a plebeian. The people—yes, the people of the United States, the great people—have made me what I am; and I am a-going for to tell you here to-day—yes, to-day, in this place—that the people are every thing. We owe all to them. If it be not too presumptuous, I will tell the foreign Ministers a-sittin' there that I am one of the people. I will say to senators and others before me, I will say to the Supreme Court which sits before me, that you all get your power and place from the people. And, Mr. Chase," he said, suddenly addressing the Chief Justice by name, "your position depends upon the people." Turning to the other side of the House, where sat Mr. Seward and the other Ministers, he severally addressed them as he had addressed Mr. Chase. "And I will say to *you*, Mr. Secretary Seward, and to *you*, Mr. Secretary Stanton, and to *you*, Mr. Secretary ——" Here he hesitated for a name, and bent down and asked Mr. Hamlin if he knew who was Secretary of the Navy. Having been informed, he continued in the same loud tone, "And to *you*, Mr. Secretary Welles, *you* all of *you* derive your power from the people."

In justice, however, to Mr. Johnson, we believe we have good authority for saying that so far from being a man addicted to drink he is very abstemious, and that the cause of his deplorable appearance at so critical a moment was that, feeling unwell, he had taken some strong spirit which unfortunately affected his head. We need not say how unfavourable was the impression made in Europe by the tidings of such a display, and men shuddered at the idea of the destinies of America being committed to the care of one who seemed to be an illiterate drunkard, in the possible event of his becoming President of the United States. Little at that time was it thought that such an event was on the very eve of accomplishment, and that President Lincoln was doomed to die by the hand of an assassin.

And yet the blow was imminent. On the night of the 14th of April, President Lincoln was shot in the theatre at Washington,



and died early the next morning. We cannot do better than quote the narrative of this horrible crime as given by Secretary Stanton, in a despatch addressed by him to Mr. Adams, the American Minister in London:—

“Sir,—It has become my distressing duty to announce to you that last night his Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, was assassinated, about the hour of half-past ten o'clock, in his private box at Ford's Theatre, in the city. The President about eight o'clock accompanied Mrs. Lincoln to the theatre. Another lady and gentleman were with them in the box. About half-past ten, during a pause in the performance, the assassin entered the box, the door of which was unguarded, hastily approached the President from behind, and discharged a pistol at his head. The bullet entered the back of his head and penetrated nearly through. The assassin then leaped from the box upon the stage, brandishing a large knife or dagger, and exclaiming, ‘*Sic semper tyrannis!*’ and escaped in the rear of the theatre. Immediately upon the discharge, the President fell to the floor insensible, and continued in that state until twenty minutes past seven o'clock this morning, when he breathed his last. About the same time the murder was being committed at the theatre, another assassin presented himself at the door of Mr. Seward's residence, gained admission by representing he had a prescription from Mr. Seward's physician which he was directed to see administered, and hurried up to the third story chamber, where Mr. Seward was lying. He here discovered Mr. Frederick Seward, struck him over the head, inflicting several wounds, and fracturing the skull in two places, inflicting, it is feared, mortal wounds. He then rushed into the room where Mr. Seward was in bed, attended by a young daughter and a male nurse. The male attendant was stabbed through the lungs, and it is believed will die. The assassin then struck Mr. Seward with a knife or dagger twice in the throat and twice in the face, inflicting terrible wounds. By this time Major Seward, eldest son of the Secretary, and another attendant reached the room, and rushed to the rescue of the Secretary; they were also wounded in the conflict, and the assassin escaped. No artery or important blood-vessel was severed by any of the wounds inflicted upon him, but he was for a long time insensible from the loss of blood. Some hope of his possible recovery is entertained. Immediately upon the death of the President, notice was given to Vice-President Johnson, who happened to be in the city, and upon whom the office of President now devolves. He will take the office and assume the functions of President to-day. The murderer of the President has been discovered, and evidence obtained that these horrible crimes were committed in execution of a conspiracy deliberately planned and set on foot by rebels under pretence of avenging the South and aiding the rebel cause; but it is hoped that the immediate perpetrators will be caught. The feeling occasioned by these atrocious crimes is so great, sudden, and over-

whelming that I cannot at present do more than communicate them to you. At the earliest moment yesterday, the late President called a Cabinet meeting, at which General Grant was present. He was more cheerful and happy than I had ever seen him, rejoiced at the near prospect of firm and durable peace at home and abroad, manifested in a marked degree the kindness and humanity of his disposition, and the tender and forgiving spirit that so eminently distinguished him. Public notice had been given that he and General Grant would be present at the theatre, and the opportunity of adding the Lieutenant-General to the number of victims to be murdered was no doubt seized for the fitting occasion of executing the plans that appear to have been in preparation for some weeks, but General Grant was compelled to be absent, and thus escaped the designs upon him. It is needless for me to say any thing in regard of the influence which this atrocious murder of the President may exercise upon the affairs of this country; but I will only add that, horrible as are the atrocities that have been resorted to by the enemies of the country, they are not likely in any degree to impair the public spirit or postpone the complete and final overthrow of the rebellion. In profound grief for the events which it has become my duty to communicate to you, I have the honour to be,

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“EDWIN M. STANTON.”

It will be seen from this account, that Secretary Seward, who was so severely wounded, was at the time confined to his bed. This was in consequence of an accident which had happened to him on the 5th of April, when he was thrown from his carriage and broke his arm, receiving at the same time some serious wounds in the face. The name of the assassin who had taken the life of the President, was J. Wilkes Booth, who had formerly been an actor. That of the assassin who had attempted the life of Secretary Seward, was Payne.

A hot pursuit after the criminals instantly commenced, and a body of cavalry came up with them at a place called Bowling Green, in Caroline county, in Virginia, where they had taken refuge in a barn. The barn was surrounded and the fugitives were called upon to surrender. Wilkes was suffering from lameness, having, as he leaped from the President's box to the ground, severely sprained his ankle. He tried to parley with his pursuers, and said to the commanding officer:—“Captain, give me a chance. Draw off your men and I will fight them singly. I could have killed you six times to-night, but I believe you to be a brave man, and would not murder you. Give a lame man a show.”

The barn was now set on fire, and Wilkes was seen with a loaded carbine in his hand in the middle of the barn. A soldier fired upon him and he fell mortally wounded. His last words were, “Tell mother I died for my country, I thought I did for the

best;" and raising his hands he added, "useless—useless." His companion, a man named Harrold, was taken prisoner, and Atzeroth, another of his accomplices, had previously been captured. A letter was afterwards found, which had been written by Wilkes in the previous January, and which he had sealed up in an envelope and left with his brother-in-law, stating that it contained some oil stocks and bonds. This letter, which was written in a rhapsodical style, showed that he had long meditated the crime. In it he said:—

"I love peace more than life. Have loved the Union beyond expression. For four years have I waited, hoped, and prayed for the dark clouds to break, and for a restoration of our former sunshine. To wait longer would be a crime. All hope for peace is dead. My prayers have proved as idle as my hopes. God's will be done. I go to see and share the bitter end.

"I have ever held the South were right. The very nomination of Abraham Lincoln four years ago, spoke plainly war—war upon Southern rights and institutions. His election proved it. 'Await an overt act.' Yes, till you are bound and plundered. What folly! The South were wise. Who thinks of argument or patience when the finger of his enemy presses on the trigger? In a foreign war, I too could say, 'Country, right wrong.' But in a struggle such as ours (where the brother tries to pierce the brother's heart), for God's sake choose the right. When a country like this spurns justice from her side, she forfeits the allegiance of every honest freeman, and should leave him untrammelled by any fealty soever to act as his conscience may approve. . . . Alas! poor country, is she to meet her threatened doom? Four years ago I would have given a thousand lives to see her remain as I had always known her—powerful and unbroken. And even now I would hold my life as nought to see her what she was. O! my friends, if the fearful scenes of the past four years never had been enacted, or if what has been had been but a frightful dream from which we could now awake, with what overflowing hearts could we bless our God and pray for His continued favour! How I have loved the old flag can never now be known. A few years since, and the entire world could boast of none so pure and spotless. But I have of late been seeing and hearing of the bloody deeds of which she has been made the emblem, and would shudder to think how changed she had grown. Oh! how I have longed to see her break from the mist of blood and death that circles round her folds, spoiling her beauty and tarnishing her honour. But no; day by day has she been dragged deeper and deeper into cruelty and oppression, till now (in my eyes) her once bright red stripes look like bloody gashes on the face of heaven. I look now upon my early admiration of her glories as a dream. My love (as things stand to-day) is for the South alone. Nor do I deem it a dishonour in attempting to make for her a prisoner of this man, to whom she owes so much misery. If success attend me, I go



penniless to her side. They say she has found that 'last ditch' which the North has so long derided and been endeavouring to force her in, forgetting they are our brothers and that it is impolitic to goad an enemy to madness. Should I reach her in safety and find it true, I will proudly beg permission to triumph or die in that same 'ditch' by her side."

Mr. Andrew Johnson now became legally the President of the United States, and when he took the oath of office he said, "The duties are mine; I will perform them, trusting in God." An address was presented to him by a deputation from Pennsylvania, and in his reply he made use of expressions which seemed to indicate a determination on his part to inflict on the Confederate leaders the penalties of treason. He said:—

"The words you have spoken are most fully and cordially responded to by me. I, too, think the time has arrived when the people of this nation should understand that treason is a crime. When we turn to the catalogue of crime, we find that most of those contained in it are understood, but the crime of treason has neither been generally understood nor generally appreciated as I think it should be. . . . To the unconscious, deceived, conscripted—in short, to the great mass of the misled—I would say, 'Mercy, clemency, reconciliation, and the restoration of their Government.' To those who have deceived—to the conscious, influential traitor, who attempted to destroy the life of a nation, I would say, 'On you be inflicted the severest penalties of your crime.' I fully understand how easy it is to get up an impression in regard to the exercise of mercy; and if I know myself and my own heart, there is in it as great a disposition to mercy as can be manifested on the part of any other individual. But mercy without justice is a crime. In the exercise of mercy there should be deliberate consideration and a profound understanding of the case; and I am not prepared to say but what it should often be transferred to a higher court—a court where mercy and justice can best be united. . . . Institutions of any kind must be subordinate to the Government or the Government cannot stand. I do not care whether it be North or South. A Government based upon popular judgment must be paramount to all institutions that spring up under that Government, and if when they attempt to control the Government, the Government does not put them down, they will put it down. Hence the main portion of my efforts have been devoted to the opposition of them. Hence I have ever opposed aristocracy—opposed it in any shape. But there is a kind of aristocracy that has always, that always will command my respect and approbation—the aristocracy of talent, the aristocracy of virtue, the aristocracy of merit, or an aristocracy resting upon worth, the aristocracy of labour resting upon honest industry, developing the industrial resources of the country—this commands my respect, my support in life. In regard to my future course in connexion with this rebellion, nothing that I can say would be

worth listening to. If my past is not sufficient guarantee, I can only add that I have never knowingly deceived the people and never have betrayed a friend, and, God willing, never will."

At a later period, in reply to another address, he said:—He knew that justice must temper mercy. He had learned that, when Executive of a State; and he had also learned that it was time for people to understand that treason was not a mere difference in politics, in which one party triumphed over and the other simply failed. It was the highest of crimes, though, since the days of Burr and Jefferson, the American people seemed oblivious of the fact. He had been accused of being too lenient when holding executive power heretofore, and had learned that clemency might be injustice. It had even been said by one skilled in treason, that, when traitors become numerous enough, treason becomes respectable; and to become a traitor was to constitute a portion of the aristocracy of the country. He would now say, God protect the country from such an aristocracy! He repeated, therefore, justice to the conscious leaders, mercy and amnesty to the thousands whom they had deceived or driven into rebellion. They tried to murder a nation; if they had succeeded, the life of the nation would have been reft from it, the Union would have been destroyed. The Constitution defined treason, and under that definition it required no great acumen to ascertain who had been or who were traitors.

On the 2nd of May the President issued the following proclamation, which directly charged President Davis and other members of the late Confederate Government with being accomplices in Wilkes's crime, although the universal feeling was, that the accusation was utterly unfounded:—

"Whereas it appears from evidence in the Bureau of Military Justice that the atrocious murder of the late President Abraham Lincoln, and the attempted assassination of the Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, were incited, concerted, and procured by and between Jefferson Davis, late of Richmond, Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Saunders, W. C. Cleary, and other rebels and traitors against the Government of the United States, harboured in Canada: Now, therefore, to the end that justice may be done, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do offer and promise for the arrest of said persons, or either of them, within the limits of the United States, so that they can be brought to trial, the following rewards:—\$100,000 for the arrest of Jefferson Davis; \$25,000 for the arrest of Clement C. Clay; \$25,000 for the arrest of Jacob Thompson, late of Mississippi; \$25,000 for the arrest of George N. Saunders; \$25,000 for the arrest of Beverly Tucker; and \$10,000 for the arrest of William C. Cleary, late clerk of Clement C. Clay. The Provost-Marshal-General of the United States is directed to cause a description of the said persons, with notice of the above rewards, to be published."

The result was, that President Davis was captured by a body of cavalry at Irwinsville, in Georgia, on the 10th of May, while attempting to make his escape, and he was brought to Fort Monroe, where he remained a close prisoner without being brought to trial at the close of the year.

In addition to Payne, Atzeroth, and Harrold, a Mrs. Surratt, who had received Wilkes in her house after the assassination of the President, was tried before a military tribunal. They were all found guilty and hanged on the 7th of July.

## CHAPTER V.

### AMERICA (*continued*).

Advance of General Sherman from Goldsboro'—Convention between Generals Sherman and Johnston for the disbanding of the Confederate forces—It is disallowed by the President and his Cabinet—Unconditional surrender of the Confederate army—Letter of General Sherman—Letter from Earl Russell to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on the subject of the termination of the civil war in America—Trial, conviction, and execution of Captain Wirz—Several of the Confederate States annul their secession ordinances and repudiate their State debts—Test oath imposed by Congress—Abolition of slavery—Meeting of Congress—Message of the President:—*Topics*: The Constitution; Reconstruction; Slavery; Navy; Army; Finance; Differences with Great Britain; Allusion to the Empire of Mexico; Conclusion.

WE left Sherman's army encamped at Goldsboro' at the end of March. This was called the army of the Ohio. The army of the Tennessee, under General Howard, lay to the right and front of Goldsboro'; and the army of Georgia, under General Slocum, to its left and front; while the cavalry, commanded by General Kilpatrick, was stationed at Mount Olive. "In the mean time," says General Sherman in his official report, "Major-General George Stoneman, in command of a division of cavalry operating from East Tennessee, in connexion with Major-General George H. Thomas, in pursuance of my orders of January 21st, 1865, had reached the railroad about Greensboro', North Carolina, and had made sad havoc with it, and had pushed along it to Salisbury, destroying, *en route*, bridges, culverts, dépôts, and all kinds of rebel supplies, and had extended the break in the railroad down to the Catawba Bridge. This was fatal to the hostile armies of Lee and Johnston, who depended on that road for supplies, and as their ultimate line of retreat."

The news of the battle in the vicinity of Petersburg and Richmond reached Sherman at Goldsboro' on the 6th of April. This changed his plan. He says:—"The auspicious events in



Virginia had changed the whole military problem, and in the expressive language of Lieutenant-General Grant 'the Confederate armies of Lee and Johnston' became 'the strategic points.' General Grant was fully able to take care of the former; and my task was to destroy or capture the latter." At this time General Johnston occupied a position near Smithfield, so as to bar the passage to Raleigh.

On the 10th of April Sherman's forces resumed their march from Goldsboro'; and next morning the leading columns entered Smithfield. Johnston had rapidly retreated across the Neuse river, and the Federals, having in the mean time heard of the surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox Court-house, at once advanced in pursuit. They passed through Raleigh, and followed the Confederates, who were retreating on the road from Hillsboro' to Greensboro'. At this juncture General Sherman received from General Johnston overtures for a surrender. The two Generals met in April and came to an agreement for the disbanding of the Confederate armies and the final restoration of peace. The terms were reduced to writing, and the document was headed, "Memorandum on basis of agreement made this 18th day of April, 1865, near Durham's Station, and in the State of North Carolina, by and between General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the Confederate Army, and Major-General William T. Sherman, commanding the army of the United States in North Carolina, both present."

By the terms of the agreement, the Confederate armies were to be disbanded. The several State Governments were to be recognized by the Executive of the United States, on their officers and Legislatures taking the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States. The Federal courts in the several States were to be re-established, and a general amnesty was to follow. At a later period General Johnston published an address in which he made known the reasons which induced him to make the convention. He said:—

"On the 26th of April, the day of the convention, by the returns of three Lieutenant-Generals of the army of Tennessee (that under my command), the number of infantry and artillery present and absent was 70,510; the total present 18,578—the effective total, or fighting force, 14,179. On the 7th day of April, the date of the last return I can find, the effective total of cavalry was 5440; but between the 7th and 26th of April it was greatly reduced by events in Virginia and apprehensions of surrender. In South Carolina we had Young's division of cavalry, less than 1,000, besides reserves and State troops, together much inferior to the Federal force in that State. In Florida we were as weak. In Georgia our inadequate force had been captured at Macon. In Lieutenant-General Taylor's department there was no means of opposing the formidable army under General Canby which had taken Mobile, nor even the cavalry under General Wilson, which

had captured every other place of importance west of Augusta. The latter had been stopped at Macon by the armistice, as we had been at Greensboro', but its distance from Augusta being less than half of ours, that place was in his power. To carry on the war, therefore, we had to depend upon the army of Tennessee alone. The United States could have brought against it twelve or fifteen times its number in the armies of Generals Grant, Sherman, and Canby. With such odds against us, without the means of procuring ammunition or repairing arms, without money or credit to provide food, it was impossible to continue the war except as robbers. The consequence of prolonging the struggle would only have been the destruction or dispersion of our bravest men, and great suffering of women and children by the desolation and ruin inevitable from the marching of 200,000 men through the country. Having failed in an attempt to obtain terms giving security to citizens as well as to soldiers, I had to choose between wantonly bringing the evils of war upon those I had been chosen to defend, and averting those calamities with the confession that hopes were dead which every thinking Southern man had already lost. I therefore stipulated with General Sherman for the security of the brave and true men committed to me on terms which also terminated hostilities in all the country over which my command extended."

The President, however, and his Cabinet disapproved of and refused to ratify the agreement, and orders were sent to General Sherman to resume hostilities without delay. The result was the unconditional surrender of the whole Confederate army.

A characteristic letter of General Sherman, dated May 19th, was afterwards published, in which he said:—

"I have been lost to the world in the woods for some time; yet on arriving at the 'settlements' found I have made quite a stir among the people at home, and that the most sinister motives have been ascribed to me. I have made frequent official reports of my official action in all public matters, and all of them have been carefully suppressed, while the most ridiculous nonsense has been industriously spread abroad through all the newspapers. Well! you know what importance I attach to such matters, and that I have been too long fighting with real rebels with muskets in their hands to be scared by mere non-combatants, no matter how high their civil rank or station. It is amusing to observe how brave and firm some men become when all danger is passed. I have noticed on all fields of battle brave men never insult the captured or mutilate the dead; but cowards and laggards always do. I cannot now recall the Act, but Shakspeare records how poor Falstaff, the prince of cowards and wits, rising from a figured death, stabbed again the dead Percy and carried the carcass aloft in triumph to prove his valour. So now when the rebellion is dead, many Falstaffs appear to brandish the evidence of their valour and seek to win applause, and to appropriate honours for deeds that never were done. As to myself, I ask no popularity, no

reward, but I dare the War Department to publish my official letters and reports. I assert that my official reports have been purposely suppressed, while all the power of the Press has been malignantly turned against me. I do want peace and security, and the return to law and justice from Maine to the Rio Grande; and if it does not exist now substantially, it is for State reasons beyond my comprehension. It may be thought strange that one who has no fame but as a soldier should have been so careful to try to restore the civil power of the Government and the peaceful jurisdiction of the Federal courts; but it is difficult to discover in that fact any just cause of offence to an enlightened and free people."

When the news of the capture of the late Confederate President reached England, Earl Russell, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, addressed a letter, on the 2nd of June, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which, after stating that "the armies hitherto kept in the field by the Confederate States have for the most part surrendered or dispersed," he said:—

"In this posture of affairs Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that neutral nations cannot but consider the civil war in North America as at an end.

"In conformity with this opinion, Her Majesty's Government recognize that peace has been restored within the whole territory of which the United States of North America before the commencement of the civil war were in undisturbed possession.

"As a necessary consequence of such recognition on the part of Her Majesty's Government, Her Majesty's several authorities in all ports, harbours, and waters belonging to Her Majesty, whether in the United Kingdom or beyond the seas, must henceforth refuse permission to any vessel of war carrying a Confederate flag to enter such ports, harbours, and waters; and must require any Confederate vessels of war which, at the time when these orders reach Her Majesty's authorities in such ports, harbours, and waters may have already entered therein on the faith of Proclamations heretofore issued by Her Majesty, and which, having complied with the provisions of such Proclamations, may be actually within such ports, harbours, and waters, forthwith to depart from them."

But he added that Confederate vessels so departing should have the benefit of the prohibition previously in force against pursuit of them within twenty-four hours by a cruiser of the United States lying at the time within any of our ports or harbours, which prohibition was to be then and for the last time maintained in their favour.

In the mean time the stern determination of the United States Government to assert a legal jurisdiction over criminal acts which had been done during the war by men acting under Confederate authority, was shown by the trial and execution of Captain Wirz, formerly an officer in the Confederate army. He had been the governor of Andersonville prison during the war, and had under his care a number of Federal prisoners, whom he was



accused of having treated with revolting cruelty, and in some instances of having ordered them to be shot without any justifiable reason. He was tried by a military commission at Washington, and after a long and searching inquiry was found guilty and sentenced to death. He was hanged in the early part of November.

In the course of the autumn several of the Confederate States annulled their former ordinances of secession and abolished slavery in their territories. Some of them also, as for instance Florida, passed Acts repudiating the State debt contracted in support of the late war.

A test oath was framed by Congress to be taken by every member of that body, the effect of which was to exclude all who had taken part with the South in the struggle that had just terminated. It was as follows:—

“I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the Government of the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought nor accepted nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever, under any authority or pretended authority in hostility to the Government of the United States; that I have neither voluntarily renounced my allegiance to the United States, nor yielded voluntarily support to any pretended Government, authority, power, or Constitution hostile or inimical thereto. And I do further swear (or affirm) that to the best of my knowledge and ability I will support and defend the Constitution and Government of the United States, and all laws made in pursuance thereof, against all enemies foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office which I am about to enter. So help me God.”

Slavery was now abolished; and we think it due to the negro population to mention, that in November a convention of blacks met at Charleston, and adopted a resolution which did honour to their charity and good sense. It was:—

“That as American chattel slavery has now passed for ever away, we would cherish in our hearts no malice nor hatred towards those who were implicated in the crime of slaveholding, but would extend the right hand of fellowship to all, and would make it our special aim to establish unity, peace, and brotherhood among all men.”

Congress met on the 4th of December, when the Annual Message of the President was read. It was, as usual, a very long document, and from it we select the following passages of chief interest:—

“Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,—

“To express gratitude to God, in the name of the people, for the preservation of the United States is my first duty in addressing

you. Our thoughts next revert to the death of the late President by an act of parricidal treason. The grief of the nation is still fresh; it finds some solace in the consideration that he lived to enjoy the highest proof of its confidence by entering on the renewed term of the Chief Magistracy to which he had been elected, that he brought the civil war substantially to a close, that his loss was deplored in all parts of the Union, and that foreign nations have rendered justice to his memory. His removal cast upon me a heavier weight of cares than ever devolved upon any one of his predecessors. To fulfil my trust I need the support and confidence of all who are associated with me in the various departments of Government, and the support and confidence of the people. There is but one way in which I can hope to gain their necessary aid: it is to state with frankness the principles which guide my conduct, and their application to the present state of affairs, well aware that the efficiency of my labours will, in a great measure, depend on your and their undivided approbation."

THE CONSTITUTION.—"The Union of the United States of America was intended by its authors to last as long as the States themselves shall last. 'The Union shall be perpetual' are the words of the Confederation. 'To form a more perfect Union,' by an ordinance of the people of the United States, is the declared purpose of the Constitution. The hand of Divine Providence was never more plainly visible in the affairs of men than in the framing and the adopting of that instrument. It is beyond comparison the greatest event in American history; and, indeed, is it not, of all events in modern times, the most pregnant with consequences for every people of the earth? The members of the Convention which prepared it brought to their work the experience of the Confederation, of their several States, and of other Republican Governments, old and new; but they needed, and they obtained, a wisdom superior to experience; and when for its validity it required the approval of a people that occupied a large part of a continent, and acted separately in many distinct Conventions, what is more wonderful than that, after earnest contention and long discussion, all feelings and all opinions were ultimately drawn in one way to its support?

"The maintenance of the Union brings with it 'the support of the State Governments in all their rights,' but it is not one of the rights of any State Government to renounce its own place in the Union, or to nullify the laws of the Union. The largest liberty is to be maintained in the discussion of the acts of the Federal Government, but there is no appeal from its laws, except to the various branches of that Government itself, or to the people, who grant to the members of the Legislative and of the Executive Departments no tenure but a limited one, and in that manner always retain the powers of redress.

"'The sovereignty of the States' is the language of the Con-

federacy, and not the language of the Constitution. The latter contains the emphatic words, 'The Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.'

"Certainly the Government of the United States is a limited Government, and so is every State Government. With us this idea of limitation spreads through every form of administration, general, State, and municipal, and rests on the great distinguishing principle of the recognition of the rights of man. The ancient republics absorbed the individual in the State, prescribed his religion, and controlled his activity. The American system rests on the assertion of the equal right of every man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; to freedom of conscience, to the culture and exercise of all his faculties. As a consequence, the State Government is limited—as to the General Government in the interest of Union, as to the individual citizen in the interest of freedom.

"States, with proper limitations of power, are essential to the existence of the Constitution of the United States. . . . So long as the Constitution of the United States endures, the States will endure; the destruction of the one is the destruction of the other; the preservation of the one is the preservation of the other."

RECONSTRUCTION.—"I found the States suffering from the effects of a civil war. Resistance to the General Government appeared to have exhausted itself. The United States had recovered possession of their forts and arsenals, and their armies were in the occupation of every State which had attempted to secede. Whether the territory within the limit of those States should be held as conquered territory, under military authority emanating from the President as the head of the army, was the first question that presented itself for decision.

"Now, military governments, established for an indefinite period, would have offered no security for the early suppression of discontent; would have divided the people into the vanquishers and the vanquished; and would have envenomed hatred rather than have restored affection. Once established, no precise limit to their continuance was conceivable. They would have occasioned an incalculable and exhausting expense. Peaceful emigration to and from that portion of the country is one of the best means that can be thought of for the restoration of harmony, and that emigration would have been prevented,—for what emigrant from abroad, what industrious citizen at home, would place himself willingly under military rule? The chief persons who would have followed in the train of the army, would have been dependents on the General Government, or men who expected profit from



the miseries of their erring fellow-citizens. The powers of patronage and rule which would have been exercised, under the President, over a vast and populous and naturally wealthy region, are greater than, unless under extreme necessity, I should be willing to entrust to any one man; they are such as, for myself, I could never, unless on occasion of great emergency, consent to exercise. The wilful use of such powers, if continued through a period of years, would have endangered the purity of the general administration and the liberties of the States which remained loyal.

“Besides, the policy of military rule over a conquered territory would have implied that the States whose inhabitants may have taken part in the rebellion had by the act of those inhabitants ceased to exist. But the true theory is, that all pretended acts of secession were, from the beginning, null and void. The States cannot commit treason, nor screen the individual citizens who may have committed treason, any more than they can make valid treaties or engage in lawful commerce with any foreign Power. The States attempting to secede placed themselves in a condition where their vitality was impaired, but not extinguished; their functions suspended, but not destroyed.

“But if any State neglects or refuses to perform its offices, there is the more need that the General Government should maintain all its authority, and as soon as practicable resume the exercise of all its functions. On this principle I have acted, and have gradually and quietly, and by almost imperceptible steps, sought to restore the rightful energy of the General Government and of the States. To that end Provisional Governors have been appointed for the States, Conventions called, Governors elected, Legislatures assembled, and Senators and Representatives chosen to the Congress of the United States. At the same time, the courts of the United States, as far as could be done, have been re-opened, so that the laws of the United States may be enforced through their agency. The blockade has been removed and the Custom-houses re-established in ports of entry, so that the revenue of the United States may be collected. The Post-office Department renews its ceaseless activity, and the General Government is thereby enabled to communicate promptly with its officers and agents. The courts bring security to persons and property; the opening of the ports invites the restoration of industry and commerce; the Post-office renews facilities of social intercourse and of business; and is it not happy for us all that the restoration of each one of these functions of the General Government brings with it a blessing to the States over which they are extended? Is it not a sure promise of harmony and renewed attachment to the Union, that, after all that has happened, the return of the General Government is known only as a beneficence?

“I know very well that this policy is attended with some risk; that for its success it requires at least the acquiescence of the States which it concerns; that it implies an invitation to those

States, by renewing their allegiance to the United States, to resume their functions as States of the Union. But it is a risk that must be taken; in the choice of difficulties, it is the smallest risk; and to diminish and, if possible, to remove all danger, I have felt it incumbent on me to assert one other power of the General Government—the power, of pardon. As no State can throw a defence over the crime of treason, the power of pardon is exclusively vested in the Executive Government of the United States. In exercising that power I have taken every precaution to connect it with the clearest recognition of the binding force of the laws of the United States, and an unqualified acknowledgment of the great social change of condition in regard to slavery which has grown out of the war.

“The next step which I have taken to restore the constitutional relations of the States has been an invitation to them to participate in the high office of amending the Constitution. Every patriot must wish for a general amnesty at the earliest epoch consistent with public safety. For this great end there is need of a concurrence of all opinions and the spirit of mutual conciliation. All parties in the late terrible conflict must work together in harmony. It is not too much to ask, in the name of the whole people, that, on the one side, the plan of restoration shall proceed in conformity with a willingness to cast the disorders of the past into oblivion; and that, on the other, the evidence of sincerity in the future maintenance of the Union shall be put beyond any doubt by the ratification of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, which provides for the abolition of slavery for ever within the limits of our country. So long as the adoption of this amendment is delayed, so long will doubt and jealousy and uncertainty prevail. This is the measure which will efface the sad memory of the past; this is the measure which will most certainly call population and capital and security to those parts of the Union that need them most. Indeed, it is not too much to ask of the States which are now resuming their places in the family of the Union to give this pledge of perpetual loyalty and peace. Until it is done, the past, however much we may desire it, will not be forgotten. The adoption of the amendment reunites us beyond all power of disruption. It heals the wound that is still imperfectly closed; it removes slavery, the element which has so long perplexed and divided the country; it makes of us once more a united people, renewed and strengthened, bound more than ever to mutual affection and support.”

SLAVERY.—“The relations of the General Government toward the four millions of inhabitants whom the war has called into freedom have engaged my most serious consideration. On the propriety of attempting to make the freedmen electors by the proclamation of the Executive, I took for my counsel the Constitution itself, the interpretations of that instrument by its authors and their contemporaries, and recent legislation by Congress. When,

at the first movement toward independence, the Congress of the United States instructed the several States to institute Governments of their own, they left each State to decide for itself the conditions for the enjoyment of the elective franchise. During the period of the Confederacy there continued to exist a very great diversity in the qualifications of electors in the several States; and even within a State a distinction of qualifications prevailed with regard to the officers who were to be chosen. The Constitution of the United States recognizes these diversities when it enjoins that in the choice of members of the House of Representatives of the United States 'the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.'

"After the formation of the Constitution, it remained, as before, the uniform usage for each State to enlarge the body of its electors according to its own judgment; and under this system one State after another has proceeded to increase the number of its electors, until now universal suffrage, or something very near it, is the general rule. So fixed was this reservation of power in the habits of the people, and so unquestioned has been the interpretation of the Constitution, that during the Civil War the late President never harboured the purpose—certainly never avowed the purpose—of disregarding it; and in the acts of Congress during that period nothing can be found which, during the continuance of hostilities, much less after their close, would have sanctioned any departure by the Executive from a policy which has so uniformly obtained. Moreover, a concession of the elective franchise to the freedmen by act of the President of the United States must have been extended to all coloured men, wherever found, and so must have established a change of suffrage in the Northern, Middle, and Western States, not less than in the Southern and South-Western. Such an act would have created a new class of voters, and would have been an assumption of power by the President which nothing in the Constitution or laws of the United States would have warranted.

"On the other hand, every danger of conflict is avoided when the settlement of the question is referred to the several States. They can, each for itself, decide on the measure, and whether it is to be adopted at once and absolutely, or introduced gradually and with conditions. In my judgment the freedmen, if they show patience and manly virtues, will sooner obtain a participation in the elective franchise through the States than through the General Government, even if it had power to intervene. When the tumult of emotions that have been raised by the suddenness of the social change shall have subsided, it may prove that they will receive the kindest usage from some of those on whom they have heretofore most closely depended.

"But while I have no doubt that now, after the close of the war, it is not competent for the General Government to extend



the elective franchise in the several States, it is equally clear that good faith requires the security of the freedmen in their liberty and their property, their right to labour, and their right to claim the just return of their labour. I cannot too strongly urge a dispassionate treatment of this subject, which should be carefully kept aloof from all party strife. We must avoid hasty assumptions of any natural impossibility for the two races to live side by side in a state of mutual benefit and goodwill. The experiment involves us in no inconsistency; let us, then, go on and make that experiment in good faith, and not be too easily disheartened. The country is in need of labour, and the freedmen are in need of employment, culture, and protection. While their right of voluntary migration and expatriation is not to be questioned, I would not advise their forced removal and colonization. Let us rather encourage them to honourable and useful industry, where it may be beneficial to themselves and to the country; and, instead of hasty anticipations of the certainty of failure, let there be nothing wanting to the fair trial of the experiment. The change in their condition is the substitution of labour by contract for the status of slavery. The freedman cannot fairly be accused of unwillingness to work, so long as a doubt remains about his freedom of choice in his pursuits, and the certainty of his recovering his stipulated wages. In this the interests of the employer and the employed coincide. The employer desires in his workmen spirit and alacrity, and these can be permanently secured in no other way. And if the one ought to be able to enforce the contract, so ought the other. The public interest will be best promoted if the several States will provide adequate protection and remedies for the freedmen. Until this is in some way accomplished, there is no chance for the advantageous use of their labour, and the blame of ill-success will not rest on them.

"I know that sincere philanthropy is earnest for the immediate realization of its remotest aims; but time is always an element in reform. It is one of the greatest acts on record, to have brought four millions of people into freedom. The career of free industry must be fairly opened to them, and then their future prosperity and condition must, after all, rest mainly on themselves. If they fail, and so perish away, let us be careful that the failure shall not be attributable to any denial of justice. In all that relates to the destiny of the freedman, we need not be too anxious to read the future; many incidents which, from a speculative point of view, might raise alarm, will quietly settle themselves."

NAVY.—"It appears from the Report of the Secretary of the Navy, that while at the commencement of the present year there were in commission 530 vessels of all classes and descriptions, armed with 3000 guns, and manned by 51,000 men, the number of vessels at present in commission is 117, with 830 guns and 12,128 men. By this prompt reduction of the naval forces, the expenses of the Government have been largely diminished, and a

number of vessels purchased for naval purposes from the merchant marine have been returned to the peaceful pursuits of commerce. Since the suppression of active hostilities, our foreign squadrons have been re-established, and consist of vessels much more efficient than those employed on similar service previous to the rebellion. The suggestion for the enlargement of the navy-yards, and especially for the establishment of one in fresh water for iron-clad vessels, is deserving of consideration, as is also the recommendation for a different location and more ample grounds for the Naval Academy."

ARMY.—"In the Report of the Secretary of War a general summary is given of the military campaigns of 1864 and 1865, ending in the suppression of armed resistance to the national authority in the insurgent States. The operations of the general administrative bureaus of the War Department during the past year are detailed, and an estimate made of the appropriations that will be required for military purposes in the fiscal year, commencing the 30th day of June, 1866. The national military force on the 1st of May, 1865, numbered 1,000,516 men. It is proposed to reduce the military establishment to a peace footing, comprehending 50,000 troops of all arms, organized so as to admit of an enlargement by filling up the ranks to 82,600, if the circumstances of the country should require an augmentation of the army. The volunteer force has already been reduced by the discharge from service of over 800,000 troops, and the department is proceeding rapidly in the work of further reduction. The War Estimates are reduced from \$516,240,131 to \$33,814,461, which amount, in the opinion of the department, is adequate for a peace establishment. The measures of retrenchment in each bureau and branch of the service exhibit a diligent economy worthy of commendation. Reference is also made in the report to the necessity of providing for a uniform militia system, and to the propriety of making suitable provision for wounded and disabled officers and soldiers."

FINANCE.—"It is our first duty to prepare in earnest for our recovery from the ever-increasing evils of an irredeemable currency, without a sudden revulsion, and yet without untimely procrastination. For that end we must, each in our respective positions, prepare the way. I hold it the duty of the Executive to insist upon frugality in the expenditures; and a sparing economy is itself a great national resource. Of the banks to which authority has been given to issue notes secured by bonds of the United States, we may require the greatest moderation and prudence, and the law must be rigidly enforced when its limits are exceeded. We may, each one of us, counsel our active and enterprising countrymen to be constantly on their guard, to liquidate debts contracted in a paper currency, and, by conducting business as nearly as possible on a system of cash payment or short credits, to hold themselves prepared to return to the standard of gold and

silver. To aid our fellow citizens in the prudent management of their monetary affairs, the duty devolves on us to diminish by law the amount of paper money now in circulation. Five years ago, the bank-note circulation of the country amounted to not much more than 200 millions; now the circulation, bank and national, exceeds 700 millions. The simple statement of the fact recommends more strongly than any words of mine could do the necessity of our restraining this expansion. The gradual reduction of the currency is the only measure that can save the business of the country from disastrous calamities; and this can be almost imperceptibly accomplished by gradually funding the national circulation in securities that may be made redeemable at the pleasure of the Government.

“Our debt is doubly secure—first, in the actual wealth and still greater undeveloped resources of the country; and, next, in the character of our institutions. The most intelligent observers among political economists have not failed to remark that the public debt of a country is safe in proportion as its people are free; that the debt of a republic is the safest of all. Our history confirms and establishes the theory, and is, I firmly believe, destined to give it a still more signal illustration. The secret of this superiority springs not merely from the fact that in a republic the national obligations are distributed more widely through countless numbers in all classes of society—it has its root in the character of our laws. Here all men contribute to the public welfare, and bear their fair share of the public burthens. During the war, under the impulses of patriotism, the men of the great body of the people, without regard to their own comparative want of wealth, thronged to our armies and filled our fleets of war, and held themselves ready to offer their lives for the public good. Now, in their turn, the property and income of the country should bear their just proportion of the burden of taxation, while in our impost system, through means of which increased vitality is incidentally imparted to all the industrial interests of the nation, the duties should be so adjusted as to fall most heavily on articles of luxury, leaving the necessities of life as free from taxation as the absolute wants of the Government, economically administered, will justify. No favoured class should demand freedom from assessment, and the taxes should be so distributed as not to fall unduly on the poor, but rather on the accumulated wealth of the country. We should look at the National Debt just as it is—not as a national blessing, but as a heavy burden on the industry of the country, to be discharged without unnecessary delay.

“It is estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury that the expenditures for the fiscal year ending the 30th of June, 1866, will exceed the receipts \$112,194,947. It is gratifying, however, to state that it is also estimated that the revenue for the year ending the 30th of June, 1867, will exceed the expenditures in the sum of \$111,682,818. This amount, or so much as may be deemed suffi-



cient for the purpose, may be applied to the reduction of the public debt, which on the 31st day of October, 1865, was \$2,740,854,750. Every reduction will diminish the total amount of interest to be paid, and so enlarge the means of still further reductions, until the whole shall be liquidated; and this, as will be seen from the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury, may be accomplished by annual payments, even within a period not exceeding thirty years. I have faith that we shall do all this within a reasonable time; that, as we have amazed the world by the suppression of a civil war which was thought to be beyond the control of any Government, so we shall equally show the superiority of our institutions by the prompt and faithful discharge of our national obligations."

DIFFERENCES WITH GREAT BRITAIN.—"Our domestic contest, now happily ended, has left some traces in our relations with one, at least, of the great maritime Powers. The formal accordance of belligerent rights to the insurgent States was unprecedented, and has not been justified by the issue. But in the systems of neutrality pursued by the Powers which made that concession, there was a marked difference. The materials of war for the insurgent States were furnished in a great measure from the workshops of Great Britain; and British ships, manned by British subjects, and prepared for receiving British armaments, sailed from the ports of Great Britain to make war on American commerce, under the shelter of a commission from the insurgent States. These ships, having once escaped from British ports, ever afterwards entered them in every part of the world to refit, and so to renew their depredations. The consequences of this conduct were most disastrous to the States then in rebellion, increasing their desolation and misery by the prolongation of our civil contest. It had, moreover, the effect, to a great extent, of driving the American flag from the sea, and to transfer much of our shipping and our commerce to the very Power whose subjects had created the necessity for such a change. These events took place before I was called to the administration of the government. The sincere desire for peace by which I am animated led me to approve the proposal, already made, to submit the questions which had thus arisen between the countries to arbitration. These questions are of such moment that they must have commanded the attention of the great Powers, and are so interwoven with the peace and interests of every one of them as to have ensured an impartial decision. I regret to inform you that Great Britain declined the arbitrament; but, on the other hand, invited us to the formation of a joint commission to settle mutual claims between the two countries, from which those for the depredations before mentioned should be excluded. The proposition, in that very unsatisfactory form, has been declined.

"The United States did not present the subject as an impeachment of the good faith of a Power which was professing the most friendly dispositions, but as involving questions of public law of

which the settlement is essential to the peace of nations; and though pecuniary reparation to their injured citizens would have followed incidentally on a decision against Great Britain, such compensation was not their primary object. They had a higher motive, and it was in the interests of peace and justice to establish important principles of international law. The correspondence will be placed before you. The ground on which the British Minister rests his justification is, substantially, that the municipal law of a nation and the domestic interpretations of that law are the measure of its duty as a neutral; and I feel bound to declare my opinion, before you and before the world, that that justification cannot be sustained before the tribunal of nations. At the same time I do not advise any present attempt at redress by acts of legislation. For the future, friendship between the two countries must rest on the basis of mutual justice."

ALLUSION TO EMPIRE OF MEXICO.—"From the moment of the establishment of our free Constitution, the civilized world has been convulsed by revolutions in the interests of democracy or of monarchy; but through all those revolutions the United States have wisely and firmly refused to become propagandists of republicanism. It is the only Government suited to our condition; but we have never sought to impose it on others; and we have consistently followed the advice of Washington, to recommend it only by the careful preservation and prudent use of the blessing. During all the intervening period, the policy of European Powers and of the United States has, on the whole, been harmonious. Twice, indeed, rumours of the invasion of some parts of America in the interests of monarchy have prevailed; twice my predecessors have had occasion to announce the views of this nation in respect to such interference. On both occasions the remonstrance of the United States was respected, from a deep conviction, on the part of European Governments, that the system of non-interference and mutual abstinence from propagandism was the true rule for the two hemispheres. Since those times we have advanced in wealth and power, but we retain the same purpose to leave the nations of Europe to choose their own dynasties and form their own systems of government. This consistent moderation may justly demand a corresponding moderation. We should regard it as a great calamity to ourselves, to the cause of good government, and to the peace of the world, should any European Power challenge the American people, as it were, to the defence of republicanism against foreign interference. We cannot foresee, and are unwilling to consider, what opportunities might present themselves, what combinations might offer, to protect ourselves against designs inimical to our form of government. The United States desire to act in the future as they have ever acted heretofore. They never will be driven from that course but by the aggression of European Powers; and we rely on the wisdom and justice of those Powers to respect the system of non-interference which has so long been sanctioned

by time, and which by its good results has approved itself to both continents.

“The correspondence between the United States and France in reference to questions which have become subjects of discussion between the two Governments will, at a proper time, be laid before Congress.”

CONCLUSION.—“The throngs of emigrants that crowd to our shores, are witnesses of the confidence of all people in our permanence. Here is the great land of free labour, where industry is blessed with unexampled rewards, and the bread of the working man is sweetened by the consciousness that the cause of the country ‘is his own cause, his own safety, his own dignity.’ Here every one enjoys the free use of his faculties, and the choice of activity as a natural right. Here, under the combined influence of a fruitful soil, genial climes, and happy institutions, population has increased fifteenfold within a century. Here, through the easy development of boundless resources, wealth has increased with twofold greater rapidity than numbers, so that we have become secure against the financial vicissitudes of other countries, and, alike in business and in opinion, are self-centred and truly independent. Here more and more care is given to provide education for every one born on our soil. Here religion, released from political connexion with the Civil Government, refuses to subserve the craft of statesmen, and becomes, in its independence, the spiritual life of the people. Here toleration is extended to every opinion, in the quiet certainty that truth needs only a fair field to secure the victory. Here the human mind goes forth unshackled in the pursuit of science, to collect stores of knowledge and acquire an ever-increasing mastery over the forces of nature. Here the national domain is offered and held in millions of separate freeholds, so that our fellow-citizens, beyond the occupants of any other part of the earth, constitute in reality a people. Here exists the democratic form of government; and that form of government, by the confession of European statesmen, ‘gives a power of which no other form is capable, because it incorporates every man with the States, and arouses every thing that belongs to the soul.’

“Where, in past history, does a parallel exist to the public happiness which is within the reach of the people of the United States? Where, in any part of the globe, can institutions be found so suited to their habits or so entitled to their love as their own free Constitution? Every one of them, then, in whatever part of the land he has his home, must wish its perpetuity. Who of them will not now acknowledge, in the words of Washington, that ‘every step by which the people of the United States have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of Providential agency’? Who will not join with me in the prayer that the invisible Hand which has led us through the clouds that gloomed around our path will so guide us onward to a perfect restoration of fraternal affection



that we of this day may be able to transmit our great inheritance of State Governments in all their rights, of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigour, to our posterity, and they to theirs through countless generations?

“ANDREW JOHNSON.

“Washington, Dec. 4, 1865.”

We will only add that the following resolutions on the subject of the Empire established in Mexico were introduced before the end of the year in both Houses of Congress, and were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:—

“Whereas, in a letter of instructions, dated July 3, 1862, directed to General Forey, commanding the French forces in Mexico, the Emperor of the French indicated the policy concerning the affairs of this continent, by declaring that it was his intention to establish a monarchy in Mexico, which should restore to the Latin race on this side of the Atlantic their strength and prestige; guarantee security to the French West India Colonies and those of Spain; secure the interests and establish the influence of France in the centre of America, and prevent the people of the United States from taking possession of the Gulf of Mexico, from which they would command the Antilles and South America, and become the only dispensers of the products of the New World; and

“Whereas, in pursuance of said policy an attempt has been made to establish a monarchy in Mexico contrary to the wishes of the people, and to support Maximilian in his usurpation by European soldiers; and

“Whereas, among other acts contrary to the spirit of the age and humanity, the so-called Emperor of Mexico, by a decree and regulation dated the 5th of September, 1865, practically re-established slavery in his dominions, and by a decree dated the 5th of October, 1865, has violated the usages of civilized warfare, by denying to the Mexican Republican troops the rights of belligerents and ordering their execution, wherever found, within twenty-four hours after capture; therefore be it

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled,—First, that we contemplate the present condition of affairs in the Republic of Mexico with the most profound solicitude. Second, that the attempt to subject one of the Republican Governments of this Continent by a foreign Power and to establish on its ruins a Monarchy sustained solely by European bayonets, is opposed to the declared policy of the United States Government, offensive to our people, and contrary to the spirit of our institutions. Third, that the President of the United States be requested to take such steps concerning this grave matter as will indicate the recognized policy and protect the honour and dignity of our Government.”

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE, IN 1865.

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FOR reasons to which allusion was made in our "Retrospect" of a former year, it is useless to endeavour to give a statistical table of the number of publications of various kinds sent forth to the world, for good or for evil, by various publishers during the year. Perhaps, after all, this is not of very much consequence; for it is not by the mere number of books that the advance of civilization and the progress of mankind can be gauged. Still, it is impossible to deny that in this, as in other branches of inquiry, mere numbers are something, if not every thing; and we are not without hope that in future issues we may be able to chronicle the annual total of quartos, octavos, and even pamphlets, for the information of posterity. In the mean time we proceed to make our usual selection; pausing a moment to regret that the period with which we now have to deal is scarcely so interesting to the bibliographer as that which immediately preceded it. The year 1864 was, in fact, one of peculiar enterprise and activity; one in which some new fields were opened, and many old paths explored. The year 1865, concerning which we are now about to write, has, no doubt, furnished some valuable contributions to literature; but it did not prove so brilliant as its predecessor, and towards the end it became decidedly stagnant. After these preliminary observations, we shall at once plunge into our work, relying mainly, as before, on the opinions of the able writers who represent public opinion in some of our best known critical periodicals.

The historical works of the year are chiefly of a limited character, relating only to some particular period or subject; but they must not be undervalued on that account. There are several which, though not exactly to be termed "English Histories," are written with the view of throwing light upon the history of England. Such books, when conscientiously written, are the corner-stones of the edifice of History, and are worth much more than many a readable compendium, which takes in the whole range, but is satisfied with a slavish repetition of the common statements contained in earlier works. In England this branch of writing is now in full vigour, but it is only of recent growth. We of the present

generation were all taught, as a recognized doctrine, that the older races of England, found in Wales and Cornwall, and to some extent in the northern counties, were the remains of the Ancient Britons. It is difficult to say on what grounds this statement, whether true or false, was made; but it seemed to account for the existence of a separate language in Wales, and we accepted it in our childhood, and continued to believe in it as we grew up. Now, however, there are various theories afloat, some people supposing that the Welsh and Cornish races were introduced by a gradual progress of the Picts of Caledonia along the west coast of England; others maintaining that they came from Brittany, in France, instead of having, as generally supposed, supplied Brittany with a language and a name. When the received facts of our childhood with regard to the peopling of our own country are thus thrown into the region of doubt, and shown to have been accepted rather from tradition than upon any positive evidence, it is clear that we have at our own firesides a wide field for investigation, and that laborious inquiries as to special phases of our history are not among the least important works of the day.

The works of the year 1865 do not, however, relate to the particular topic above alluded to, except in one remarkable instance, that of "A Collection of the Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England;" translated from the French of John de Waurin, Lord of Forestel (temp 1435) by W. Hardy, under the sanction of the Master of the Rolls. In this curious book, written by a Frenchman about England, we find that the task was undertaken on the ground that "no clerks of that kingdom" (England) "had come forward to write the lives and deeds of those kings and princes, except only in some little books concerning each king apart." The portion at present published only comes down to 688 A.D. It abounds in fables of the most extravagant and transparent character; but it suggests the inquiries, What was really done in those days? What was really the story of the Britons after the Saxon invasion? If the publication of such old records stimulates us to industry, it will not be without its value. With respect to this book the following remarks are worthy of notice:—

"Mr. Hardy, who has performed his duties as editor and translator with earnestness and ability, adverts to the singularity of the fact that the first work worthy of being called a History of Britain should have been the work of a foreigner; but this is, perhaps, less singular than the fact that the combined French Grammar and Dictionary, known as '*L'Eclaircissement de la Langue Française*,' was the work of John Palsgrave, an Englishman, who published this work in London, in 1530. It was the first work of its class; and M. Genin, in the modern edition of it, re-echoes the remark of Balsir, that 'the French, so proud of the universality of their language, appear to be indebted for this to England.'"

Several fresh selections from the "Calendar of State Papers" have been published, relating to the reign of Elizabeth (domestic and foreign papers), and to those of Charles I. and Charles II. (domestic papers). Thus our documentary history, under the superintendence of able antiquarian students, and with the sanction and co-operation of the Master of the Rolls, is being gradually completed. Somewhat allied to these revivals of old documents, is a work called "England as seen by Foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James I.," comprising translations of the journals of two Dukes of Würtemberg, in 1592 and 1610, translated by W. B. Rye. From the evidence of these foreign potentates we find that we were even then an important people, and that we already knew how to brew good beer. We extract from the "London Review:—



"Of London we read that 'it is a very populous city, so that one can scarcely pass along the streets on account of the throng'—an inconvenience we scarcely expected to find recorded of the English metropolis nearly three hundred years ago. We are also told that 'London is a large, excellent, and mighty city of business,' most of the inhabitants of which 'are employed in buying and selling merchandise, and trading in almost every corner of the world, since the river is most useful and convenient for this purpose, considering that ships from France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Hamburg, and other kingdoms, come almost up to the city, to which they convey goods, and receive and take away others in exchange.' The Duke, it seems, relished our beer exceedingly, and his faithful secretary describes it as 'of the colour of an old Alsace wine,' and 'delicious.' The French wines, however, 'did not agree with his Highness,' and we suppose he favoured the beer all the more on that account. Rathbeg speaks of the English women in the same strain as Van Meteren. He says they 'have much more liberty than, perhaps, in any other place; they also know well how to make use of it, for they go dressed out in exceedingly fine clothes, and give all their attention to their ruffs and stuffs, to such a degree, indeed, that, as I am informed, many a one does not hesitate to wear velvet in the streets—which is common with them—whilst at home, perhaps, they have not a piece of dry bread.' The gossiping of this old traveller is extremely amusing. He gives a lively account of most of the great buildings of London—of St. Paul's, the Royal Exchange, London Bridge, Westminster Abbey, and the Tower—and describes some of the more celebrated localities in the southern part of the island, particularly the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Of Reading (where the Queen sometimes held her court) we find a singular note:—

"'The country in the vicinity of the Royal court is for the most part flat and sandy; and, because few succeed in finding accommodation at an inn, they erect tents, under which they sojourn, thus presenting the appearance of an encampment.'"

Together with the journals of the Dukes of Würtemberg may be mentioned the "Documents from Simancas relating to the reign of Elizabeth;" translated by Spencer Hall. This is another draught of the same spring from which Mr. Hepworth Dixon drew so many interesting particulars respecting Catharine of Aragon, which were published during the previous year in the Duke of Manchester's "Court and Society." No doubt there is much to be got still from similar sources, for it must be remembered that the courts of Spain and England were either in intimate relation or at deadly enmity with one another for a period of about 200 years. Since that time England has gone up, and Spain has descended, in the scale of nations, and no two countries in the world seem farther apart; but the Spanish records of the time when England and Spain were either warm friends or fierce rivals must necessarily give us new light towards the understanding of the politics of that eventful period.

The last volume of the "Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington" has been published. This is a work in twelve volumes; equal, in fact, in bulk, to the original "Wellington Despatches" edited by the late Colonel Gurwood. As the supplementary series is now finished, we may take occasion to observe that it is a very fortunate thing that the present Duke of Wellington has brought the documents contained in it before the world. It is true that there are a good many letters of unknown persons, and documents of merely temporary interest, which would seem to have been inserted only to fill up the volumes; and the book might perhaps have been satisfactorily brought out in a

much smaller compass. But it would have been a great pity if the evidence contained in this book had been lost—evidence of the childish helplessness to which France was reduced by the shock of the Revolution and the selfishness of the Imperial *régime*; and of the noble disinterestedness with which the allies, so often menaced with destruction by her armies, combined, in their moment of triumph, in a sincere effort to restore her to the rank of a free nation. Above all, it is fortunate that a good many letters of Wellington himself, not included in the older work, should have been rescued from oblivion; for it will be useful to all posterity to see how open and straightforward was the character of a man who, in an age when rebellion and imposture obtained great triumphs, succeeded in placing honesty and loyalty in the highest rank.

Next to English History comes the History of Ireland, respecting which there is little known at present. Since Ireland became a conquered country, her history has been mixed up with that of the conquerors, and has been looked upon as a matter of secondary interest. It is well known that Ireland had a previous history of her own, when she communicated with the civilized nations of the Continent at a time when England was in comparative darkness. But that period is so remote that there is little hope of our acquiring any certain knowledge about it beyond the scraps of information that we now possess. Mr. J. T. Gilbert, however, makes an effort to create a history of *conquered* Ireland, in a work entitled “History of the Viceroy's of Ireland.” Singular as it may appear, there is a good deal in this narrative that is new, or, at least, appears new, to most English readers. We have been accustomed to look upon Ireland as a country unjustly invaded in the reign of Henry II., and held in a uniform state of legal subjection till modern liberality admitted her citizens to equal privileges with those of the dominant country. The following passage relating to Mr. Gilbert's book will show that the process was more gradual:—

“In Mr. Gilbert's volume, one portion of its subject is complete in itself. It is the history of above three centuries, during which the Kings of England were only “Lords of Ireland.” The Lords-royal began with Henry II., and ended with Henry VIII., who assumed the higher title, inherited by all his successors, of King of Ireland. Into the history of the western kingdom we are not disposed to enter. A fierce Irish feud drove an Irish chief to invite an Anglo-Norman King to invade Ireland. An Irish-trained, if not an Irish-born, monk, gave such an account of Ireland to Pope Adrian as to authorize the Pontiff to sanction its invasion by Henry, and to approve of his holding the country as a fief of the Church. As a mere matter of business transacted by the Pope, whose method of carrying on such matters was never then questioned by any one, and should be acquiesced in now by those, at least, who recognize such powers in the Pontiff as their ancestors recognized, nothing could be more legal or customary. An Irish little King, out of sudden pique and innate rascality, betrayed his country to the Normans; an infallible Pontiff saw the opportunity which this customary Irish method of settling a feud afforded him, and he made the consequences of this Irish blunder legal—profitable alike to himself and the Anglo-Normans. Among the consequences of what then occurred are the facts that Queen Victoria is the Sovereign of the sister isle, and that Dr. Cullen curses Milton and Judge Keogh, and endeavours to make Ireland a vassal of Rome.”

Passing from the British Empire, we may notice one or two useful works which have been written on the history of other countries. Mr. Thomas Adolphus Trollope, well known already as a writer of fiction, has given us, in

four volumes, a "History of the Commonwealth of Florence; from the earliest Independence of the Commune to the Fall of the Republic in 1531." That this is a very interesting book we need scarcely say; for it combines the three requisites of a highly momentous theme, an enthusiastic devotion to the subject, and careful and able execution. How the republics of Italy bridged over the time which we are wont to call the dark ages, keeping alive the smouldering sparks of knowledge and kindling the new and vigorous fire of commerce, we all of us know more or less in theory. Few people, however, in England, have studied Sismondi, or taken any other means of accurately scanning the inner life of the citizen nobles and warrior merchants of Italy. Yet these are the men to whom we owe much of our modern civilization; these are the men who re-created the arts, these the men who foreshadowed all that has been done since, from the discovery of new worlds down to the very method by which our merchants calculate their gains. The revival of Italy under a common Government, partial and unsatisfactory as it is at present, may possibly be the harbinger of a new series of triumphs and achievements; and at such a time it is peculiarly interesting to peruse the records of the past. The "Athenæum" says of Mr. Trollope:—

"He has produced a book which will be read with pleasure and preserved as an authority; that he has collected ample materials and used them with skill, is, we think, evident from our summary. We are glad that such a work should welcome the Kingdom of Italy on its first entry into the capital most worthy of it. We are proud that such a work should be the tribute of one of our own countrymen to the spirit he has traced in ancient Florence, and has longed for in the Florence of to-day. And we rejoice even more that the work thus produced should be so worthy of Mr. Trollope's learning and industry, and that the fruit of twenty years' labour should unite such ripeness of thought with such vigour of expression."

And:—

"The history of Florence, while Florence had a history, has been written. That she is beginning to have a history again, that she has entered on a stage of truer independence than ever fell to her lot while her parties were contending, while her illustrious house of Medici was overshadowing her, while she was torturing one of the greatest minds, or exiling another, or while she was exulting at the elevation of a Cardinal Medici to the papedom as Leo X., we owe in no small degree to the efforts of those writers who have pointed out the true causes of her pristine glory and her melancholy fall; and among these writers we feel that a high place is due to Mr. Thomas Adolphus Trollope."

We may also with advantage extract the following remarks from the "London Review," depicting graphically the place of Florence the Republic in the world's history, and ending with a compliment to the modern Italians, which (although some people may think it a little exaggerated) represents fairly enough the English feeling of the present moment:—

"The final suppression of the old Florentine Commonwealth, in 1531, by the army of Charles V. putting into execution the designs of Pope Clement VII. for the re-establishment of the Medici family in their usurped domain at Florence, is an event which marks the true close of mediæval and Italian history. From that period the Italy of the Middle Ages ceased to exist. There was an end of that vigorous, independent, and progressive sisterhood of States, which, by their common language, literature, manners, and customs, were tending socially, if not politically, towards union, and forming one of the greatest of modern European nations. The same political divisions, here and there modified by the territorial



or titular changes of diplomacy, which did not substantially alter the situation of the country, still remained. But they were no longer the organic institutions of a vital Italian nationality. After the conquest of Florence, we may repeat, there was no life in Italy, but such life as there is in the slumber of a paralyzed patient. The Italy which had arisen from the ruins and ashes of Imperial Rome—which had preserved the uses of civil legislation and municipal government—which had improved them by the infusion of a spirit of popular freedom—which had exerted such a vast commercial and industrial activity as to equal, in the world before Columbus, the relative commercial ascendancy of England in the world at present—this Italy, with her merchants who were as princes, her cities which were sovereigns, her pride, her wealth, her luxurious refinement, inspired by a passionate genius for artistic creation, which rivalled the marvellous productiveness of the ancient Greeks,—this Italy was smitten with a mortal shock, was stunned, and swooned away. She lay thus prostrate till the wars of Napoleon and the strange apparition of an Italian soldier leading the armies of France, and summoning the Italians to follow his conquering standard all over the Continent, revived the martial ardour of her people. Defeated and dashed down with him, she suffered another penance of forty-four years, conscious now of her misery and shame; and in this painful ordeal the Italian character was so purified and tempered that the martyrs of patriotism, the men who have fought and toiled, and pined and died for their native Italy since 1814, present a nobler army of heroic souls than those of any other cause since the Protestant Reformation. This we have seen, as it were, with our own eyes; and the youngest of us has witnessed those memorable transactions by which the deliverance of the nation was wrought out, mainly through the constancy, the courage, and the wisdom of the Italians themselves.”

A work entitled “Lives of the Warriors of the Thirty Years’ War,” by Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, gives an account of twenty-seven Swedish, German, and French Commanders of the seventeenth century. Of these the principal are, of course, Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein. Over the latter there has always been a veil of melancholy interest, for although he was, in all probability, never beloved, his death by the hand of assassins produces a kind of reaction of feeling in his favour. Gustavus, on the other hand, is one of the bright characters that stand out in history as being equally brave, wise, and good. The changes in the art of war that have taken place since the time of the great struggle in Germany, make the history of the Thirty Years’ War less useful to the military student than they would otherwise be. Still there are general principles which are unchangeable, and we may see them illustrated by what we find recorded in the history of that disastrous period :—

“Though, taken as a whole, the campaigns of the Thirty Years’ War do not deserve that much time should be devoted to them, yet in their details there are many interesting topics of interest, and even of advantage, to the soldier of the present day. This is especially the case in the matter of administration and organization. Spinola, for instance, owed much of his success to the regularity of payment which he invariably practised. Gustavus Adolphus was equally careful in aught that related to administration. He also introduced great improvements in arms, accoutrements, and drill. He introduced the musket and car-touche-box, as substitutes for the match-lock and bandoleers. He shortened the lances of the cavalry, and made them charge at full speed instead of firing off their pistols by successive ranks, which had been their previous practice. In

two points Gustavus would seem, in some measure, to have anticipated Napoleon—in the use of reserves and of masses of artillery. He paid great attention to this arm, and under his celebrated artillery-general, Torstenson, crossed the Lech under the concentrated fire of seventy-two guns, all placed in one battery. On all occasions he made great use of cannon, and carried a very large proportion with his army, notwithstanding the long and rapid marches on which he was perpetually engaged. He was enabled to do this from the invention by himself of a very light piece of ordnance—apparently four-pounders—made of ‘thick layers of the hardest leather, girt round with iron or brass rings, or hoops.’ These were so light that two could be carried on the back of a horse, over even bad ground, as rapidly as troops could march. It is true that after being fired ten or twelve times they fell to pieces; but then others could be quickly and easily constructed in the very camp itself. The discipline preserved by the great king could hardly have been surpassed by that enforced by the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula.

“In these volunteer days it may interest even the general reader to learn that the Swedish battalion of the period consisted of eight companies of 150 men each. The auxiliary brigade which the Marquis of Hamilton brought from England was composed of four battalions, each of ten companies of 150 men. The Imperialists, on the contrary, persisted in the unwieldy formation of *Tertias*, which were masses of several thousand men.”

A history of a very recent period must generally be accepted with suspicion, for documents are jealously guarded, and political passions are rife. On the other hand, if we wait long, documents are destroyed or lost, and the public mind has given a verdict, against which the impartial author often has to contend. Where is the medium line to be drawn? It is impossible to say. No one has yet discovered how history is to be supplied with facts and at the same time freed from prejudice. Mr. H. J. Raymond, a man of sterling erudition and political knowledge, has been bold enough to publish, in the United States and in England simultaneously, a “History of the Administration of President Lincoln,” who met with death by an assassin’s hand only a few months ago. Now that the civil war in the United States is over, and the Union has shown that, like a feudal baron of the Middle Ages, it can keep its vassals in order, there is a considerable change of feeling about Abraham Lincoln. A large section of our countrymen, hearing that he was a rough, self-raised man, who made far-fetched jokes in his conversation, were inclined to think that he was a joke altogether, and that he acted without sufficient consideration. Now that his policy has triumphed, almost at the very moment of his untimely decease, he is looked upon as a far-seeing statesman; and the eccentricities that excited contempt before are looked upon as the characteristics of a man of unusual genius. Such a man Lincoln undoubtedly was; and whether he was right or wrong (we are not discussing American politics, so we need not give an opinion), it will go down to posterity that, amid the execrations of the Southern States and the ridicule of the English press, in the face of military reverses and of a fearfully increasing national debt, he held his difficult position with propriety and dignity, and retained and justified the confidence of those over whom he ruled. Such is the man of whom Mr. Raymond writes; and in addition to his own industry and ability, he has had the advantage of access to a variety of State papers which throw a considerable light on the history of the internecine struggle which has now, happily, come to an end.

Another volume of M. Guizot’s “France under Louis Philippe” has appeared.

This volume brings us down to 1847, and the next volume will complete the work, and give to the world the ideas of a French statesman who has seen the national institutions collapse while he was himself one of the leading politicians of the country. It will then be time to take a general view of a work of so rare a kind—rare not only from the peculiar circumstances of its composition, but from the reputation and literary skill of the author. Of the present volume we need only say, that it contains accounts of the French system of colonization in Algeria, of the unhappy accident which occasioned the death of the Duc D'Orléans, and of the absurd little quarrel in the South Sea Islands, generally called "the Pritchard affair," which showed how near two great nations may be brought to the verge of a war by a trifling squabble between insignificant colonial officials.

The fourth and fifth volumes of Mr. Thomas Carlyle's "History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great," afford an easy stepping-stone from the subject of History to that of Biography. The work is now finished, and we may contemplate it in all its array of talent, all its grandeur, and, we must venture to add, all its absurdity. It is a great thing, no doubt, that a mind of undoubted power should have been applied to such an important subject as the Seven Years' War, and should have analyzed so marked a character as that of Frederick, the founder of a kingdom which was raised, alone of all the modern states of Europe, on the sole basis of military prowess, without any distinctive nationality. Mr. Carlyle has a singularly trenchant way of describing the features of things; but he describes them like a caricaturist, and not like an artist. The man who throws away the traditionary rules of composition, and writes a language of his own, can produce deep impressions, no doubt, but is utterly incapable of constructing a work of symmetry and beauty. Posterity will be rather puzzled to understand how a man who lived at the same time as Macaulay could have written as follows:—

"The fidgetings and shufflings, the subtleties, inane trickeries, and futile bickerings and thitherings of Newcastle may be imagined: a man not incapable of trick, but anxious to be well with every body; and to answer Yes and No to almost every thing—and not a little puzzled, poor soul, to get through, in that impossible way! Such a paralysis of wriggling imbecility fallen over England, in this great crisis of its fortunes, as is still painful to contemplate: and indeed it has been mostly shaken out of mind by the modern Englishman; who tries to laugh at it, instead of weeping and considering, which would better beseem. Pitt speaks with a tragical vivacity, in all ingenious dialects, lively though serious; and with a depth of sad conviction, which is apt to be slurred over and missed altogether by a modern reader. Speaks as if this brave English nation were about ended; little or no hope left for it; here a gleam of possibility, and there a gleam, which soon vanishes again in the fatal murk of impotencies, do-nothingisms. Very sad to the heart of Pitt. A once brave nation arrived at its critical point, and doomed to higgles and puddles there till it drowns in the gutters: considerably tragical to Pitt; who is lively, ingenious, and, though not quitting the Parliamentary tone for the Hebrew-prophetic, far more serious than the modern reader thinks.

"In Walpole's book there is the liveliest picture of this dismal Parliamentary hellbroth,—such a mother of dead dogs as one has seldom looked into! For the hour is great; and the honourable gentlemen, I must say, are small. The hour, little as you dream of it, my honourable friends, is pregnant with questions that are immense. Wide continents, long epochs, and æons hang on this poor jar-



goning of yours; the eternal destinies are asking their much-favoured nation, 'Will you, can you?'—much-favoured nation is answering in that manner. Astonished at its own stupidity, and taking refuge in laughter. The eternal destinies are very patient with some nations; and can disregard their follies for a long while; and have their Cromwell, have their Pitt, or what else is essential, ready for the poor nation, in a grandly silent way!"

Such writing as this may amuse for a moment, but it becomes excessively fatiguing after a little experience. It would seem that the author himself requires the stimulus of exciting events and rapid transitions, to enable him to keep up to this high pressure. The "London Review" says:—

"With the peace of Hubertsburg terminates Mr. Carlyle's continuous narrative. 'What we have henceforth to produce is,' in his own words, 'more of a loose appendix of papers than of a finished narrative. Loose papers which we hope the reader can be made to understand and tolerate; more we cannot do for him.' In how fragmentary a manner the remainder of Frederick's life is dealt with by his biographer, may be gathered from the fact that to the last twenty-three years of his life no more than 350 pages are devoted. It is indeed evident enough that Mr. Carlyle's patience failed him when the dramatic interest of Frederick's career ceased, and his hero settled down into something approaching a common-place king. The rest of the book is not only fragmentary, but often tedious and obscure. There are few or none of those sallies of humour—those grotesque ebullitions of ponderous fun—to which Mr. Carlyle gives way when his spirits are high, and he takes pleasure in his work. The obvious weariness with which he plods on to the end can scarcely fail to communicate itself to the reader, who will, we suspect, in most cases, be found ready enough to echo the sigh of satisfaction with which the author lays down his pen. The miscellaneous and disconnected character of the latter part of the sixth volume compels us to imitate the author, by making a somewhat arbitrary selection of the points which strike us as most worthy of notice."

Mr. Carlyle's great reputation seemed to demand that we should notice the completion of his latest work at some length. But there are other persons of some celebrity who demand attention. Among these is the Emperor Napoleon III., who has published a portion of a singular work entitled "Life of Julius Cæsar." This book was brought out with great promise, amidst a thrill of expectation; and Englishmen, although not very partial to emperors, were nevertheless most anxious to catch the first glimpse of an emperor's book. Need it be said that the book was the universal topic for a few weeks, and that in a few weeks more it was utterly forgotten? It is difficult to imagine how a voluminous biography of Julius Cæsar could add any thing to what every scholar knows, or ought to know, already. An essay on Julius Cæsar might be useful and suggestive, for his was certainly one of the ruling minds that have appeared on earth; but a life of him was not wanted, and, when spun out into a long work, it is a mere absurdity.

It is rather singular that a man of so practical a mind as the French Emperor can be equally unpractical on occasions. But the events of his life have prepared us for this seeming contradiction. The affair of Boulogne caused the future Emperor to be looked upon as a young man of weak mind, who was unable to measure cause and effect. His subsequent success, when Republican France recalled the exiled family and allowed him a free career, showed that he could exercise patience, and trust to the progress of events, when he thought proper. The present *escapade* is calculated to weaken our confidence in him, and to make

the world think that he has not quite got over the giddiness of youth. There is a motive apparently running through the work; but it is a motive unworthy of a great mind such as the French Emperor has seemed to have. It is that of representing Cæsar, and, by implication, other leaders of men, as blameless ministers of destiny and creatures superior to the ordinary rules of right and wrong. This point is well touched by the "Reader:—"

"Here the author pauses to make some reflections on the misfortunes of the times, which 'obliged the most notable men to have dealings with those whose antecedents seemed to devote them to contempt.' Philosophical reflections will occur to all thinking men, when they read or write history. They will occur naturally to the reader, if they are suggested by facts placed in their proper order; but the writer, if he has done his work well, need not obtrude them upon us. A history which, like this, contains a sparing amount of facts, interspersed with general remarks, will never enable a reader to form a judgment of his own; and, indeed, such historians do not wish their readers to judge. They profess to do every thing for them. 'They aim,' says Montaigne, 'to chew the morsels for us; they make it a law to themselves to judge of, and consequently to bend the history to their own fancy.' This is what the author does, and his preface prepares us for it. Cæsar in his eyes was a Messiah, like the first Napoleon, and men are blind and culpable who 'misunderstand and combat them.' (Preface, xv.) This is the way that many historical writers fashion and pervert facts to suit their own theories."

The "Life of Josiah Wedgwood," by Eliza Meteyard (Vol. I.), is very handsomely brought out, and contains an instructive narrative, inasmuch as it shows what can be done by perseverance and resolution in spite of the numerous obstacles which must always be faced by those who would create or improve an art or manufacture.

"The chief interest of this biography consists in the number of Wedgwood's letters to which the authoress has had access. The facts of his life have been recorded before, but not till now could we view the many-sided character of the man. The flexibility of his mind is as remarkable as the firmness of his character. Whatever he took in hand he carried to a successful issue. Whether he were in quest of a new glaze, or endeavouring to persuade a Committee of the House of the merits of the Trent and Mersey Canal scheme, he was equally fertile in expedients and equally assiduous in application. Between him and George Stephenson there are many points of resemblance."

We have also the "Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds," by Mr C. A. Leslie, R.A., and Mr. Tom Taylor; "Life of Michael Angelo," by Herman Grimm, translated by F. E. Bennett; and "Life of Thorwaldsen," collated from the Danish of J. M. Thiele, by the Rev. M. R. Barnard. The first of these works would appear to have been compiled by men of very different minds and very different views. As a painter, Mr Leslie was anxious to place before the British nation a lively picture of the artistic merits of his hero; while Mr Tom Taylor, with less skill than might have been looked for in a writer of his ability, has obscured and confused the canvas with irrelevant and badly arranged matter, consisting of a mass of political and social gossip. The result of this combination is, that the book is not very readable, but that those who make up their minds to study it can discover a solid and useful substratum. The second of these biographies is a very remarkable work, full of German vigour, and not altogether free from German eccentricities. The following remarks will give a tolerably clear idea of its scope and intention:—

“This important and most valuable work may be considered more as a contribution to the history and criticism of Art, in which the grand figure of Michael Angelo is made to occupy the central place, than as a mere biography of the man whose name gives its title to the book. The author, indeed, makes some sort of apology for not adopting the designation of ‘Michael Angelo and his Times,’ but justifies himself by the remark that in truth he and the time in which he lived were one, so that it is not possible to separate the consideration of his life from the events in the course of transaction around him. But even this extension of the title would be insufficient to include the whole scope and significance of Herman Grimm’s labours. With true Teutonic enthusiasm and comprehensiveness he has enclosed the whole world of European civilization as the building-plot upon which he rears the many-chambered structure now dedicated to the history and æsthetics of Art in the transcendent name of Michael Angelo. He has sunk his foundations so deep that they reach to ancient Athens and the early days of Florence; and the influences which are afterwards to operate in forming the character of the great painter, sculptor, architect, and poet of Italy, are derived from their sources in Greece with Sophocles, Æschylus, and Phidias, and continued in connexion with the names of Dante, Cimabue, and Giotto.”

The translator, or, as he prefers to style himself, the “collator,” of the *Life of Thorwaldsen*, is already well known as a writer on Scandinavian subjects. An amusing work by him, entitled “*Sport in Norway, and where to find it*,” was very favourably reviewed a year or two ago in our various serials; and that book created a just impression that Mr. Barnard, who resided for some time at Christiania as Chaplain to the British Consulate, took a lively interest in the primitive races and rugged scenery of the North, and knew well how to communicate his own feelings to others. In the subject which he has now chosen, he has been somewhat unfortunate, for, as a weekly contemporary observes, “it by no means follows that the story of a great artist’s life should be one of great interest.” Still, Mr. Barnard has done good service, for enough was known about the great Danish sculptor to stimulate curiosity; and the public had a right to have its curiosity satisfied.

An elaborate life of Carl Maria von Weber must complete our list of artistic biographies. This is a translation, by Mr. Palgrave Simpson, of the German work of Baron Max Maria von Weber, the son of the great composer. The Baron is said to have spent seven years in collecting materials for this book. Under these circumstances, when we consider also that there are few men whose personal adventures will fill two good-sized volumes, it can cause no surprise that the critics charge the author with faults of style, occasioned by the necessity of making a large book out of small matter, which the translator has been unable to remedy.

Of collective biographies (if we may use the expression) there are some which may be considered useful contributions to the literature of the year. One of these is entitled, “*Tuscan Sculptors: their Lives, Works, and Times*,” by C. C. Perkins. The author, an American gentleman, has executed his task with zeal and ability.

“Our author’s inquiries in Italy have not been confined to Tuscan sculpture. In these volumes, however, he restricts himself to that subject, leaving the history of the art as practised in the northern, southern, and eastern divisions of the peninsula for a future opportunity of publication.”

Another book of the kind last alluded to is of considerable importance, both in an historical and in a military point of view. It is the work of a soldier, Major-General John Mitchell, and is entitled “*Biographies of Eminent Soldiers of the last Four Centuries*.”



"This volume is composed of ten chapters, of which eight are devoted to historical sketches of celebrated soldiers, one to an historical sketch of the French army. Most of these papers, probably all of them, were intended to appear in magazines. They are, therefore, somewhat sketchy, and rather critical than biographical. Among the distinguished warriors here presented to the reader are Zisca, Bayard, the Constable Bourbon, the Duke of Alva, Suwaroff, Eugene, Marlborough, Saxe, Frederick the Great, and Massena. In reading their lives, we not only feel—so well has the author performed his task—as if the originals stood, spoke, and acted before us, but also we gather several little facts by no means generally known."

Among the books on Theology and Biblical subjects, Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon's work, "The Holy Land," stands forward prominently, both from the favour with which it has been received, and from the author's well-known position in the literary world. We shall leave others to speak at length; merely premising that Mr. Dixon's object seems to be, to bring the events of the sacred narrative before us as living realities in which we might ourselves have borne a part, and to destroy that sense of shadowy remoteness which human weakness unconsciously assigns to all ancient narrative. He thus endeavours to perform the part that Newton has done for the astronomer, and the inventor of the microscope for the naturalist; and the following passages bear strong testimony to the success of his earnest and well-sustained efforts:—

"Mr. Hepworth Dixon has favoured the public with two volumes of great interest and beauty on the topography, history, and traditions of the Holy Land. He has thrown himself with enthusiasm into the subject, over which he diffuses a new and brilliant light, drawn partly from his personal experience, partly from well-directed study. One of the objects he has in view is to fix the sites of sacred places which had been disturbed or obscured by learned but reckless innovators, whose speculations have grievously disfigured the geography of Palestine. Mr. Dixon contends, with a strong feeling of conservatism, that the Eastern Church, which traces its existence in the country to Apostolic times, is likely, on points of topography, to be right; for which reason, he accepts, in most cases, the decisions of that Church. It required no ordinary amount of literary skill to preserve such discussion from dryness; but in this the author has so well succeeded, that some of the most pleasant passages in his work are those taken up by topographical investigations. The chief reason, of course, is, that the names of nearly all the cities, towns, and villages in Palestine are linked with the biography and travels of Christ, for whose sake it is that we love to dwell on the cities of Bethlehem, Nazareth, Cana, Capernaum, Jericho, and Jerusalem. From the very opening of Mr. Dixon's work, we feel ourselves in the company of a literary photographer, who reflects the scenes of which he speaks with the utmost fidelity and effect upon our imaginations. Landscape after landscape is spread out before us as we advance from Jaffa to Jerusalem—landscapes lying under the glow of an Oriental sky, and having a scriptural air about them. Yet Mr. Dixon's style is peculiarly modern, sometimes full of glitter and sparkle, sometimes, where the theme requires it, toned down to a delicate simplicity."

"From what we have said, our readers, we trust, will hasten to secure to themselves the pleasure of traversing the gorges, valleys, plains, and heights of Palestine in company with a traveller at once so eloquent and discriminating as Mr. Dixon. On some few points, perhaps, we may have arrived at conclusions different from his: but, taken altogether, with its engravings and maps, this is one of the best books with which we are acquainted on the Holy Land."

In direct opposition to Mr. Dixon's method, is that of Bishop Colenso, who has now brought out "Part V." of his much discussed work, "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined." Of this, as we are not attempting to write theologically, we need merely say that it is an effort on the part of the Bishop of an English colony to discredit, by a process of minute verbal criticism, the authority of the book which, of all others, is held most sacred by the Church to which he still professes to belong. The inconsistency of such conduct requires no comment.

The work of the Dean of Westminster (Very Rev. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley) entitled "Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church," Part II., is extremely interesting, as are most of the works of this eloquent and industrious author. His method is well described in the following passage:—

"Dean Stanley's recent Lectures on the Jewish Church have the same conciliating qualities as the old, now familiar to many readers. From the sacred books and from his own knowledge of Palestine, he tells the grand old story again: peoples the fields of Bethlehem with reapers, fights the battles of David, reviews the glory of Solomon, traces the great schism in Jewry, down to the days when the pastoral and warlike tribes were carried away captives. It is a bright and wonderful story; told by Dean Stanley much as the substance of Shakspeare is told by Charles Lamb. The writing is good and pleasant; the narrative is picturesque; the tone is liberal. Of dangerous thought there is not much; and on such a topic as sacred history, original thought is not to be either expected or desired from an English divine, an Oxford professor, and a Dean of Westminster. Wild speculations, bold controversies and criticisms, grotesque inventions and denials, histories produced from the depths of a man's moral consciousness, all these things may be safely left to our German friends of Tübingen and elsewhere. Dean Stanley prefers the conciliatory middle course which runs between rebellious doubt and ultramontane slavery of the intellect."

Part II. extends from Samuel to the Captivity. Another volume will complete the work.

The new edition of Lowndes's "Bibliographers' Manual of English Literature," revised, corrected, and enlarged by H. G. Bohn, is now complete; the promised Appendix (or Vol. VI.) having been published. In our notice last year we alluded to this Appendix, which was to contain a list (among other things) of books published by Literary and Scientific Societies, with such particulars as might be useful to the scholar or collector. It appears that Mr. Bohn has rather disappointed his admirers, without, however, impairing his credit. It is to be hoped that he will return to his work, and give us all that he promised when he commenced the revision of the manual. No one doubts his capability of carrying out the design, and it would be a pity that the work should be left undone, or consigned to inferior hands. The following passages will explain the enigma contained in the last few sentences:—

"In the Preface to the first volume of this new edition of a manual of thirty years back, Mr. Bohn told his readers that 'entirely new works published since the time of Lowndes are intentionally excluded, being reserved for a supplementary volume of modern literature: on this principle, Macaulay's 'History of England' will be omitted, while new editions of Hume and the elder historians will be duly inserted.' No supplement of the kind has been issued, and none, it now appears, is in preparation; but in the Preface to his 'Appendix Volume,' which the public naturally expected to contain this supplement, and which contains something quite different, Mr. Bohn declares: 'I herewith complete my

bibliographical work, as far as I feel pledged to the public. What I may do hereafter in the same department must, for the present, remain a matter of reflection, and will depend upon sundry contingencies.' He adds soon after: 'Though I promise nothing, I decline nothing, and may, after a sufficient respite, be tempted to re-enter the bibliographical arena.' We trust that he may. Mr. Bohn has, in this new edition of Lowndes, nearly doubled the matter, and quite doubled the value; he has even, in several respects, gone beyond his pledges, by inserting in the later volumes articles on recent authors, which, by a strict adherence to his original plan, he might have omitted. It would be a pity to lose the credit of being better than his promise in some points by being worse than his promise on so essential a point as the intended supplement."

"We must not conclude, however, without a tribute of gratitude to the new editor of Lowndes, and his volunteer coadjutors, for what he and they have done. There is a great quantity of conscientious work in the new portion as well as the old; and the book as it stands is, at all events, an advance on any thing we have hitherto possessed, and a rich fund of materials for future bibliographers."

The Religious Tract Society has the credit of having brought out a "Hand-book of English Literature," which has been pronounced, on no mean authority, to be the best book of its kind.

In our Summary of last year we considered Historical Biography and Biography *pure et simple* as two distinct subjects; but on the present occasion, as the books of importance on these subjects are not very numerous, we have classed them together, and they will be found mentioned above, immediately after the subject of pure History.

Works of Travel and Geography are, as usual, very numerous. They must necessarily continue to be so in each year as long as the English nation remains conspicuous for its wealth and love of enterprise. One of the most curious of these (although relating to a rather limited subject) is "Madagascar and its People," by Mr. Lyons M'Leod. This book contains a history of the island from the time of its discovery to the revolution of 1863, which caused this remote country to attract considerable attention even in Europe, from the fact that it was brought on by a political agitation against the Christian inhabitants, and resulted in the establishment of something like a constitutional *régime*.

"Mr. M'Leod, for many years past, has devoted himself to African subjects. First, as the author of a proposed steam launch expedition to the upper waters of the Niger, which was ably planned and strongly supported, but never carried into effect. Secondly, as consul to Mozambique, where perhaps zeal, or over-zeal, in his endeavour to check the slave trade, brought him into collision with the French and Portuguese in the 'Charles et Georges' affair, and lost him his post. Since then he has been an active writer on African topics and promoter of African commercial schemes. We are therefore prepared to welcome from so old a hand whatever he has to tell us of the African island of Madagascar, which lies just opposite to the scene of his former consulate."

Mr. M'Leod's book is founded, to a great extent, on older authorities; but the more modern part of it contains information which is now for the first time, apparently, placed before the public in a collective form.

But the most important book of this kind by far, in the eyes of Englishmen, is that of the Rev. J. E. T. Woods, entitled "Australian Explorations.' We have in this work of a Roman Catholic clergyman a full and clear *résumé* of all that has hitherto been done towards increasing our knowledge of that country which is looked upon as England's youngest but most vigorous child.



It is singular how long we waited before any thing was seriously done towards colonizing Australia. In our eyes she is still something new and young; but yet the existence of the fifth continent was known as early as 1540.

"Mr. Woods has done good service in summarizing the results of ancient and modern travel in Australia; and his volumes, though painfully deficient in vividness of description, reminding us of daguerreotypes rather than pictures, are, in other respects, a valuable addition to Australian literature, and will certainly be placed in our libraries as necessary works of reference."

"The Giant Cities of Bashan," by the Rev. J. L. Porter, has the advantage of being the work of a man who knows his subject, and has resided in the country of which he treats. His object is, to illustrate the Bible narrative by showing the importance of the tribes which were overwhelmed by the triumphant march of the warlike Israelites. Vast remains exist, almost unknown, in outlying parts of Syria, which are evidently the work of a pre-Israelitish race. We know now that there are cyclopean ruins in numerous parts of the world—in India, Siam, Mexico, &c.—which attest the might of races far older than those of which we have any strictly historical knowledge. So it is also in the Holy Land; but with this important difference, that we have in the Bible an ancient account, slight indeed, but plainly alleging that the older races were wealthy and powerful, and that this account, while called in question on the one hand by captious critics, is receiving confirmation on the other from the observations of earnest travellers.

The great book of the year, however, in point of general popularity, is Dr. Livingstone's "Narrative of the Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries." The exploration of Africa has an extreme fascination for travellers and readers at the present time, probably because Africa was so long neglected while we were making fortunes in more favoured lands. The last expedition of Dr. Livingstone and his brother Charles (of which the book now alluded to contains the narrative) was commenced in August, 1859. The travellers started from the eastern coast, and travelled at first up the river Zambesi and its tributaries; their intended goal being certain lakes, heard of, but never before visited, called Shirwa and Nyassa. Mere geographical discovery, however, is far from being Dr. Livingstone's only aim. He desires to civilize and to Christianize the inhabitants, and, if possible, to substitute some lawful and useful commerce for the profitless and demoralizing slave trade.

"It remains for us only to add that Dr. Livingstone has found, according to this interesting volume, a wide and new field for commerce, emigration, and civilization. Whether the European emigrating wave can be, sooner or later, induced to flow in that direction, is a question that time only can solve. The explorer, at all events, is again gone forth to clear away more obstacles, the greatest of which, in the way of civilization, is the Portuguese settlement, which is an obstacle that a greater hand than the Doctor's must eventually sweep down from its bad eminence. When this and something more has been effected, there will be nothing in the climate or on the soil that need affright excursionists, and our grandchildren may take return tickets to Lake Nyassa, with leave to stay a week at the cataracts of Mosioatunya."

A magnificent work has been published by Mons. C. Texier, a French architect, and Mr. R. P. Pullan, Fellow of the Institute of British Architects, on the "Principal Ruins of Asia Minor." Mons. Texier had already connected his name with this subject by reading some interesting papers at the Institute. We mention this work among books of Travel; but it might also take a lofty place

among artistic works. The subject is of enormous scope, dealing as it does with the remains of so many splendid cities—cities which combined the wealth and luxury of the East with a love of Art derived from Greece, their mother country.

“Transylvania, its Products and its People,” by Charles Boner, gives us an account (by a man of learning and observation) of a corner of Europe very little known to our travellers.

“Transylvania is made up of a mixed population, comprising Roumanians, Hungarians, Germans, Gipsies, Jews, Armenians, and Slaves. This great variety may, in effect, be amusing and picturesque; but it adds seriously to the political difficulties to be encountered. The physical geography of the country is remarkable; it is locked in on all sides by the Carpathian Mountains, which have been found in times past ‘a barricade against northern barbarism and Turkish hate and tyranny.’ The victories of Trajan secured it as a Roman province, and even now the ploughshare constantly turns up from the soil witnesses of this early period of civilization. The Romans explored mines, made roads, built temples, and left a certain impress of themselves, both upon the language and the people. The Goths, Huns, and Tartars took the place of the departed legions; and later, the Magyars, who had already established themselves in Hungary, spread over the land.”

A posthumous work of the late Sir Thomas Wyse, “Excursion in the Peloponnesus in the year 1858;” and “Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India,” by Mr. Cameron, a resident at Singapore, are both, in their respective spheres, works of singular interest, relating to ground which is very little known. With these we must now conclude a list which is by no means exhaustive, and in which we only profess to notice briefly some few of the most important works of travel and geography of the year.

In Philology and kindred subjects we include translations of the works of ancient poets. We adopted this plan last year, although it might perhaps reasonably be maintained that poetical translations of Homer ought to be ranged under the head of poetry. This is rather a knotty question; but for the present, at least, we shall adhere to our original arrangement. The “*Iliad of Homer*,” in blank verse, by I. C. Wright; “*Homer’s Iliad*,” in English hexameters, by E. W. Simcox; the same, in English hexameters, by J. H. Dart, are among the numerous translations that have been published or in part published. We are quite ready to endorse the opinion of the “*Athenæum*” on the subject of English hexameters, and perhaps also as to “blank heroics:”—

“English hexameters and blank heroics are unlike one another in most respects; but they have one unfortunate peculiarity in common—they can both be produced with fatal facility. To attain real success in either, is immeasurably difficult; in the former, perhaps, impossible: to conquer the first steps is alarmingly easy. Both, indeed, are occasionally written unconsciously by persons who simply intend to write prose. Possibly, the composition of twenty-four books of hexameters may have made the cadence of Mr. Dart’s thoughts unusually hexametrical; but he sometimes falls, without intending it, into a verse as rhythmical as most of those which he writes with his eyes open. Thus he talks in his preface of ‘Those who now entertain a sense of dislike to the metre;’ and, in a note to Book ix., he says:—‘It may be supposed that Achilles here makes a movement, As if he were about to return an immediate refusal;’ though we must own, in fairness, that the stress which has to be laid on the small words at the beginning of each of the last two lines is more in Mr. Simcox’s style than in Mr. Dart’s.”

It is perhaps unfortunate that men of real talent and scholarship should

attempt to reproduce the ancient metres in a language that is utterly unsuited to them. In Greek, the hexameter is ballad-like and descriptive; in Latin, Virgil made it dignified and heroic; in English, on the other hand, it always seems childish and jiggling. As far as we can see at present, the recognized English "heroic" is the only proper medium, in our language, for a continuous narrative, or train of thought of a lofty kind.

We must not do injustice to the gentlemen above mentioned by allowing it to be supposed that they generally composed their works in imitation of Lord Derby. A translation of Homer's *Iliad* must take many years to complete, and, in all probability, it was only the publication, and not the composition, that was encouraged by the example of that nobleman. As to one of the translators, we have positive information to this extent, that he published six of Homer's twenty-four books as early as 1859.

"*Le Morte Arthur*" has been edited (from the Harleian MSS.), by Mr. F. J. Furnivall, well known as a diligent student of early English lore. It is a curious old ballad history, or perhaps we should rather say, metrical romance, purporting to relate the adventures of King Arthur (supposed to be the last British King of England), his wife Queen Guinevere, and Sir Lancelot of the Lake. Tennyson's "*Idylls of the King*" have made these old legends familiar to us; and it is satisfactory that the effort of a poet should have promoted the diligence of antiquarian students. "*Sir Gawaine and the Green Knight*" is another reproduction of a similar kind, brought out by the Early English Text Society.

Before quitting this part of our subject, we must mention a translation of the great trilogy of *Æschylus*, the *Agamemnon*, *Choëphoræ*, and *Eumenides*. This task has been effected, with better success than might have been anticipated, by a lady, Miss A. Swanwick, who had previously distinguished herself by presenting several of Goethe's works in an English poetical garb. It is unusual for ladies (in England, at any rate,) to possess sufficient knowledge of the ancient languages for such an undertaking as this; but it is well known that Miss Swanwick had, as to the philological part of her duties, the able assistance of Mr. Francis Newman. Under these circumstances, she could only be expected to exercise her mind on the poetical rendering of the original ideas; and the general verdict appears to be, that she has acquitted herself of this duty in a satisfactory manner.

In Antiquities, Archæology, and the like; as relating to *things*, and as distinguished from the re-editing and translation of ancient writings, we have rather more than usual to say this year. A second volume has appeared of that very curious book, "*Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft in Early England*;" edited by the Rev. O. Cockayne. This book, which is now completed, is a most singular record of the attempts that uninstructed man makes to help himself, and the remarkable manner in which, during a total absence of scientific knowledge, superstitious observances are mixed up with practical expedients.

Sir John Lubbock's book, "*Pre-historic Times*" is a summary worthy of the reputation of its author. It is a strange branch of investigation, this research into the pre-historic existence of mankind; but it need not seriously alarm us. When we were school-boys we read in Herodotus of the *Præonians* of the Lake, who built their houses on piles, and let down baskets into the water to catch fish with which they fed themselves and their horses. All this was looked upon as a fable; but now we find traces of such habitations in many of the lakes of Europe. When we consider that our oldest histories (with the single exception of the



Scripture narrative, which is confined to a very small area) only commenced a few hundred years before the Christian Era, we can only be surprised that we have no sooner discovered traces of those who inhabited the earth before the dawn of our boasted learning. Sir John Lubbock's book tells us what has been found out from the commencement of the new study up to the present time.

"We cannot more aptly describe the present publication to our readers than by saying that it forms the best *résumé* of the facts hitherto ascertained respecting this new branch of knowledge with which we are acquainted; whilst, from the industry with which the materials have been collected, the time devoted to personal researches to rectify and extend the discoveries of others, and the pains so successfully taken to marshal and arrange the details into one orderly and connected whole, we think it probable it will long maintain its present position of the best text-book on the subject. Five out of the fourteen chapters which it contains—viz., Danish Shell-mounds, Swiss Lake-dwellings, Flint Implements of the Drift, North American Archæology, and Cave-men—have already been published in the 'Natural History Review' (from 1861 to 1864), constituting at the time of their appearance the first consecutive narration of these discoveries that had been presented to the British public; and their almost immediate reproduction by the scientific press of France and America at once testified to their value."

A very remarkable book on a branch of the same subject has been translated from the Italian of B. Gastaldi, by Mr. C. H. Chambers. It is entitled "Lake Habitations and Pre-historic Remains in the Turbaries and Marl-beds of Northern and Central Italy."

We might almost fill a volume if we were to enumerate all the works on archæological investigation; but we must content ourselves with two more, of totally different kinds from those above mentioned, and also different *inter se*. These are, "Essays on the Invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar," by G. B. Airy, Astronomer Royal; and "History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art," by Mr. Thomas Wright. As regards the first of these works, the high scientific position of its author entitles him to a patient hearing. Moreover, the fact that the Emperor Napoleon's History of Julius Cæsar is now in progress, makes the time peculiarly opportune for an investigation by a true-born Briton. as to the particular manner in which the great Roman general accomplished the invasion of our country. The particular theory of Professor Airy is rather different from those usually received.

"It is allowed by every one that the Roman army crossed from the Continent to this island, somewhere in the narrow seas. Nature combines with Cæsar's text to establish this fact. But where? The old opinion was, that Cæsar sailed from either Calais or Boulogne, and landed at Dover or some place near Dover. But the exact localities were never fixed. D'Anville, the first geographer of his day, adopted the theory of Wissant being the point of his departure, Dover the place of his arrival. Wissant is a little port, now silted up, between Calais and Boulogne, and in one of the narrowest parts of the strait. Rennell, while admitting that Cæsar may have sailed from Wissant, is of opinion that he landed at Deal. Halley followed Rennell as to Deal, without going so far as to accept his theories about Wissant. It was in the first instance against these theories that Professor Airy armed himself for battle. His reading of Cæsar, his knowledge of the southern coast, his observations of the Channel tides, all led him to doubt the accuracy of these old interpretations, and to carry the point of departure so far

from Calais as the mouth of the Somme, and the place of landing so far from Deal as Pevensey Bay."

Mr. Wright's book is one of those works on which a learned and industrious man may spend a whole lifetime, with the enthusiastic desire of collecting scattered scraps of information on a special subject, and forming from them the basis of a study which may afterwards be elaborated by his successors. We class this among archæological works, because it contains much research as to the Roman stage, the old English drama, and the like; but we feel rather doubtful under what head it ought properly to be placed, since it also brings us down to later times. The following passage will show that the author would be likely to sympathize with us in our perplexity, and it will also to a sufficient extent explain the curious and composite nature of the work:—

"The range of this book is wider than its title. It touches many topics that have only distant affinities with the humorous and grotesque in literature and art, and some that have none; so that, in addition to the old fantastical devices in stone and wood and in mural paintings, and the modern caricature, we are treated to glimpses of such objects as the Roman stage, mediæval story-books, the satyr *Ménippée*, and English comedy. The work is less a history than a miscellaneous collection of curious illustrations of history. Mr. Wright confesses that he was perplexed about his title. 'The word comic,' he says, 'seems to me hardly to express all the parts of the subject which I have sought to bring together in my book.' The real perplexity, however, is not so much in the word 'comic' as in the word 'history,' which here presupposes a unity and sequence utterly unattainable in a work of this nature. But dismissing the title, which, in one sense, does not do justice to the multifarious contents of the volume, there can be no hesitation in saying that, in a desultory way, there is more matter to be found in these pages concerning the burlesque and satirical sides of literature and art, in their various relations to creeds, policies, and social development, than has ever been collected before."

Among the works of fiction which have issued from the press, Mr. Dickens's work, "*Our Mutual Friend*," must first be mentioned, as its author, from the reputation of his previous works, is *facile princeps* among living writers of fiction. It must be admitted that Mr. Dickens has not in this his latest effort satisfied in all respects the expectations of his ardent admirers. But we can scarcely be surprised at this, for no writer is always—if we may use an illogical but expressive phrase—equal to himself. That Mr. Dickens still possesses the qualities which enabled him to write the "*Pickwick Papers*," the "*Old Curiosity Shop*," and "*Martin Chuzzlewit*," three books so very different *inter se*, yet such proud monuments of the work of one great and original genius, we do not at all doubt; but a novel, especially a novel worthy of Dickens, is a creation; and writers, like artists, are sometimes unable at the desired moment to summon to their aid their highest inventive powers. In the creation of characters, however, Mr. Dickens is still as fertile as ever; it is in the artistic completeness of the picture, if any thing, that he is deficient. "*Our Mutual Friend*" came out in a serial form, and was completed and reprinted in full during the year of which we are now writing.

Mr. W. Gilbert's novel, bearing the singular name of "*De Profundis*," has excited much attention both from the nature of the subject and the style of execution. It is all in low life without unnecessary vulgarity, and it deals with the subject in such a way as to make us sympathize with patient endurance, and not (like "*Jack Sheppard*" and similar works) with criminal audacity.

"Mr. Gilbert, therefore, deserves great praise for the way in which he has managed to make the lives of the humble inhabitants of Blue Anchor-yard and Smith's-rents, Westminster, attractive. He has relied on none of the ordinary machinery of his craft. The hero and heroine marry early in the first volume, and the remainder of the book is occupied with their struggles and misfortunes."

"Sir Felix Foy," by Mr. Dutton Cook, is perhaps one of the author's best efforts. Mr. Cook writes assiduously; but (unlike some lady novelists, who bring out about three novels in each year) not too fast for proper study of character and purity of style. Hence his fame is rapidly progressing; and a name which was scarcely known a year or two ago is one of the most popular at the circulating libraries. His characters are usually genuine, and his narrative is pleasant and quietly humorous.

Several other well-known writers have published novels of various degrees of merit during the year. Some have exceeded expectation; others have fallen below it. The only one to which we need specially allude is, "Can You Forgive Her?" by that general favourite, Mr. Anthony Trollope, which was certainly one of the most popular books of the season. The merits and faults of Mr. Trollope, and also of this particular work, are cleverly touched upon by a contemporary:—

"His virtue is sometimes his fault. He is, if we may say so, too natural. He seems to despise plot; at any rate, he seldom, if ever, attempts it. His works therefore lack unity; the individual characters are infinitely better than the drama considered as a whole; the portraits are perfect, but it is only the frame that gives oneness to the picture. The consequence is, that he is often at a loss to know what to do with some of the people he has brought into existence. The *deus ex machinâ* has to be called in to assist him; and, as the helping deity usually disdains the shroudings of mystery, he meets with merited derision. Two characters who play important parts in this book, are, after serving that purpose, dismissed with a word; one is sent to Germany, and the other to America, with strict orders never to come back again. As both are rascals, perhaps transportation is the best thing for them. But Mr. Trollope's paternal feelings are strong, and it is not improbable that they may return in some future volume—let us hope, penitent prodigals."

This year is remarkable for the sudden rise of a new poetical star: Mr. A. C. Swinburne, author, it is true, of several works published at earlier periods, has now, for the first time, risen to a high rank by the publication of his "Atalanta in Calydon." This has been followed up by "Chastelard," a tragedy founded on an episode in the life of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland. Both works have been received with unusual favour, though some faults have been found with the treatment of the latter subject.

"The power of poetic expression so remarkably displayed in Mr. Swinburne's 'Atalanta in Calydon,' is not absent from his new work. He still writes with force and beauty of phrase, though not without drawbacks of straining and affectation. In a dramatic point of view, too, he shows, up to a certain point, striking qualities.

"Let us remark, before concluding, that Chastelard's attestation of Mary's innocence is matter of history, though as used here it only serves to blacken her character. Upon such persons and events as those which we now gladly lose sight of, the powers of the highest dramatist would be wasted. If 'Chastelard' be remembered at all, it will be solely for its detached beauties of expression. We hope, should we meet Mr. Swinburne again, that he will be able to exhibit



vice without painting a monster, and to give us a higher type of knightly devotion than an infatuated libertine."

The reappearance of Mr. R. H. Horne, (author of "Cosmo de Medici," and "Orion") after many years' silence, has caused some sensation in the literary world. His drama, "Prometheus, the fire-bringer," is considered to be worthy of his former reputation.

We have a new translation of Dante's "Inferno," by the Rev. Prebendary Ford, in the metre of the original; and the "Divina Commedia" has been similarly rendered by the Rev. John Dayman, formerly fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. A writer more known to fame, Mr. Theodore Martin, has produced an English version of that almost untranslatable work, the "Faust" of Goethe.

The essayists, in other words the writers who publish their various magazine articles from time to time in a collective form, are in considerable force this year. Among them we find the names of Anthony Trollope, Edmund Yates, Hannay, Ruskin, "A. K. H. B.," and Matthew Arnold. Mr. Matthew Arnold's "Essays on Criticism" have naturally attracted attention, as being the work of a professor of poetry, and of the son of so celebrated a man as the late Dr. Arnold of Rugby. "A. K. H. B.," whose last collection is entitled "The Critical Essays of a Country Parson," is, perhaps, the most popular writer of this class just at present.

Among the miscellaneous works we may mention "Extracts from the Journal and Correspondence of Miss Berry," an amusing book of anecdotes of society, in which we have glimpses of many of the most celebrated persons, male and female, of the last half-century. Miss Berry had been intimate, throughout a long life, with people in the highest walks of society; she had seen Marie Antoinette, had been the guest of Louis Philippe, and had associated on familiar terms with the most accomplished wits, from Horace Walpole to Sydney Smith. These excerpts from her diary were published after her death by Lady Theresa Lewis, shortly before that lady's own decease.

Another book of a somewhat similar kind is, "France on the Eve of the great Revolution," by Admiral Sir G. Collier, published by his granddaughter, Mrs. C. Tennant.

"Social Aspects of the Thirty Years' War" consists of two lectures, by the Archbishop of Dublin; whose high literary reputation is a sufficient guarantee for its being, as a contemporary describes it, "a bright little book."

The "Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy," by J. Stuart Mill (now M.P. for Westminster), is a review of a great logician, by one who is equally recognized as a master of the subject. The work is of course of too abstruse a nature to be particularly described in a popular summary like that which we are writing.

Earl Russell, so many years a celebrated statesman under the name of Lord John Russell, and now Prime Minister of England, has published a new edition of his "Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution, from the reign of Henry VII. to the present time." Of this the "Reader" says: "There is no doubt that this work, now revived, will be read by many who never before had seen, or perhaps even heard of it. The author's political fame and station will ensure this; and we could wish that he may yet turn any opportunities of leisure to profit, by a careful revision of his youthful performance." No doubt the experience of a practical English statesman must be useful to our countrymen, and still more so to foreign politicians, who, as a general rule, are behind us in the march of constitutional administration. The latest experience is usually the

best, and we entirely concur in the hope expressed by our contemporary, that Earl Russell will have time to give his work the finishing touches, which can only come with advantage from the hand of a master.

Messrs. Longman's Catalogue of Periodicals (including newspapers, transactions of societies, serial novels, &c., published in the metropolis), corrected up to January, 1866, gives a total of 736, whereas that of the previous year gave 758. The difference is 22; and by a comparative examination of the two catalogues, we find that there were 116 old periodicals discontinued, and 94 new ones started in the course of the year, giving a difference of 22. By this mode of balancing we have been able to satisfy ourselves as to the general accuracy of the catalogue. Perfect accuracy is, probably, not to be attained, but the result of the arithmetical test is satisfactory; and we cannot help wishing that Messrs. Longman would compile a similar list of the books published in London every year. This would not interfere with the "Publisher's Circular," which is of a more comprehensive character, but fails to give the bibliographer just the statistical information that he wants. The diminution in the number of periodicals is rather remarkable, especially as there was an increase of about twenty-nine the year before. Perhaps, however, one circumstance accounts for the other, as excess of energy in one year is not unlikely to lead to corresponding languor in the next. Among the most important of the new publications were the "Fortnightly Review," edited by G. H. Lewes; the "Shilling Magazine," edited by Mr. Samuel Lucas, literary editor of the "Times;" and the "Pall Mall Gazette," an evening journal of a very novel description, containing social essays full of caustic humour, in the place of or in addition to the ordinary "leaders" that are looked for in a daily paper. Among the periodicals that have disappeared there are few of any importance; many of them indeed being merely novels published in a serial form, and the great bulk being small periodicals devoted to the interests or views of some particular class or sect.

The "Athenæum," "London Review," "Reader," "Saturday Review," and, we may add, the "Spectator," continue to direct the literary taste of the general reader, and no rival has arisen during the past year. We have once more to acknowledge, personally, the great obligations under which we lie to the weekly critical publications, for the assistance which we derive from them in forming this summary. We remember well that the market was over-crowded with publications of this kind a few years ago, and we presume that the failure of a good many efforts must have placed a limit, for the time, to this branch of literary enterprise. No important newspaper has ceased to exist, and the only remarkable novelty in newspaper literature is the appearance of an evening paper called the "Glowworm." This paper prints, on its front or title page, the programme of a theatre or music hall, and issues, so far as this feature is concerned, a separate edition for each of the most conspicuous places of amusement. Thus a person who is attending a performance can purchase of the attendants a copy of the "Glowworm," containing the usual evening news, with the programme of the particular place of amusement as a frontispiece.

We have to lament the death of several distinguished literary personages during the year. The most famous name by far that has disappeared from the roll of authors is that of Judge Haliburton, who first taught us to appreciate the humorous side of the "Yankee" character. Next, perhaps, in reputation comes Professor Aytoun, author of "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers," and one of the greatest ornaments of the literary circles of Edinburgh. Mr. Isaac Taylor, whose name seems like a name of the past (since the time of his greatest reputation was

that of our childhood), died last year, as did also Mr. Leitch Ritchie, a veteran writer of magazine literature, and Mr. Samuel Lucas, editor of the "Morning Star." This gentleman was brother to Frederick Lucas, who became a convert to Romanism, and was editor of the "Tablet," and whose life was written in 1862 by Mr. Riethmüller. Mr. Samuel Lucas was a brother-in-law of Mr. John Bright, the great Quaker M.P., and in journalism he strongly advocated the views of that politician. It is singular that there should be another Samuel Lucas equally well known at the present time in the literary world. That gentleman, we are happy to say, is still with us, and is mentioned a little above as editor of the "Shilling Magazine." Cardinal Wiseman, Lady Theresa Lewis, Sir Lascelles Wraxall, and Mr. Wingrove Cooke must also be mentioned as persons of literary distinction whom we have lost. Lady Theresa Lewis was a daughter of the noble house of Clarendon, and wife of the eminent statesman and scholar, Sir G. C. Lewis, whose career was briefly described in our Obituary Notices for 1863.

We cannot dismiss this painful part of our subject without lamenting the decease of Mrs. Gaskell, a lady whose graphic pen, in "Mary Barton" and other novels, offered to the public so vivid a picture of the inner life of our vast manufacturing population.

The space allotted to us is now exhausted; and we must draw this summary to a close. Slight as it must necessarily be, it will, we trust, be accepted as a tolerably accurate sketch of the objects most worthy of attention in the literary history of the year which has just mingled with the past.

## ART.

The year that has just gone by has been rendered remarkable by a very striking exhibition of miniatures of all kinds and dates. These were borrowed from the numerous families in which they have descended as heir-looms; and the South Kensington Museum, where they were tastefully arrayed and carefully guarded, formed a pleasant lounge for those who liked to see the Lilliputian representations of their own ancestors, or to study generally the physiognomy of our aristocracy and the characteristics of our miniature portrait school. Some pictures were admitted which were not strictly miniatures, but which were so noteworthy that they could scarcely have been excluded without doing an injustice to the public. The committee entrusted with the duty of selection had probably never imagined before that there would be so much difficulty in drawing the line between portraits that are strictly miniatures and those that are not. They discharged their office, however, with zeal and ability; and when we consider that the art of miniature painting is gradually giving way before the advances of photography, and will probably very soon be extinct, it must be a matter of congratulation that this exhibition was inaugurated. Upwards of 3000 tiny portraits were displayed, and the most celebrated painters, from Holbein downwards, were represented, while many paintings of unknown artists were also thought worthy of a place.

The fruits of this exhibition are not over; for it has suggested to the Earl of Derby and other men of taste the idea of a National Portrait Exhibition, which, we presume, will take place in the course of this year. All families having ancestral portrait-galleries will be invited to contribute; and the election will be



made on a principle suggested by Lord Derby; namely, that portraits of celebrated men, and portraits by able artists, shall be admitted; while those paintings that are remarkable neither in subject nor in execution will be excluded. It is of course impossible to say more about this project at present; but if the National Portrait Exhibition is well managed, as we have no doubt it will be, an account of it will probably form one of the most conspicuous features of our Art Retrospect next year.

We now proceed to give a slight sketch of the various Annual Art Exhibitions that have taken place. The British Institution (modern paintings) was far above the average; probably for this reason, that it was pronounced last year to be much "below par," so that unusual efforts have no doubt been made to restore it to its proper position. Several eminent painters sent contributions, and among others Sir Edwin Landseer sent no less than three. Of these the most conspicuous was "An Event in the Forest," representing a dead stag, with a lurking fox, and an eagle hovering over the expected feast. Mr. E. Crawford's picture, "A Man of Straw," was conspicuous as a study of character, and Mr. L. R. Mignot's "Cordilleras of Ecuador" for its bold and vivid execution. Mr. Elijah Walton sent two pictures of Alpine scenery, which showed his power of transmitting nature's boldest effects to canvas.

At the usual season the British Institution threw open its doors for its second annual display, the Exhibition of Old Paintings, which, like the earlier exhibition, seems to have undergone a reviving process. The Dutch and Flemish schools were fairly represented, and there were some fine Italian pictures, including a "Musical Party," attributed to Giorgione. Upon the whole the greatest treasure was a magnificent Rubens, lent by the Duke of Marlborough.

"... The famous life-sized portrait of himself, his second wife Helena Forment, and their child, from the Duke of Marlborough's collection at Blenheim. The position assigned to it, both for light and considering the ease with which it can be inspected, is deservedly the best in the room. Those who remember the companion picture, of the painter's wife descending the steps of a mansion to her carriage, exhibited in the same place two years ago, will be prepared to admit that this, in point of effect, variety, and composition, is even superior. It is rare indeed to meet with a large work of this great painter in which the execution can be uniformly attributed to his own hand. The subject, being strictly domestic, may have possessed a sacred character for him, and the artist would naturally have dispensed with the services even of his most valued assistants. The pure clearness of the colours, the freedom of handling, and the exquisite beauty of the lady's complexion, united with the most careful modelling of the forms, show triumphantly how fully Rubens possessed the highest qualities required in the production of the most perfect works of art. Tranquillity and a sense of thorough enjoyment pervade the figures before us, whilst the cheerful colours of the garden in which they are walking, and the brilliant hues of the flowers and the macaw in the background, satisfy the eye and compensate for the somewhat large mass of pure black caused by the ample folds of the lady's dress. The picture has always been highly valued, and was presented by the city of Brussels to the great Duke of Marlborough."

We are not sorry to have had a more cheerful account to give of this Society, which seemed last year to be in a moribund state, but which now flourishes in youthful vigour.

The Society of British Artists calls for no special notice; though, as usual, its walls were well filled.

The Architectural Exhibition opened last year as usual, but was not very well filled. It is, however, obvious that an exhibition of this kind can only attract a small section of the public, and that the emptiness of the rooms must re-act upon the spirits of the exhibitors. Some excellent designs were exhibited, among others a "A Church at Torquay," by Mr. Street, who stands in the very highest rank of gothic architects. The Institute of British Architects continues to publish its transactions, or, as they are termed, its "Sessional Papers," in which many recondite subjects are treated, and the basis of some magnificent works has been laid.

The French Exhibition opened early in the year, and contained a very fine historical picture of "Lancelot van Ursel, burgomaster, addressing the guilds of Antwerp, &c." This is one of a series by M. Leys, illustrating the history of that which was once the greatest commercial city in the world. M. Leys is a striking painter, but his method is peculiar.

"It is a primary condition of M. Leys's art that, the spectator shall consider himself present at the event depicted. Hence, in a narrowly enclosed space, such as that before us, the figures appear close to us, and occasionally we are presumed to be parts of the circle of view which recedes abruptly into the picture; the point of distance is near the plane of the canvas, the vanishing lines converge rapidly, and the floor seems to rise steeply to the level of the eye. M. Meissonnier, three of whose pictures here illustrate the conventional mode of dealing with this matter, does not aim at incorporating us with the scenes, but boldly removes us from them, by ignoring a wall that would otherwise hinder our view of his interiors. We must take M. Leys as he is, and fairly accept his system before examining his pictures. Atmospheric gradations are not to be developed fully in so confined a space as that before us; hence the powerful tone of the colour and the abrupt closing in of the whole scene. The forces of Antwerp are gathered in a dense mass before the town hall; the quaint porch, the stone staircase, the ancient red-brick walls, the unsymmetrical windows, and curiously irregular aspect of the site, form parts of the historical illustration which are quite as valuable in their way as the outrageously slashed, flounced, and banded garments of the men, their diverse arms and faces. True to his principle of incorporating us with the scene, M. Leys deals with his *bourgeois* elements daringly, yet lovingly and faithfully."

Several of the old favourites at this gallery were well represented; among others, Meissonnier, M. A. Stevens, Gerôme, and Gallait. Miss Rosa Bonheur (whom we missed from the walls the former year) sent a splendid animal study called "Deer in the Forest of Fontainebleau."

The Society of Female Artists has effected a reconstruction of its internal government; having expelled the "lay element," and being now entirely ruled by artists. If this is a sign of increasing strength, as it probably is, we congratulate the Society on the change. The Exhibition this year was such as to fulfil the hopes which last year's exhibition created. In studies of children the ladies seem especially to excel—Mrs. Ward's picture "The Young Archer," and "E. V. B.'s" "A Dream" and "Arcadia," were among the most satisfactory works of the year.

The Exhibition of the Society of Painters in Water Colours was scarcely so brilliant as its predecessor the year before, nevertheless it was by no means a failure. The following were the remarks of a contemporary on the opening of this interesting gallery:—

"The present Exhibition is, perhaps, hardly up to the average of the last few

years. The drawings of John Gilbert, usually among the most effective in the gallery, are this year singularly unattractive. George Fripp only contributes four small drawings—a limitation which, in the case of so excellent a landscape painter, is much felt by all lovers of good art. F. W. Burton is only worthily represented by one exquisite drawing, and Carl Haag has only a small study of “Baalbec,” besides his somewhat colourless picture of Her Majesty and her suite fording Poll Tairbh. On the other hand, we have Holland in great force; we note a marked advance in the drawings of Davidson, Boyce, and Alfred Hunt; we have at least two successful drawings by Alfred Fripp, and we have reason to hail with pleasure the election of the new associates, Messrs. J. D. Watson and F. Shields.”

Besides the painters above mentioned, many other well-known artists were represented; among others, Mr. Birket Foster, Mr. Smallfield, Mr. Goodall, Mr. Newton, &c. Another contemporary remarks, reasonably enough, that the practice of having two yearly exhibitions may, perhaps, be too great a strain on the powers of the Society.

We must not forget to mention, in this place, the Institute of Painters in Water Colours (originally called New Society of Painters in Water Colours), which in this, the second occasion of its appearance under its new designation, has very much improved upon the promise held forth in the former year. Figure pictures were scarce in this exhibition, but the landscapes were of a high order, including valuable contributions from Mr. Whymper, Miss E. Farmer, Mr. C.\* Cattermole, Mr. L. Haghe, and, last but not least, Mr. E. G. Warren.

The “General Exhibition of Water Colour Drawings,” an exhibition which owes its origin to the large number of artists and the limited arrangements of the “Society” and the “Institute,” has obtained a merited success already. The object of the plan is thus described by its originators. It is, to establish “a gallery which, while exclusively devoted to drawings as distinguished from oil paintings, should not in its use by exhibitors involve membership of a society.” In other words, whereas societies are limited and artists are unlimited in numbers, it is desirable that the latter should be able to exhibit without necessarily being members of the former.

“In glancing at the list of exhibitors, we find, among many new names, others that are well known, while many of those painters who have hitherto been known to the general public only by their oil pictures have gladly availed themselves of the opportunity now afforded to exhibit works produced in the slighter material. Among figure painters we find the names of Messrs. Redgrave, Solomon, Cave, Thomas, Gale, W. B. Scott, Talfourd, Poynter, and others; and among landscape painters, those of Messrs. Dillon, Harry Johnson, Beverley, Oakes, Moore, and Fenn, all belonging to artists of repute. It is of great advantage to an artist to be able to test his abilities by working in another material, and at the same time to submit his works to competition with those of others who are considered to be proficient where he is an unpractised hand; while it is very interesting to the public to compare the relative strength or weakness imparted to an artist’s work by the use of a familiar or strange material. Oil painters are, as a rule, successful when they take up water-colours, and we are not therefore surprised to meet with delightful examples in the gallery by some of those painters whose names we have mentioned above.”

“The public gratification has been well provided for, and the interests of a large body of able, and in most cases, so to speak, of uncertificated artists will be advanced by the happy foundation of the New General Exhibition.”



The walls of the Royal Academy were rendered remarkable on the last occasion by the presence of an unusual number of works of great size and pretension by our most eminent artists. We remember vaguely a passage in the writings of some French wit, representing that our countrymen do every thing on a small scale. This is undoubtedly true as regards our habitations and works of art; though in commercial enterprise we have long outgrown any such criticism. We do not know whether our painters were stirred up with emulation by the sight of the French battle-pieces, &c., at the International Exhibition of 1862; but whatever may be the reason, it is plain that they are actuated by a desire to show that they are capable of conceiving and executing a large design. The Exhibition, as a whole, may be pronounced to have been a very successful one.

"It may be fairly stated that the present Exhibition is, upon the whole, the best that any of us can remember. The more complete education of the present generation of painters is now plainly visible, and we have no longer to deal with a mass of commonplace works contrasted with a few noble pictures, but to examine attentively the performances of painters who are silently but rapidly forming a larger and more consistent school. Even those painters who, like Armitage, Leighton, and Crowe, have been educated abroad, have known how to steer clear of the peculiarities of foreign schools, and to maintain an independence and originality full of promise for the vigour and stability of our own. They have garnered the knowledge acquired by a more severe practice, and apply it with the force of their English intellects to the formation of a style that cannot be confounded with any of those now prevalent on the Continent, while at the same time, with a few striking exceptions, we detect no morbid taste for that offensive species of originality which is based on vanity, and displays itself in the exhibition of eccentricities and peculiarities.

"Surrounded by so many works of excellence, contending against an amount of ability unknown a few years back, it redounds to the credit of most of the Academician exhibitors that they have been able so well to hold their own. Landseer, Herbert, Cope, Elmore, Frith, Hook, Philip, Poole, and Stanfield sustain their well-earned reputations; Millais, John Lewis, and Leighton, lately elected from the ranks, are perhaps the most attractive exhibitors, next to Frith, whose picture this year possesses an intrinsic interest for a large crowd of sight-seers.

"Among the pictures of high pretensions in the class of Scriptural subjects, Herbert's 'Sower of Good Seed' will probably be the most popular. The treatment adopted is the same as that in the Westminster frescoes, upon which the artist has been engaged for so many years—namely, the substitution of the modern Eastern physiognomy, and the actual oriental life, for the traditional types that have come down to us from Italian sources. Who shall venture to pronounce dogmatically in favour either of the ancient or the modern interpretation by painting of the facts of Scriptural History? To those who are deeply moved by Da Vinci and Raphael, 'The encampment of the children of Israel at the foot of Sinai,' at Westminster, is but a congregation of Bedouin Arabs and their chiefs; and the 'Christ in the Temple,' by Holman Hunt, reflects but the interior of an Eastern café. To vast numbers of people, these works speak in a new and living voice, and by these the picture of 'The Sower' will be appreciated. The parable which it affects to illustrate is so infinite in its reach, that it positively illumines all attempts to illustrate or interpret it, and the thoughtful observer of the picture before us applies the words of the impressive lesson to this young Oriental husbandman scattering freely the seed over the waste, and so connects the action

with the Divine author of the parable. But for this, undeniably pure and elevated as the picture is, it has little spiritual significance, and indicates no remarkable imaginative power.

"We may contrast this literal treatment of the scriptural idea with Watts's grand rendering of the aspect of Esau. Here we find that all reference to the contemporary costume of the East has been carefully avoided, and the charms of colour subdued to a merely suggestive tone of harmony; hence the large and imposing character of the figure, which is the solitary example in the Exhibition of a profound acquaintance with the principles upon which the old fresco painters worked.

"A third Scriptural illustration may here be noted, to our thinking the most impressive picture of its class in the Exhibition—'The Parable of the Tares,' by Millais. This work differs from that of Herbert in being the product of a vivid imagination; and from that of Watts in its freedom from the conventionalities of the past. The Evil One, in the guise of a wicked old man abroad on a murky gusty night, is revealed by a sudden break of light behind the black rolling clouds, at his wicked work of sowing tares among the wheat. The stealthy action; the suspicious, evil eye, turned in the direction where men are sleeping; the dark form of the figure, lit only by the momentary gleam from behind, which marks its proportions; the shining reptiles that crawl towards it, as if to approach a kindred spirit, are but parts of a single and powerfully-expressed thought, and the design is one of the finest ever produced by the painter. The present picture is an attempt to carry out in colours the design which was originally drawn upon wood, and published as one of a set of 'The Parables,' some two years back; but although a magnificent study of colour, we cannot help feeling that the picture is less impressive than the drawing, and that force and reality are gained by the sacrifice to some extent of the spirituality of the thought."

Besides the painters of old and long-established reputation, some of the more recent aspirants deserve notice.

"Among the younger painters of this year, Mr. S. Solomon, Mr. Burgess, and Mr. G. A. Storey hold the foremost places. Mr. Solomon contributes a Roman subject called *Habet!* A knot of ladies occupy what may be called the Empress's box at a fight of gladiators. With great judgment, the painter has confined himself to them, and not aimed at representing the whole sweep of the auditorium. Their expressions epitomize those of the Roman women present at the close of a gladiator's combat which has been protracted unusually, and aroused the interest of all to an unwonted pitch. It is certain that this picture has terrible force, whether it shows the moment when the *retiarius* has cast his net over his antagonist, and driven the heavy head of the trident into his chest, or if now the flying net-man feels the *secutor's* sword enter his back, or, what is more probable, now the completely armoured champion has struck the throat of his adversary, and the hiss of 80,000 in-drawn Romans' breaths through their long-set teeth, precedes the roar of *Habet!* 'He has it.' As the interest of the combat rose gradually, so the close was sudden; neither characteristic has, however, affected the Empress in any marked way. She is long past the fierce delight or more tender feelings which move her companions."

The number of landscapes on "the line" was unusually small; as might be expected from the great number of large works by eminent artists. Those, however, which were thus honoured were of more than average merit. The portraits were few in number, but there were some of considerable merit, the names of Knight, Grant, Frith, Boxall, &c., being represented. The architectural drawings

were few and far between, and this, as well as the poverty of the Architectural Exhibition, is partly to be accounted for (as a critic at the time suggested) by the fact that architects are too busy in the execution of works to give up much time to the exhibition of plans. It must be remembered that to the painter an Exhibition is a show-room, where he has the best market for his pictures; but nobody goes there to seek out a plan for a hospital, a church, or a house.

With regard to the sculpture, a well-known periodical gives a brief but not very flattering criticism:—

“The sculpture cavern contains its usual number of busts, and about the same quantity of sentimentality in marble and plaster of Paris as have for many years made the critic groan. We except that of Mr. J. Durham, ‘Head of a Child,’ on account of its expressiveness; Mr. Boehm’s ‘Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe’ has some good qualities of execution that are by no means too common here. It is not surprising to see how, with sculpture almost at the lowest ebb as an art in general practice, inferior taste and inferior execution go together among us. Of the statues few are worthy of note, the gross rotundity of ‘Departing Spirits,’ by C. A. W. Wilke, a mother and child, belies its title ludicrously. Notwithstanding the affectation of a Michael Angelesque manner in Mr. E. Davis’s alto-rilievo, ‘The Madonna and Child,’ it is effective. ‘The Children in the Wood,’ by Mr. Marcello, might be put in a fanlight of a door without offence, which is saying a good deal for it. The girl’s head in Mr. J. Durham’s ‘Trying the Lesson’ is very pretty. The head of ‘Eve,’ by Mr. P. MacDowell, is too small for her; the face is childish, any thing but that of the mother of mankind, and looks as if it had done duty for ‘A Nymph,’ or ‘Musidora,’ or what you will. Pretentious as this work is, its execution is rude: see the modelling of the pit of the raised arm; see the ancles, which look as if they had been spoilt by the use of high-heeled boots; the heels stick out behind, as they do with those who wear such boots. There is vigour of conception, at least, in ‘Il Pensiere,’ by Mr. Leifchild, but the attitude is a caricature, the face absurd, the drapery altogether poor. As a romantic garden-statue, ‘Elaine,’ by D. Davis, would not be amiss. Mr. Crittenden’s ‘Play’ is not bad—a mother playing with her child.”

Two winter exhibitions were opened some few weeks before Christmas, one by Mr. E. Gambart, at the “French Gallery,” the other by Mr. Wallis, at the Gallery of the Society of British Artists. As a contemporary well observes, “In London, where we had, twenty years ago, one exhibition of pictures,” (which, by the way, was spoken of as “The Exhibition” until 1851,) “we have now ten.” These, however, are mainly the result of private enterprise; and so long as we keep to our curious system of maintaining testy and ill-tempered corporations, supported by public funds, but refusing to submit to public opinion, it is to private enterprise that we must look for energy and improvement. Mr. Wallis’s exhibition consisted of about 600 pictures. Mr. Gambart’s exhibition has now been going on for thirteen years, and is looked upon as a recognized institution. It is managed, we are told, by Frenchmen exclusively; and on this occasion it was an exhibition “of unusual interest.” Mr. Watts, Mr. Elmore, Mr. Millais, Mr. Hook, Mr. Goodall, Mr. Pickersgill, &c., were here represented, and the collection is pronounced to have been of a higher standard, though less numerous, than in former years. With regard to Mr. Wallis’s collection, we need not enter into minute particulars, as most of the pictures had already figured on the walls of other galleries.

There have been, during the year, several minor exhibitions: by which expres-



sion we mean, exhibitions of individual pictures, or of pictures of a particular artist. Mr. Ford Madox Brown's exhibition was a collection of his own paintings, the principal attraction being one of large size called "Work," representing a group of labourers mending a road, with other figures incidentally introduced.

Mr. F. M. Brown has been favourably treated by the critics: and, we should imagine, by the public also. Mr. Holman Hunt's picture, "Children's Holiday," has also been separately exhibited at the Gallery in Hanover-street. Mr. Elijah Walton's pictures of Alpine scenery formed one of the attractions of the German Gallery in Bond-street, and they derived an additional interest from the fact that the "peaks and passes" of the Alps are now constantly sought by hundreds of adventurous Englishmen during their summer holiday, and that one such spot on the Matterhorn was the scene of a melancholy accident during the past year, by which several lives (among others, that of a promising young English nobleman) were sacrificed.

The drawings of the late lamented John Leech were sold early in the year, and realized a large sum. The great reputation that he had obtained as the most popular illustrator of the comic periodical "Punch," together with his unlooked-for and early death, lent an interest to this transaction, which seldom attaches to the sale of the works of the most eminent deceased artists. Even half-finished sketches sold for several pounds; and it was understood that the total sum received was about 6500*l*. The lots were 659 in number, so that the average price may be said to have been about 10*l*. The industry of the artist must have been extraordinary, for he was a constant contributor to "Punch," and it is wonderful that he could find time to lay by such a large stock of miscellaneous drawings in addition to those which he executed in the regular exercise of his profession.

The sketches of Mr. Leech were exhibited previous to the sale; and a similar exhibition took place of the works of the late D. Roberts. Both were well attended, but as those who laugh at the humorous drawings in "Punch" are more numerous than those who really admire Art for itself alone, it cannot be wondered that the collection of Mr. Leech's drawings attracted the larger crowd of visitors. Nearly 900 pictures, drawings, and sketches by Mr. D. Roberts were exhibited, showing an immense amount of industry, when it is considered that he was known to have painted about 300 works not included in the collection.

The mural paintings of the Houses of Parliament, or "Palace at Westminster," are progressing; and "The Death of Nelson," by Maclise, is one of the completed works of the year. It is a fresco of great merit, and may be reckoned, as a contemporary observes, in the foremost rank of historical art. One of the most remarkable works of the year, however, is the "Marmor Homericum," a piece illustrative of the Iliad of Homer, presented by Mr. Grote to University College, London, and placed on the wall of the cloister of that building. The work is executed according to an Italian method, revived by M. Triquetti, a foreign sculptor. It is a kind of *niello*, made by cutting lines in white marble and filling them up with black cement.

The additions to the National Gallery are of some importance. Our national collection takes some time to form; but we trust that we shall some day have sufficient examples of each foreign school, if not one of the finest collections in the world of the works of the "Old Masters." Two paintings of Velasquez have been purchased, one, the "Orlando Muerto," from the Pourtales sale in Paris; the other, a "Head of Philip IV." The first is thus described:—

"The recently-acquired Velasquez, at the National Gallery, is a remarkable picture, although, at first sight, somewhat disappointing. It was recognized by

Mr. Stirling, when in the Pourtalès collection, as a Velasquez, and appears as such in his catalogue of the painter's works, under the name of 'El Orlando Muerto,' or 'The Paladin Orlando dead.' There is, however, little about the execution of the picture resembling that which we generally see in his known works—none at least, of the *dash*—and, if indeed by the master at all, it must be one of his early works, as the painting is somewhat hard, the features of the face being defined with a distinctness of parts which rather shows an affinity in style to Zurbaran or Spagnoletto. The picture exhibits a remarkable power of foreshortening. The figure, an armed warrior in the costume of the seventeenth century, is seen, life-size, lying flat on his back, with his head and shoulders towards the spectators; the rest of the figure retreating, in a slanting direction, to the left. His right hand rests on his chest, and the other is connected with the hilt of the sword, the blade of which lies under his body. The ground beneath the figure is flat and stony, and, with the exception of three human skulls and two long bones, destitute of accessories. Large rocky masses, or slab-like stones, occupy the right-hand portion of the background, whilst a bronze lamp, the wick of which has just expired, is suspended from a withered tree in the centre. The general tone is cold, partaking of a moonlight effect, and the entire picture inspires a feeling of dreary desolation. The picture is long and square in shape, and painted on canvas, which required relining before it could be safely exhibited to the public."

The "Garvagh Raphael," a small holy family by Raphael, formerly belonging to Lord Garvagh, has also been acquired, at the cost of 9000*l.* to the nation.

"The 'Holy Family' now purchased by the National Gallery is on wood, and measures about fourteen inches by eleven inches. It was formerly in the Aldobrandini Palace at Rome, whence it was purchased by Mr. Day, an English artist residing in Rome when the French were in occupation of the city. This picture was exhibited in London privately, with several others of high quality, the greater part of which are already in the National Gallery, between the years 1801 and 1802. At that time Mr. Day valued the 'Raphael' at 1500*l.*, and he subsequently sold it to Lord Garvagh. The group is composed of three figures, namely, the Madonna, and the infant Saviour with St. John. The Virgin wears a turban, and is a half-length figure, partially seated on a stone pedestal, in front of the pilaster of an arcade. Holding some drapery with one hand, she affords shelter to the perfectly naked infant Saviour, who is giving a carnation flower to the youthful St. John. The Virgin looks tenderly down upon St. John, with his little reed cross, and places her left hand encouragingly upon his lamb-skin mantle. The figure of St. John, which occupies the right-hand corner of the picture, and is only seen in half-length, is thoroughly characteristic of the painter. The profile view of the face, with dark, upturned eye and earnest gaze, will be found to occur in many of his best compositions. The Madonna, again, is a most satisfactory example of the simplicity and grace with which Raphael always, in early times, invested her; and exhibits, moreover, just as much of the fulness and ripeness of womanhood as would be consistent with a being of such exalted purity."

The above-mentioned pictures are very valuable acquisitions, especially the last; and the nation has also purchased "A portrait of a Lawyer," by Moroni, "St. John" by Hemlinck, and a work of the Venetian painter Carpaccio, of whom we had no example before.

The grand problem, what are we to do with our pictures? is about to be solved. One-half of the National Gallery buildings is not nearly large enough even now, and will be ridiculously insufficient a few years hence. The Royal Academy

has kept possession of the other half, and the patient public has hitherto been obliged to give way to the Academicians. Last year, however, Mr. Cowper bestirred himself in the House of Commons, and succeeded in passing a bill for the enlargement of the present National Gallery.

"The most important event with regard to the National Gallery that has presented itself for several years past, is the grant, by the House of Commons, on Monday night last, of 20,000*l.*, on account, for the purchase of land in the rear of the present edifice. Mr. Cowper, in placing the vote before the House, cogently stated the reasons for enlarging the building in question. There is not room to hang the pictures already possessed by the nation, even although some were placed twenty-two feet from the ground; many are hung at South Kensington, and although the Royal Academy might remove, there would still not be room enough for the exhibition of all the pictures; these are 750 in number, exclusive of 200 water-colour drawings at South Kensington, and a great number of drawings by Turner. Every year there would be an increase; it is desirable to acquire certain pictures when there is room in which to place them. There are drawings in the British Museum, not exhibited, which, if they were placed with the Italian pictures in Trafalgar-square, would be serviceable to students. There are portraits in the British Museum, and pictures at Hampton Court, which it is desirable should be added to the National Gallery. Room should be found for the National Portrait Gallery, although it might remain under trustees distinct from those of the National Gallery. The present building is wholly inadequate for these purposes, and is crowded on certain days. One Whit-Monday there were no fewer than 10,000 persons in the apartments; the ventilation is insufficient for the proper preservation of the works when they are exposed to such numbers as these. The existing edifice was designed rather in subordination to the portico of St. Martin's Church than in its proper character. The site was not large enough; it was possible to acquire land in the rear."

So far, so good; but there is much to be done yet. It is believed that the Royal Academy will erect a new gallery for itself; probably on the site of Burlington House in Piccadilly, which has been used for miscellaneous public purposes since the Earl of Burlington succeeded to the higher title of Duke of Devonshire, and became possessed of Devonshire House. The National Gallery will then be free; and it will be enlarged in the rear (at least that is understood to be the plan) by building on the site of the present St. Martin's Workhouse, and Archbishop Tenison's Library; both which institutions would flourish equally well in another situation.

Mr. J. F. Lewis was elected a Royal Academician early in the year.

The Pourtales pictures, and articles of *vertu*, the most extraordinary collection perhaps ever known, was sold last year, under the will of its deceased proprietor, Count Pourtales. The prices fetched by some of the lots were enormous, as the museum of the Count included originals of Leonardo, Rubens, Holbein, Murillo, Velasquez, and other great painters, as well as statuettes, old armour, gems, coins, old glass, and curiosities of almost every imaginable kind. Collectors from all parts flocked to Paris to this gigantic distribution, at which, as we have already mentioned, our own National Gallery succeeded in securing one valuable picture. We have not sufficient materials before us to be able to give the precise statistics of this wonderful sale, but it was understood that it was to last for six weeks; and the "Athenæum" tells us that the receipts of ten days alone, during which the gems, old glass, coins, sculpture, bronzes, and miscellaneous curiosities were sold, amounted to 22,792*l.*



Two more great sales took place in Paris, those of the Galleries of the Duchesse de Berry, and the Duc de Morny. We could willingly linger over these subjects, if our space would allow us to do so; but we are writing about England and the great dispersions of works of art that have taken place in France can only be mentioned *en passant*.

In March the collection of Mr. Thomas Blackburn, of Liverpool, was sold by auction. It consisted of works by numerous well-known painters of the English school, including Creswick, Stanfield, Prout, Goodall, Gilbert, &c. No very extraordinary sums were realized, but the whole sold at fair prices, the total amounting to 8763*l.* 15*s.*

The collection of Mr. R. Gibson Reeves, of Hawthorn House, Birmingham, was sold in the same month. Besides paintings of the English school, it included one or two small works of Ostade, Van Balen, &c. The whole realized 7525*l.*

About the same time the collection of Sir Hugh Hume Campbell was sold, consisting of water-colours by Cattermole, Prout, Turner, and David Cox. The highest lot was Turner's "Exeter from the River" (engraved in "England and Wales"), 490*l.*

A more important sale than those above mentioned took place in April; that of the modern pictures, water-colours, and engravings of Mr. John Knowles, of Manchester: So many of our modern artists were represented that we cannot attempt to give even a selected list. Sir David Wilkie's "The Errand Boy" sold for 1050 guineas; Madlle. Rosa Bonheur's "Spanish Muleteers," for 2000 guineas; Mr. A. Elmore's "Religious Controversy in the time of Louis XIV." for 1000 guineas; W. Müller's "The Slave Market" for 600 guineas. The whole collection realized the large sum of 21,750*l.*

A few days later, Mr. J. G. Robinson's collection of English water-colour drawings and pictures fetched 7925*l.*; the highest lot being Mr. Thomas Faed's "Faults on Both Sides," which sold for 550 guineas.

We cannot quit the subject of sales without once more travelling abroad, and mentioning that the Royal Gallery of Madrid has recently acquired Murillo's "Death of Santa Clara" (from the collection of the late Marquis Aguado), for the sum of 75,000 francs; which may be described, roughly speaking, as equivalent to 3000*l.*

The "Arundel Society" continues its labours. During the year under consideration, its publications have included engravings or lithographs of several remarkable works of the Flemish school, among others the memorable paintings of Hemling in the hospital of St. John, at Bruges. The "Reader" reminds us that this Society commenced its work at a time when, in this country, little was thought of the painter's art, except as to the "practice of the portrait painter, and the illustration of the incidents of domestic life." No wonder, then, that we still make some mistakes in our really sincere efforts for the encouragement of an English school of painting, and the formation of national collections worthy of the fame and material greatness of England. We care not, however, for the hackneyed saying (supposed, perhaps erroneously, to have been invented by the first Napoleon), that we are a *nation boutiquière*, for we point fearlessly to our great marts of commerce as the places where the arts of music and painting meet with the most cordial and disinterested patronage.

The Architectural signs of the times are not altogether unimportant. Long rows of houses are now frequently built with a general plan of frontage for the whole block, and of sufficient altitude to have an imposing appearance. There is

evidence of similar attempts having been made before, as for instance in the Adelphi district, in Regent-street, and in some parts of Soho; but some of the new façades in Bayswater exceed in grandeur any thing of the kind that we have yet seen of domestic architecture in London.

Immense hotels are rising in all directions, chiefly in the Italian and Renaissance styles. In front of the Charing Cross Hotel, the railway company to which it belongs have erected a beautiful imitation of the "Eleanor" Crosses of Edward I. Mr. E. M. Barry, son of the late Sir C. Barry, is the architect of the Hotel and Cross. The idea of erecting a Gothic cross so near the spot where the original Cross of Charing formerly stood, has been highly praised by some critics, and openly derided by others. The cross is certainly a very pretty object; but it is difficult to understand why such a structure should have been erected as an accessory to a building of a totally different style of architecture.

We have no very important books on artistic subjects to mention this year. Mr. Owen Jones has published a cheap edition of his "Grammar of Ornament;" but this is a work which, in its more aspiring form, was well known before. Almost while we are going to press, we learn that the "Fine Arts Quarterly Review," of which we have had to lament the demise, is to be resuscitated shortly under new auspices.

The death of the German painter Overbeck must be recorded; and also that of Sir Charles Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy. We have also to lament the decease of the well-known water-colour painters, Mr. W. Lee and Mr. Whichelo, and of Mr. George Patten, who was the Senior Associate of the Royal Academy.

Music, as usual, is rather stagnant. We seem to have got on a wrong tack, as our countrymen of sea-faring habits would say. It requires an enormous sum to bring out a new opera (that is, new to England, however old elsewhere); and we are consequently, by the demand or supposed demand of the public for great magnificence and display, debarred from keeping on a level with other countries in our general knowledge of the opera school of music. The English Opera at Covent Garden, early in the year, produced Gounod's opera, "*Le Médecin malgré lui*," founded on Molière's comedy of that name, under the absurd name of "The Mock Doctor." The popularity which the opera of "Faust" had obtained for M. Gounod drew large crowds to hear his later composition. Notwithstanding the composer's command over the orchestra, and the graceful and easy flow of melody for which he is remarkable, it would be difficult to pick out any one melody from this opera which has attained even an evanescent popularity. The opera was brought out because it was supposed that Gounod's name would make it a "hit;" but, at this short distance of time, it may be doubted whether any body in England, except critics and professional and amateur musicians, thoroughly realizes the fact that such an opera has been placed on the London stage.

At "Her Majesty's" (Italian) Mdle. Ilma de Murska made a brilliant *début* in May; and, upon the whole, this lady's appearance may be considered the principal novelty of the season. At the "Royal Italian Opera," (Covent Garden) some sensation was caused by the revival of Mozart's opera, "*Il Flauto Magico*," which, for some of those mysterious reasons which can only be appreciated by those behind the curtain, had been allowed, as an acting opera, to fall into oblivion. The only original work of any importance produced during the year was Meyerbeer's opera, "*L'Africaine*," which, as far as we can understand, was never performed during the lifetime of that distinguished composer. Of this opera we

need only say, that while it shows undoubted marks of the genius of Meyerbeer, we believe that the sense and judgment of that same Meyerbeer, if he had been still alive, would have steadily resisted its production in its present form.

The English Opera opened again in October, with an English version of *L'Africaine*. The managers were enabled to profit by the experience of the Italian season, and the opera, in spite of the inferiority of most of the principal singers, was in some respects better produced than during the Italian season.

Mr. and Mrs. German Reed continue their performances at the "Gallery of Illustration" in Regent-street.

The Old Philharmonic Society, at one of its concerts, gave the "Trumpet" overture, by Mendelssohn, which, strange to say, is still in manuscript.

The New Philharmonic Society, at its last concert, produced a new dramatic scena by Dr. Wylde, which was performed by Madame Titiens. Both societies had the advantage, at some of their concerts, of Madame Schumann's able performance on the pianoforte.

Mr. Vincent Wallace died during the year. He was one of the most popular English musicians of the day; having composed some operas, as *Maritana*, *Undine*, &c., which had a decided run when first produced, and have since been occasionally revived. The celebrated *Pasta*, originator of the great part of "*Norma*," died in April at an advanced age. Signor Giuglini, the popular tenor, and Madame Curadori Allen, a favourite English singer, also died during the year.

The Drama presents no novel features. We must, however, with regret, record the death of the tragedian Mr. G. V. Brooke, who, whatever may have been his artistic defects, was an actor of much power, and had a large circle of admirers. He perished, with many others, at the foundering of the unfortunate ship "*London*," of which the fate will be found more minutely described elsewhere.

The Music-halls, with all their absurdities, continue to be in advance of the theatres in the production of musical works. One of these establishments boasts to have brought out Gounod's "*Faust*" eight years before either of the opera houses had the courage to do so. During the last year another music-hall has produced selections from two very brilliant operettas by Offenbach, entitled "*66*" (the number of a lottery ticket), and "*The Market Girls*." It is to be regretted that where so much energy is displayed, an occasional lack of honesty and good faith towards the public should be evinced. One of the most successful music-halls recently advertised a popular dancer as "performing every evening" for a considerable period after she had ceased to dance there, or, if she danced at all, only appeared occasionally. It is difficult to understand what can be the motive of such a fraud, for it must soon be discovered, and cannot fail to cause annoyance and disgust. The absence of a fourth-rate dancer may be of little consequence to any body; but the sense of being duped is unpleasant to all.

The "*Alhambra*," one of the most popular, and by far the largest, of the music-halls, has been successful in a legal contest with the theatrical managers, who conceived the performance of ballets at that place of entertainment to be injurious to their interests, and endeavoured to put a stop to it. Without entering into all the legal questions involved in this long and rather childish litigation, we cannot help asking, why the discretionary power of such an officer as the Lord Chamberlain should be kept up? If the music-halls were licensed as theatres by that officer, there would be an end to all disputes as to their right to produce dances and the like; and there seems to be no logical reason why a music-hall should not be deemed a theatre. It is right, no doubt, that there should be a high functionary under the Crown to forbid immoral and indecent exhibitions;



but there the power ought to end. It is unreasonable that a mere private opinion should be allowed to draw an authoritative distinction between theatres and concert-rooms, and it is the very climax of absurdity that it should devolve on one man to decide by his own unaided observation how many theatres a metropolis like London is able to support.

## SCIENCE.

General Sabine, President of the Royal Society, opened his address at the anniversary meeting with a short account of the progress of the Great Scientific Catalogue of Memoirs. It will be remembered that on the corresponding occasion in the former year, it was announced that 180,000 titles of Transactions and Journals had been recorded. In the course of a year 33,000 more were added, so that the number in November last amounted to 213,000.

General Sabine then proceeded to give a general account of the progress of the year, especially with regard to schemes for the promotion of scientific investigations which had been mentioned at the previous anniversary meeting. With regard to the contemplated trigonometrical survey in India, we are informed that—

“The pendulums, with the vacuum apparatus in which they are to be swung at the several stations of the great trigonometrical survey of India, have been received at their destination, and Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, chief of the survey, will soon be able to report on the preliminary observations. These pendulums have been lent by the Royal Society. Before being packed for shipment, they were swung at the Kew Observatory for a series of base observations. The results thereby obtained have been published in the ‘Proceedings’ of the Royal Society, and will be used as a test, on the completion of the Indian Survey, and the return of the pendulums to England.”

The importance of Kew as a physical observatory, especially with respect to the observation of magnetic disturbances, and their connexion with sun-spots as observed by Schwabe, was fully explained. The instrument used is the bifilar magnetometer, which operates by means of photography, and thus produces what the President described as “automatic records.” In another branch of science also, that of photo-heliography, the new observatory is invaluable.

“General Sabine explained that in this also an active—not to say a leading—part is taken by Kew. Conclusions derived from some of the results have already been published; and as the series is continued data are obtained for test and comparison. The details, as stated by the President, are interesting. ‘The state of the atmosphere permitting, pictures of the sun are taken daily by Miss Buckley, daughter of the resident mechanical assistant; and these are as regularly measured and discussed by Dr. Loewy. In this way has been accumulated a vast mass of materials on which to found conjecture as to the nature of the physical forces operating on the surface of the sun; and, taking these materials as a basis, Messrs. De la Rue, Stewart, and Loewy, have drawn the conclusions enunciated in their several papers on Solar Physics. It is, however, by no means improbable that other investigators, could they obtain access to the same full and complete details of the observations and measurements, would succeed in evolving other and most important theories of solar activity, and thus that our knowledge of the subject might be greatly advanced. It is, moreover, evident,’ added General

Sabine, 'that in a method of observation so new, and in a subject so intricate, the minutest fact can hardly be dismissed as insignificant, seeing that, whatever its present apparent isolation, it may hereafter be shown to stand connected with an important series of facts towards a right theory, and thereto lend important aid.'

The President had the pleasure of announcing that a contract had been concluded for a reflecting telescope (by Mr. Grubb), to be set up at Melbourne. The Legislature of Victoria have voted a sum of 5000*l.* with the view of effecting this praiseworthy object.

" 'The contract between the Crown agent for Victoria and Mr. Grubb (the maker of the telescope) has been concluded, and in about eighteen months the telescope will, in all probability, be ready for shipment. Its construction will be supervised by the Earl of Rosse, Rev. Dr. Robinson, and Mr. Warren De la Rue. Meanwhile, preparations will be proceeded with in Australia for the mounting of the instrument, and a selection must be made of an astronomer fitted by education and acquirements to be entrusted with its use, and who may be willing to devote his entire energies to the cultivation of the splendid field which will be open to him.' Should the authorities at Melbourne require any assistance from the Royal Society in this particular, we have General Sabine's word that it will assuredly be most readily given."

The investigations of the Gun-cotton Committee (appointed under the authority of the Secretary of State for War, with General Sabine as its chairman,) have been progressing favourably; and it is confidently hoped that the efforts which are being made to revive this valuable agent—invented many years ago, but discredited in consequence of the supposed impossibility of keeping it safely—will, ere long, be crowned with success. General Sabine hopes to make gun-cotton more safe from accidental explosion than gunpowder. If this can be effected, its superior advantages are very obvious, for the recoil and smoke are much less than those caused by gunpowder, and the fouling is almost inappreciable. Sportsmen, we are told, are beginning to use gun-cotton freely; and as no class of Englishmen have a more ready practical appreciation of what is likely to serve their purpose best, this is, perhaps, the most valuable testimony that we can have to the merits of the explosive agent which has been neglected for so many years.

The Copley Medal was awarded to M. Michel Chasles, a veteran geometer, whose "*Aperçu Historique*," tracing the history of geometry from the days of the old Greek philosophers down to the present time, gained him the highest honour at the Academy of Sciences at Brussels, in 1837. He has written numerous other works and papers, one of the most remarkable being the first volume of a new "*Traité des Sections Coniques*," in which he adopts an entirely new method, "extending the power of pure geometry, and regarded by mathematicians as the leading discovery of the present century." The choice of the Royal Society is creditable to its own judgment, and pleasing to foreign mathematicians and to geometers of all nations.

The Royal Medals were awarded to Mr. J. Prestwich and Mr. Archibald Smith. In both these instances a regard was shown, not only for the progress of science, but for the application of theories to practically useful purposes. Mr. J. Prestwich has distinguished himself by his investigations as to the excavations of river valleys, and the composition and thickness of the outer crust or coating of the earth; while Mr. A. Smith has turned his attention to a subject of the highest importance to navigators—the magnetism of ships. The investigations of Mr. Prestwich have been of great use in teaching to calculate approximately in certain

districts, how far the water-bearing strata lie beneath the surface. Mr. Smith's inquiries and their results are so singular, and, at the same time, of such momentous importance to a maritime nation, that we must cite a passage containing a short *résumé* on the subject:—

“Those who remember the uncertainty which prevailed a few years ago as to the theory of ships' magnetism, the behaviour of the compasses, and the means of correction, will be able to appreciate the advances that have since been made, chiefly by Mr. A. Smith, in co-operation with Staff-Commander Evans of the Royal Navy. It is now known that the quality of the magnetism of a ship depends on the direction in which she lies while building; and by taking precautions it can be so controlled as to occasion the minimum of disturbance to the compass. Whether a ship be built of wood and iron, or of iron wholly, its magnetism can now be expressed in mathematical formulæ, and, with these formulæ in hand, the tedious and laborious process of swinging a ship in order to correct her compass may now be dispensed with. In like manner the effect of iron tanks, of the stowage of shot and shell, of the masts, or of iron in any form and quantity in the neighbourhood of the compass, can be ascertained and allowed for.”

That the Government appreciate the importance of this subject, we judge from General Sabine's statement, that a correspondence has for some time been going on between the Council of the Society and the Board of Trade, involving, among other things, the consideration of the kindred topics of magnetism of ships and rectification of compasses.

At the Annual Meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society, Mr. Warren De la Rue was re-elected President. The gold medal of the Society was presented to Professor G. P. Bond. The Vice-President, Council, and officers were elected, including the names of many gentlemen of well-known scientific attainments; among others, Professor Adams, the Astronomer Royal, Admiral Manners, Professor Cayley, Mr. J. R. Hind, Mr. W. Huggins, and Mr. J. Glaisher.

The Royal Geographical Society held its Anniversary Meeting in May, when Sir R. I. Murchison was re-elected President. At the same time Vice-Admiral Sir G. Back, J. Crawford, Esq., Viscount Strangford, and Sir H. C. Rawlinson were elected Vice-Presidents, and C. H. Markham and L. Oliphant, Esqrs., Secretaries. The Royal Medals were awarded to Captain Montgomerie, for his extensive survey of North-western India, and the Karakoram range, and to Mr. S. Baker, the celebrated traveller, who was still far away among the wild tribes of Africa. A testimonial of 40*l.* was voted to the Hungarian traveller, M. Vambéry.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science met at Birmingham in the month of September, under the Presidency of Professor Phillips. The votaries of the science of Anthropology made strenuous efforts to obtain a separate section for their favourite study, but without success. The principal reason against this proposition seems to be, that the sections are already numerous, so that it is difficult to find room for the accommodation of the Association in any but the largest towns; while, on the other hand, the Anthropologists are quite at liberty to read their papers in some of the sections already existing.

The Presidents of Sections were:—

A. Mathematical and Physical Science . . . . .	W. Spottiswoode, Esq.
B. Chemical Science . . . . .	Prof. W. A. Miller.
C. Geology. . . . .	Sir R. I. Murchison.
D. Zoology and Botany. . . . .	T. Thomson, Esq.
Subsection D. . . . .	Prof. Acland.



E. Geography and Ethnology . . . .	Sir H. C. Rawlinson.
F. Economic Science and Statistics . .	Right Hon. Lord Stanley.
G. Mechanical Science . . . . .	Sir W. G. Armstrong.

The proceedings were opened by reading, on behalf of the Council, the Report of W. Spottiswoode, Esq., who to his functions as President of Section A, added those of Treasurer. After an enumeration of a number of distinguished names added to the lists of Vice-Presidents, Corresponding Members, &c., the Council proceeded to state the financial position of the Association. From this statement it appeared that the receipts and assets, from the commencement of the meeting of 1864 at Bath, up to the commencement of the meeting then going on, amounted to 3831*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* The payments and liabilities came to 3072*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*, so that there was a clear balance of 759*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

The Report of the Kew Committee was then read. We have elsewhere alluded to the important works of observation going on at the Kew Observatory, and it would be undesirable, with the limited space at our command, to go into a more detailed account.

The address of the President was delivered in the far-famed Town Hall of Birmingham. The audience was large, but the fair sex were not so numerously represented as at the meeting in the former year at Bath. This may be accounted for, when we consider that Birmingham is a place devoted to iron industry, while Bath owes its very existence to the presence of a fashionable throng.

It will be remembered that at Bath the then President (Sir Charles Lyell) spoke at large on the peculiar topic suggested by the locality; the wonderful but ever-present phenomenon of hot water spontaneously gushing from the bowels of the earth. At Birmingham there was no such subject to furnish Professor Phillips with a text; but the scientific events of the year were sufficient to relieve him of any difficulty in searching for subjects. He spoke of the wonderful branches of science which are now just opening their eyes like infants in the cradle. Almost all these, he said, were considered in the schools of Athens; but, as he justly observed, "hardly one of them was, or even could be, made the subject of accurate experiment."

"The precious instruments of exact research—the measures of time, and space, and force, and motion, are of very modern date. If instead of the few lenses and mirrors of which traces appear in Greek and Roman writers, there had been even the first Galilean or the smallest Newtonian telescope in the hands of Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, or Ptolemy, would it have been left to their remote successors to be still struggling with the elements of physical astronomy, and waiting with impatience till another quarter of a century shall have rolled away and given us one more good chance of measuring the distance of the sun by the transit of Venus? Had such instruments as Wheatstone's chronoscope been invented, would it have been left to Foucault to condense into his own apartment an experimental proof of the velocity of light, and within a tract of thirty feet to determine the rate of its movement through all the vast planetary space of millions and thousands of millions of miles, more exactly than had been inferred by astronomers from observations of the satellites of Jupiter? By this experiment the velocity of light appears to be less, sensibly less, than was previously admitted; and this conclusion is of the highest interest. For, as by assuming too long a radius for the orbit of Jupiter, the calculated rate of light-movement was too great; so now by employing the more exact rate and the same measures of time, we can correct the estimated distance of Jupiter and all the other planets from

the sun. We have, in fact, a really independent measure of planetary space; and it concurs with observations of the parallax of Mars, in requiring a considerable reduction of the assumed diameters of the planetary paths. The distance of the earth from the sun must be reduced from above ninety-five to less than ninety-three millions of miles; and by this scale the other space-measures of the solar system, excepting the diameter of the earth and the distance and diameter of the moon, may be corrected."

Having enlarged on these topics, and shown how far we have gone, and where we are now obliged to pause, pending the result of observations that are now being made, the President went on to describe the present position of our as yet elementary knowledge of light, heat, moisture, and magnetic force, as bearing upon our acquaintance with the general system of the universe. Passing on to meteorology, chemistry, and physics, he then pointed out the advances that have been made within the last generation in minute analysis, in classification, and in bridging over the gulf between vague experiment and scientific accuracy. Then came the grand questions of the day—the history of races, the formation, as it were, of successive worlds containing different kinds of inhabitants; our own age, the age of man, being, as some suppose, only a culminating point, or, perhaps, a step between a less perfect and a still more perfect organization. Who can tell what these things mean? We may know more in time if we exercise patient observation, but at present, infinitely grand as our chemical and physical science certainly is by the side of that of our forefathers, it is yet infinitesimal as compared with the height that we are beginning to aspire to. After touching upon several other special branches of inquiry which we have not even space to enumerate, the President, in a brief and manly peroration, thus described the objects and character of the Association:—

"Such, gentlemen, are some of the thoughts which fill the minds of those who, like our Brewster, and Harcourt, and Forbes, and Murchison, and Daubeny, stood, anxious but hopeful, by the cradle of this British Institution; and who now meet to judge of its strength, and measure its progress. When, more than thirty years ago, this Parliament of Science came into being, its first child-language was employed to ask questions of nature; now, in riper years, it founds on the answers received further and more definite inquiries directed to the same prolific source of useful knowledge. Of researches in science completed, in progress, or in beginning, each of our annual volumes contains some three hundred or more passing notices, or full and permanent records. This digest and monument of our labours is, indeed, in some respects incomplete, since it does not always contain the narrative or the result of undertakings which we started, or fostered, or sustained; and I own to having experienced on this account once or twice a feeling of regret. But the regret was soon lost in the gratification of knowing that other equally beneficial channels of publication had been found; and that by these examples it was proved how truly the Association kept to the real purpose of its foundation, 'the Advancement of Science,' and how heartily it rejoiced in this advancement, without looking too closely to its own share in the triumph. Here, indeed, is the stronghold of the British Association. Wherever and by whatever means sound learning and useful knowledge are advanced, there to us are friends. Whoever is privileged to step beyond his fellows on the road of scientific discovery, will receive our applause, and, if need be, our help. Welcoming and joining in the labour of all, we shall keep our place among those who clear the roads and remove the obstacles from the paths of science; and whatever be our own success in the rich fields which lie before us, however little we may now know, we shall prove

that, in this our day, we knew at least the value of knowledge, and joined hearts and hands in the endeavour to promote it."

The Association having dispersed to its several sections, the Presidents delivered their addresses.

In Section A, after the address of the President, Mr. Glaisher read a paper on Luminous Meteors, and afterwards the report of the Lunar Committee. Mr. Birt read a paper on the Map of the Moon, which seems to be advancing in distinctness. A paper was afterwards read on the Magnetic Storm of August, 1865 (which is conjectured to have had some influence in causing the failure of the Atlantic Cable, just then being laid down), by Messrs. J. B. Capello and B. Stewart. Several other interesting physical papers were read, and also some in pure mathematics, as, "Report on the Theory of Numbers," by Professor H. J. S. Smith, and "Extension of Taylor's Theorem," by Professor Price. It is encouraging to see one Oxford graduate at the head of the Mathematical Section, and two more reading papers of a very abstruse kind in the same section. Oxford, with suicidal policy, has done every thing that it possibly can to discourage mathematical study; but if such men as Spottiswoode, Smith, and Price persevere, we may hope in a future generation to see mathematical classmen occasionally elected to fellowships on open foundations without being obliged to qualify by taking high honours in classics also. We must not quit this section without mentioning that Professor Sylvester read a paper on a special problem in the Theory of Probabilities, and that Mr. Glaisher, in addition to the papers already mentioned, read the "Report of the Balloon Committee."

In Section B, the President gave some account of the most recent discoveries; amongst others, of the properties of Indium, the latest of the newly discovered metals revealed by the spectrum. Most of the papers read in this section were too minute and technical to be mentioned here. A curious paper, however, was read by Mr. O. Rowland, on a new substance or manufacture called (after its inventor, a Mr. Alexander Parkes, of Birmingham) Parkesine, which was originally obtained from gun-cotton. The singular property of this substance is its wonderful susceptibility of transformation. We are told that—

"It is now producible in commercial quantities from other substances at an inexpensive price, in a fluid, plastic, or perfectly hard state, of any colour, either in the finest gold-beaters'-skin, and as perfectly transparent as the finest plate-glass, or of any thickness, 'as black as ebony or as white as marble,' and indestructible by oxydation. It is neither acted upon by strong acids nor by heat much exceeding that of boiling water. Articles illustrative of its value to comb and brush makers, cutlers, cabinet-makers, boot-makers, waterprooferers, &c., as also of its applicability for electrical and telegraphic purposes, have been fabricated. It is stated that a multiple cable containing an insulated sustaining iron wire, and seventy-nine insulated conducting copper wires, with insulating and protecting envelopes of Parkesine, is capable of bearing its own weight in air for a distance of more than a mile. Its insulation is also said to be much higher, and its inductive capacity much lower, than any telegraphic core yet constructed. Ordinary gutta-percha wire, covered with a coating of Parkesine, is improved in insulation by the great contractile force of that substance. Joints, it is stated, can be made with ease and perfection; specimens immersed for four years in water have not deteriorated in quality; and at a dry heat of 212° F. it remains electrically unimpaired."

A new apparatus for the determination of ozone was described by Mr. J. Smyth, Jun., and Dr. S. Macadam read several contributions; one of which related to



"Esparto Fibre, or Spanish Grass," a plant which is said to be likely to aid, though not supersede, linen rags in the manufacture of paper. Mr. W. White exhibited some curious photographs of the interior of the Great Pyramid, obtained by means of the magnesium light, by Professor C. Piazzzi Smyth.

The President of Section C placed before the meeting, in strong relief, the present state of geological science, contrasted with its position sixteen years ago, at the time of the last meeting of the Association at Birmingham. The address contained some valuable observations as to the action of water, called forth by the recollection of the meeting in 1864, at Bath, where the very place in which the Association was assembled was naturally suggestive of this subject. The President endeavoured to draw a bold line of distinction between what we may call active and passive streams; that is, between mountain torrents which rush with overpowering force, and sluggish rivers like those of our midland and southern counties. The former, he considered, might bore a channel for themselves; but the latter, he seemed to suggest, must have had a way opened for them by some convulsion of nature. May it not, however, be just possible that rivers like the Somersetshire Avon have at some remote period been pent up so as to form huge lakes, and at last, bursting their barriers, acquired an irresistible but temporary force, and forced such an opening as that which we see at the Clifton Rocks? This conjecture may appear not altogether unreasonable, when we bear in mind the accidents that have occasionally happened in Switzerland from the damming up of a stream by a glacier. Even the bursting of an artificial reservoir has shown us (as in the case of the disastrous inundation near Sheffield, in 1864,) how irresistible is the power of a mass of pent-up water, if by any circumstance it accidentally obtains an exit.

Numerous papers were read in this section. Among those possessing the widest and most comprehensive interest were: Mr. S. Maw's, "On Deposits of White Clays and Sands in North Wales, antecedent to the Boulder Clay Drift;" Mr. H. Woodward's, entitled "A Description of a New Chart of Fossil Crustacea;" and one by Mr. G. von Decken and Professor E. Römer, "On the Large Prussian Geological Map of the Rhenish Provinces and Westphalia."

In Section D, a remarkable paper was read by Dr. T. Moffat "On Phosphorescence in connexion with Storms and Disease."

"He showed, by tabulated results, obtained from a series of observations made with an instrument which he had constructed for ascertaining the amount of evaporation through human skin, that the minimum of urinary solids occurred with the maximum of evaporation through the skin, and, *vice versâ*, that the quantities of both varied with variations in the atmosphere. Dr. Moffat concluded his paper by observing that although storms are accompanied by some forms of disease, they are, nevertheless, highly beneficial in a sanitary sense; for they not only ventilated cholera localities and fever-nests, but they carried with them a store of nature's deodorizer and disinfectant, ozone; and stated that cholera was at once checked, and it disappeared with the setting in of the equatorial or ozoniferous current of the air. From this he had been led to use phosphorus, which, when in a luminous state, produces ozone, as a disinfectant, and he had used it as such for five years. He exhibited another table, showing the results of ten years' observations, in which the connexion of the maximum of cases of choleraic diarrhœa with the minimum quantity of ozone was clearly demonstrated."

Mr. E. P. Wright exhibited a copy of the "Record of Zoological Literature for the year 1864." Mr. P. P. Carpenter read a paper "On the regard due to Usage and Utility, as well as mere Priority, in fixing Zoological Nomenclature." Many

other papers of great value were read; but most of them treated of subjects more or less limited as to area or species. One of these, however, the "Report on the Culture of Oysters," by Mr. F. Buckland, may be mentioned as peculiarly interesting to a country like England, which stands almost alone as regards the production of the smaller and more delicate varieties of this useful bivalve.

Sub-section D (Physiology) was well attended, and many papers were read by physicians and others on entozoa, as produced by beef and pork, and on other topics relating to the operation of particular kinds of diet on the human frame. The title "Physiology" is rather indefinite, as far as can be gathered from the annals of this meeting; for among the subjects of investigation that it is made to include we find the Cattle Plague, the Development of Organs in Embryonic Life, and the Skeleton of a Female who died at the mature age of 104.

The section of Geography and Ethnology (Section E) was, as usual, full of interest. The President, in his address, announced that M. Vambéry, the Hungarian traveller, would read papers on his adventures in Bokhara, and on the origin of the Hungarian race. As regards the latter subject—

"The author's arguments for the Turco-Tartar rather than Finnish derivation of the Hungarian nation were drawn from history, ethnology, and philology, but chiefly the latter, into which he entered in some detail. He had found the Hungarian and Turco-Tartar languages so closely connected, both in their grammatical forms and vocabulary, that he could come to no other conclusion than that the Hungarians had migrated, at a remote period, from the western parts of Central Asia.

"The President said it was an historical fact, admitting of no dispute, that the Hungarians migrated from the banks of the Volga to their present seat in Europe; but there was little doubt that their residence on the Volga was only one stage of a longer migration. He was inclined to believe that they were rather of Finnish than Turco-Tartar origin, and that they came from the region north of the Altai, in Siberia. The very remarkable analogies which Dr. Vambéry had discovered between the languages he had investigated, went far to change his (the President's) views; he had hitherto thought that the words common to Hungarian and Tartar had been derived by the Hungarians from the Turks, through the modern intercourse between the two nations."

Letters were read from Mr. S. W. Baker, the African traveller, on the discovery of the Lake Albert Nyanza. One of the most interesting papers was that by Lieutenant-Colonel L. Pelly, on the Comoro Islands, a small group lying between the African coast and the northern extremity of Madagascar. Col. Phayre read a paper on the "Ethnology of the Hindû-Chinese Nations." The papers of wide interest in this section were so numerous that we can only mention a small fractional part of them. Interesting discussions arose on the following: "Exploration of the Holy Land, as proposed by the Palestine Exploration Fund," by Mr. G. Grove; "Physical and Mental Characteristics of the African or Occidental Negro," by Mr. J. Crawford; "North Polar Exploration," by Mr. C. R. Markham; "The True Assignment of Bronze Weapons, &c.," by Mr. T. Wright, and many others.

In section F, the President, in his address, made some practical observations on the use and abuse of statistics. As an illustration, he mentioned how a place of peculiarly salubrious character may be made to appear just the reverse, by reason of large numbers of invalids flocking to it, of whom a certain per-centage must die there.

Among the papers read in this section were, "On the Division of Labour," by

Mr. W. B. Adams; various "Reports on Local Industries;" a paper "On the Practical Advantages of the Metric System of Weights and Measures," by Mr. F. P. Fellowes; and one "On Mural Standards for Exhibiting the Measures of Length Legalized in the United Kingdom," by the Rev. J. Yates. The titles of the papers in this section are not very attractive; but its members are not the less enthusiastic, and their labours are, perhaps, not the less useful on that account.

The President of section G, after touching upon the various subjects on which papers would be read, proceeded himself to read a paper "On Chain-proving." This, and most of the papers in section G, contained technical details which would be out of place here. There is this convenience, however, about mechanical subjects; that popular phraseology can generally describe the end, without describing the means. Thus we may say, without attempting to enter into details, that Mr. E. A. Cowper described a new kind of gin, for separating the fibre of cotton from the seeds; Mr. T. Levick a machine for cutting coal, and performing other underground work by the agency of compressed air; and Mr. C. W. Siemens a new method of sheathing deep-sea cables, so as to substitute a cylindrical for a spiral covering.

One of the most important papers in this section was that of Mr. H. Bessemer, "On the Manufacture of Cast Steel," which it is proposed to substitute for wrought iron. Mr. Bessemer calculates that this reform, if we may so call it, would effect a saving of 6,240,000*l.* in Great Britain alone. Many other papers were read on subjects of immediate interest, such as "The Strength of Materials in relation to the Construction of Iron Ships;" "On Railways in War;" "On District Private Telegraphs;" "On a Machine for Stitching Button-holes." It is time, however, now, that we should bring our short account of the British Association to a conclusion; for if we were to mention all that is noteworthy in its discussions, we should be obliged to give up too much of the space which we desire to devote to a summary, slight, it is true, but sufficiently general, of what has been done in science during the year.

The scientific discoveries and inventions of the past year are numerous; and investigation has been unusually active in many directions. Some singular inquiries respecting meteorites appear to show that the number of these bodies in the atmosphere daily is no less than 7,500,000. The tracks of nearly 2000 meteors are at present mapped out, and the British Association has applied for a grant to it to prepare a more complete chart of the paths of these mysterious bodies.

The respiration of leaves of plants is not entirely a new subject, but it has received an important impulse from the observations of M. Boussingault, who has read numerous papers on this curious branch of botanical study before the French Academy of Sciences. By "respiration" is meant, the absorption of oxygen and the production of carbonic acid, a process which, under ordinary circumstances, is performed by plants as necessarily, though of course not to the same extent, as by animals in breathing. Countless experiments have been made, and the results have been minutely recorded; showing, among other things, reasons of the immense importance of solar light in promoting the health and vigour of plants.

The subject of gun-cotton has been mentioned elsewhere, but we may here record a very ingenious method by which the trajectories of projectiles have been measured. The plan is to aim the projectile at a succession of screens placed at equal distances. The orifices made in the screens give a close approximation to the actual trajectory; and it has been found by repeated experiments



that the incurvation of that caused by a charge of gun-cotton is appreciably less than that which results from the use of gunpowder. Hence it may be predicted that as soon as gun-cotton can be used conveniently and safely, it will entirely supersede powder. Dr. Lossen, of Berlin, has made an important chemical discovery, though not of a popular kind. He has shown that a compound intermediate between nitric acid and ammonia, which hypothesis had led our chemists to seek, has an actual existence.

A singular discovery has been made in an ossiferous bed in Perigord. A piece of fossil ivory was found, having on it a rude representation of the extinct animal Mammoth, the elephant of the glacial period.

Dr. Taylor, and other medico-chemical analysts, have made various experiments to show that in many instances one poison may be used as an antidote for another. This singular correlation of poisons has been proved to exist between laudanum and belladonna, and also between tobacco and nux vomica.

Dr. Lawson, of St. Mary's Hospital, has applied the stereoscopic principle, or a modification of it, to the dissecting microscope. By employing two eye-pieces he is enabled to see the object under the instrument in full relief. We believe that this invention is looked upon as likely to facilitate very materially the investigations of the surgeon and the naturalist.

Many important processes in the working of metals have been tried with success. Most of these relate to the formation of alloys and the production of steel. Among the most active labourers in this branch of science are M. Bérard, Mr. Abel, and M. Caron.

Photography is not the least progressive of sciences. Every year brings its catalogue of new processes or applications. A method has been recorded of printing photographs on ivory. The arrangement at the Greenwich Observatory for registering the variation and dip of the magnetic needle is very ingenious. The process is performed by photography, with the aid of machinery moved by clockwork.

The spectroscope has received a new application, having been adapted to microscopical observations. So successful, in this direction, have been the efforts of men of science, that particles of the size of half a blood corpuscle have had their spectra examined. The observations of Mr. Huggins on *nebulae* by means of the spectroscope have been carried on with unremitting assiduity. He has come to the conclusion that they are composed of gaseous matter, greatly heated, but not luminous throughout.

M. Davaine has succeeded in proving that the so-called "eels" in vinegar are animalcules which enter fruits while they lie on the ground, and remain in the juice during the process of fermentation. Thus the theory of those who would cite these eels as an instance of "spontaneous generation" is successfully confuted. Professor Agassiz has made some extraordinary observations on various species of fish; showing conclusively that some kinds hitherto supposed to be entirely different are in fact identical. Thus, for instance, the *Argyropelecus hemigymnus* has been shown to be the young of the *Zeus faber*, or common Doree.

We mentioned last year that Mr. Frank Buckland, an eminent practical zoologist, had succeeded in safely placing a living porpoise in a tank in the Zoological Gardens. Unfortunately the creature died during the early part of 1865, being killed, it was supposed, by the severity of the weather. The experiment, however, was successful so far as to show that a porpoise could be domesticated, and in all probability, the attempt will be repeated with more satisfactory results.

Such is the very brief outline that we can venture to give of philosophical

progress and discovery. In the literature of science, so to speak, the year has not been unprolific, as several valuable treatises have been written, not only on the older sciences, but on the comparatively new subjects which are now engaging general attention. Professor Tyndall, an ardent and original observer, has brought out a second edition of "Heat Considered as a Mode of Motion," and has also published a new work on "Radiation," a subject on which few people, if any, are better informed. We may mention parenthetically, that the year under consideration has been distinguished by some very curious experiments on the effect of dark rays of heat, which have been shown to be capable of producing combustion.

Dr. Albert Gunther's "Record of Zoological Literature" is one of the most comprehensive and best-arranged books ever written on this branch of science, and it contains the latest and most trustworthy information.

Among the more popular books on Zoology, are the Rev. J. S. Wood's "Homes without Hands," and Mr. Gosse's "A Year at the Shore." The former is an exceedingly interesting account of the various methods of building which nature has taught to the several species of the animal kingdom. We need only refer to the mole, the wasp, the beaver, and the tailor-bird, to show how extraordinary must be the contents of such a work. To Mr. Wood, so well known already as a writer on Natural History in its various branches, belongs the merit of having arranged these and innumerable other marvels of natural architecture, in a systematic and elegant form. Mr. Gosse's book is divided according to the months of the year, as might be expected from the title. It gives us a full account of what is known at present of those strange inhabitants of the salt water which at first sight appear like parasitic plants, but which are proved to be sentient animals, having an independent existence and very extraordinary habits.

The third volume of Mr. Jeffreys's "British Conchology" has been issued.

"Ice-Caves in France and Switzerland," by the Rev. G. F. Browne, is a most interesting book. As a contemporary remarks, "While his colleagues of the Alpine Club have been scaling the summits, Mr. Browne has been diving into the bowels of the mountains. Mr. Browne is the first English author, so far as we are aware, who has devoted his attention to the curious phenomena presented by these ice-caves, although notices of them will be found in the works of several continental authors. No previous writer, however, has visited so many of these curious caverns, or described them with equal minuteness." To this we may add that Mr. Browne is a pleasant and genial writer, and has produced a book which, apart from its scientific nature, is eminently readable and attractive.

Science has sustained a severe loss in the death of Dr. Samuel Woodward, the well-known palæontologist and conchologist. His principal work was "Recent and Fossil Shells." He was Professor of Botany and Geology in the Agricultural College at Cirencester; and for many years before his decease he held an appointment in the British Museum, an establishment which has on its staff an extraordinary number of men distinguished for special knowledge of various kinds.

Sir William Jackson Hooker, for many years manager or curator of the beautiful Botanical Gardens at Kew, died last year at the advanced age of eighty. He had been during three-quarters of his long life an ardent explorer of the vegetable kingdom, and he was Professor of Botany at Glasgow before his appointment at Kew.

Dr. John Lindley and Dr. Hugh Falconer, both eminent botanists, and Sir Joseph Paxton, also a botanist, but principally distinguished as having introduced the use of buildings of glass and iron on an unprecedented and gigantic scale, have also died during the year. The name of Sir Joseph Paxton will probably be

familiar to posterity in connexion with "crystal palaces" long after his reputation as a florist and landscape gardener is forgotten.

In the various branches of science, we have further to regret the loss of Sir Robert W. Schomburgh, the explorer of Guiana, and discoverer of the "Victoria Regia;" of Admiral Fitzroy, the greatest authority on the law of storms; of Sir John Richardson, the Arctic traveller; of Charles Waterton, the veteran naturalist; of Hugh Cuming, the conchologist; and of Captain W. H. Smyth, the eminent hydrographer.

Most of those who have departed during the year have left useful works to record the progress of science in their day. In the mean time young and active spirits are at work: the year has been unusually prolific in discoveries; and the paths of investigation are being rapidly lengthened and enlarged in almost every conceivable direction.





## PART II.

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### CHRONICLE

OF REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

IN 1865.

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JANUARY.

1. RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—LETTER FROM THE QUEEN.—The following letter was addressed by Her Majesty's direction to the leading railway companies which have their stations in London:—

"Sir Charles Phipps has received the commands of Her Majesty the Queen to call the attention of the directors of the — to the increasing number of accidents which have lately occurred upon different lines of railroad, and to express Her Majesty's warmest hope that the directors of the — will carefully consider every means of guarding against these misfortunes, which are not at all the necessary accompaniments of railway travelling.

"It is not for her own safety that the Queen has wished to provide in thus calling the attention of the company to the late disasters. Her Majesty is aware that when she travels extraordinary precautions are taken, but it is on account of her family, of those travelling upon her service, and of her people generally, that she expresses the hope that the same security may be insured for all as is so carefully provided for herself.

"The Queen hopes it is unnecessary for her to recall to the recollection of the railway directors the heavy responsibility which they have assumed since they have succeeded in securing the monopoly of the means of travelling of almost the entire population of the country."

— FRIGHTFUL ACCIDENT AT DUNDEE.—A melancholy occurrence took place at Bell-street Hall, a large concert-room situated immediately below the United Presbyterian Church (of which the Rev. Mr. Borwick is the pastor), in Bell-street, Constitution-road. The hall is well known in Dundee in connexion with certain

concerts and other entertainments given in the place from time to time. The hall is badly constructed, so far as regards the public safety, the chief access being very dangerous. Entrance to the hall is gained by a broad flight of stairs leading down from Bell-street into the large area beneath the church. The top of the stairs is guarded by an iron gate, and as this opens inward it is not difficult to understand the danger that must arise from a great pressure without. This evening a very large crowd of people assembled at the gate, desirous of obtaining admission to a promenade concert, which, under the title of "Springthorpe's Exhibition," had been announced as one of the attractions of New Year's evening. When the advertised hour arrived, the man in charge opened one-half of the gate for the purpose of admitting the people to the hall. On this being done, the pressure of the crowd from without was so great that the man was overpowered, and the other half of the gate was burst open. Those in the front rank were swept through the narrow opening, and forced down the stairs with great violence. Much confusion and alarm prevailed, and efforts were made to stem the strong pressure from behind. These for the time, however, proved unavailing. The people next the gate were pushed in a mass down the stairs, and those behind pressed upon them and overthrew them. Before the pressure could be stayed, a confused heap of people, several feet deep, were piled up in the small space of about six feet at the bottom of the stairs. Nearly three-quarters of an hour elapsed before these were extricated from their position, when it was found that nine young women and ten men had been crushed to death. In addition to the nineteen persons who were thus killed, a large number were more or less very seriously injured. The calamity caused immense excitement in Dundee, and great anxiety for people thought to be in the crowd. Many touching scenes took place in the identification of the bodies. The deceased evidently all belonged to the humbler classes. Three-fourths were boys and girls of twelve to eighteen. The day was, as is usual throughout Scotland, a general holiday.

4. DREADFUL COLLIERY CATASTROPHE IN WIGAN.—A colliery accident, one of the most appalling that has ever occurred in the district, took place early this morning at a pit just within the boundary of the borough of Wigan. The Douglas Bank Colliery had been in existence about a couple of years. It consists of a couple of shafts only a few dozen yards apart, both of which run through a valuable series of coal beds, one of which is the cannel. This bed lies about 500 yards from the surface, and in the shaft in which the accident occurred the sinking to this important seam had progressed so favourably that but some half-dozen yards of rubbish remained to be sent up, and the labours of the sinkers would have been ended. This heavy task had hitherto been accomplished without any occurrence calculated to cause serious annoyance or to check the progress of the work.



Between eight and nine o'clock this morning a party of a dozen men were at work in the shaft in question, when it was found necessary to blast a portion of the strata through which they were passing. Two-thirds of the workmen were hoisted to the surface, where they were joined in a few moments by their companions, as soon as they had set fire to the fuze which was to light the powder. The blasting seemed to take place in a proper manner below, and at ten minutes to nine a party of eight men were again lowered. The engineer was, however, astonished to find that the hoppet containing the men stopped in the shaft when it was still a few yards from the bottom, and he was still further surprised to notice the rope swaying to and fro in the pit. A shout down the pit elicited no response, and the alarm became general when it was found that it was impossible, even with the united strength of two engines of vast power, to move the hoppet from its position. Mr. Bryham, the manager, his sons, Mr. James Smith, and other gentlemen were promptly apprised of the accident, and hastened to the spot, where measures were soon taken to learn the true state of affairs below. This, however, was a matter of no little difficulty, for first of all a new rope had to be placed on the drum, it being found impossible to move the 500 yards then in the shaft, and it being extremely dangerous to allow it to fall to the bottom. By noon this was accomplished, and a hoppet having been attached to the new rope, the foreman of the sinkers and a couple of assistants prepared to descend the pit, to learn the fate of those below. This took nearly an hour, for as the men descended they had to fasten the old rope to the sides of the shaft, so as to prevent its jeopardizing their progress, but the tidings they brought were a little more satisfactory than the most sanguine had anticipated. They reported that the whole of the last range of brickwork—thirteen yards deep, and running entirely round the shaft, sixteen yards in diameter—had probably been loosened by the last shot, and had fallen to the bottom, burying completely the hoppet and the men in it, but a ray of hope was thrown upon the crowd of anxious watchers on the pit bank by the declaration of the foreman that voices had been heard, he believed, of three or four, and he had every expectation that in a very short time the men would be reached. Eight active workmen were at once sent down, and load after load of *débris* was sent up. After much exertion five dead bodies were recovered. The other men were found alive in the hoppet, not seriously injured.

13. BURNING OF THE THEATRE ROYAL, EDINBURGH.—DEATH OF THE DEAN OF GUILD.—A fire broke out in the Theatre Royal at Edinburgh about four o'clock in the afternoon; and within a couple of hours the whole building was destroyed, besides the cloister and part of the main building of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church. This disaster, being attended with the loss of six lives, amongst which was that of Mr. George Lorimer, the Dean of Guild, caused a deep gloom in the city of Edinburgh. The

theatre, which was opened nine years ago, occupied the site of the Adelphi Theatre, which was destroyed by fire in May, 1855.

The fire originated in the top shifts of the scenery, where the gasman, named Cassey, had just been putting in the lights, at a subdued height, to be ready for the illumination of the evening's performance. He had succeeded in lighting the second row of top-lights, and was lighting the first, when the drapery caught fire. The flame spread so rapidly that neither Cassey nor the men he called to help him—Stewart, the carpenter, and Syme, the fireman—could prevent its catching the scenes, whence it took hold of the woodwork. These men, and others in the house, had just time to escape, though Stewart was nearly suffocated with the smoke. Some efforts were made to save the valuable dresses and other "properties," but these efforts were soon abandoned. By this time the flames had burst upwards through an opening in the roof, caused by the fall of the roof of the stage and of the ventilating turret above. Through the upper windows and doorway in Little King-street also flames presently issued, and fiery embers were hurled forth, continually threatening to ignite the opposite houses. This grand and terrible spectacle drew thousands of people to Leith-walk, while many gathered on the Carlton hill, and at other available points of view. In the mean time all the fire-engines of the town had been sent for. The police were assisted in keeping order by a strong detachment of the 74th Regiment, from the Castle, under Lieutenant and Adjutant Currie; while Lieutenant Nicholas brought fifty men of the Royal Artillery from Leith Fort, with their powerful engine. It was hoped that the fire might be confined to the theatre; but it was from the state of the walls that further danger was most apprehended. A part of the south wall had been torn down in the fall of the roof, and, the boxes and galleries having given way in a series of loud crashes, the side walls, which were 40 ft. to 50 ft. high, stood unprotected, and showing a great inclination outwards. The north wall, overhanging the cloister of the Catholic chapel, was in a very threatening condition. One of the chimney-stacks of the theatre had fallen and smashed the cupola and a large part of the roof of the cloister-chapel. Two men were struck down here. An old man named John Clark, one of the fire-brigade, was killed on the spot. A man named Thomas Henry Leeke was thrown down, with a great stone on his back, having his head and arms partially clear of the rubbish, but unable to move. He called loudly and piteously for help, which could only be rendered by others at the greatest peril, for the north wall threatened every moment to give way. Several men courageously endeavoured to get him out. One of the most active in this benevolent and heroic labour was Mr. George Lorimer, Dean of Guild. Being himself a practical builder, he felt confident in his own calculations for his safety. He was repeatedly called to come away; but his reply was, that he knew the theatre walls well, and

that they would not give way, but that he would rescue the man even if at the peril of his life. Mr. Lorimer and his companions had been repeatedly warned of their danger; but Mr. Lorimer refused to leave the work while he felt it possible to rescue a fellow-creature, and several other men stuck by him and continued the effort to rescue Leeke. The fire-master, Mr. Mitchell, who had been observing the increased deflection of the wall, conjured Mr. Lorimer to yield, and even tried to drag him away. Bishop Strain, who had been at the spot all the evening, helping in the work, saw the wall beginning to yield, and ran through the large chapel to the cloister-door to give the alarm. Mr. Chessar, Mr. Mitchell, and others who were also within the limits of danger at the moment, called out that the wall was falling, and, running within the unbroken part of the roof of the cloister, escaped. In a second or two, the greater half of the north wall fell with a terrific crash. Mr. Lorimer and three others were in the act of escaping when they were overwhelmed in the ruins. Had Mr. Lorimer got a few feet further down the cloister, or had he taken to the door at which Bishop Strain stood, he would doubtless have escaped. It was impossible to tell at the time how many were killed; and the fire-master and others had reason to be grateful for their deliverance, for had they not sprung forward at the moment, they would have shared the same fate. At first it was believed that seven or eight persons had been killed by the second fall, for the falling wall left a pile of rubbish about eight feet high over the bodies. It was not till ten o'clock next morning that the site of the cloister was finally cleared, and the number of persons killed ascertained to be six, including the two first struck down.

13. DESTRUCTION OF H.M.S. "BOMBAY" BY FIRE.—News was received of the total loss of this fine vessel by fire. The following despatch from Admiral Elliot gives an authentic account of the disaster:—

"Her Majesty's Ship 'Stromboli,' Monte Video,  
Dec. 15, 1864, 8 a.m.

"SIR,—I much regret that I have to report the total loss by fire of Her Majesty's ship 'Bombay.'

"She left this anchorage under sail at 7 a.m. yesterday, when I transferred my flag to the 'Triton.' About 5 p.m. of the same day I received intelligence that the 'Bombay' was on fire near the English Bank, or Flores Island, about thirteen miles from this place. I immediately despatched the 'Stromboli' to her assistance, and proceeded myself in the 'Triton;' but so rapidly had the fire extended, that the ship had been deserted long before assistance could reach them.

"The ship's company had been at general quarters in the afternoon till a little after three; the foremost lower deck guns were then told off for divisional exercise, but firing had not commenced from them, when, about ten minutes after the retreat had been



beat, fire was reported to have broken out in the after part of the ship about the after hold. The fire-bell was immediately rung, and with the greatest order and promptness an abundant supply of water was obtained, but the fire appears at once to have spread with uncontrollable rapidity, which gives me the impression that it originated very close to the spirit-room, and that the spirit-casks must almost immediately have burst and ignited.

"At 3.35 p.m. the fire was reported. At 3.52, finding the fire was quickly gaining, the boats were hoisted out. At 4 p.m. the boats were out, with the exception of the second launch, when the flames coming up the hatchways, the awnings and sails having been burnt, rendered it impossible for men to work. The sick had already been passed into the boats, and the rest of the ship's company now followed. At a quarter-past four the mainmast went over the side, the boats then being scarcely clear of the ship, and many officers and men were still holding on to ropes alongside and to the fore part of the ship, and others floating on the spars, &c. Soon after the mainmast fell, the stoppers of the anchors being burnt through, the anchors fell, and it seems many men who were upon or near them must have lost their lives.

"The ship was under sail, hove to, when the fire occurred, steam not having been up.

"At 8.25 the after magazine blew up, and the ship sank in about eight fathoms.

"Among the officers, Mr. John K. Smallborn, assistant-surgeon, is the only one missing, and who was drowned alongside.

"The French mail packet being at this moment on the point of departure, I am not able to give a more detailed report, but I am endeavouring to ascertain the number and names of men missing, which, I am sorry to say, amounts to about ninety-three; but the boats having been picked up by vessels proceeding to different places, we cannot as yet get a correct return.—I have the honour to be, &c.,  
(Signed)

"CHAS. G. J. B. ELLIOT,

"Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.

"To the Secretary of the Admiralty."

The Bombay was a screw steamship of 67 guns and 2782 tons, and was the flagship of the Admiral commanding on the south-east coast of America. Until the morning of the 14th of December she was at Monte Video, but on that morning the Admiral transferred his flag to another ship, and she left the anchorage under sail.

16. WRECK OF THE PADDLE STEAMER "LELIA."—For several days previous, heavy gales having blown from the north-west, the new blockade-runner "Lelia," which only made her trial trip a few days before, left the Mersey on a voyage to Nassau. She was commanded by Captain Skinner, and had a crew of forty-nine hands.

She carried also eight passengers. She was built by Messrs. Miller, of Liverpool, and her engines were by Messrs. Fawcett, Preston, and Co. She was of 1100 tons burden, of very light draught, and was probably the finest blockade-runner that had left the port of Liverpool. She had on board a Liverpool and also a Cork pilot. Her cargo consisted of 85 tons of goods and 460 tons of coal, and she drew about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ft. of water. At the time she left the river the barometer was very low, and a strong gale blew from the west. After she had passed the North-west Lightship she began to ship a great deal of water. After a while it was noticed that she began to settle by the head, and the captain then gave orders to return to Liverpool. It was next found that she was losing her steerage way. She was, however, brought round again by the aid of a sail, and she made the best of her way to Liverpool. She had not proceeded far, however, when she sank still deeper in the water, and the hatches were burst open—as was supposed—by the force of the water. The engines were then stopped and the boats ordered out, but of the four launched two were capsized. The other two, with thirty persons in them, made for the North-west Lightship, but on arriving there they also were capsized, and only twelve persons were saved—the boatswain, the second steward, seven firemen, and three seamen. Thirty-seven of the crew, the two pilots, and the eight passengers were lost.

A careful investigation into the cause of this disaster took place under the direction of the Board of Trade. The following is extracted from the Report made by Mr. Raffles, Police Magistrate to the Board:—

“The engines of the ‘Lelia’ were manufactured by Messrs. Fawcett, Preston, and Co., of Liverpool. It would appear that they were of 300-horse power; her boilers were loaded at 30 lb. on the square inch, and that on her trial trip on the 5th of this month she worked up to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  times more than her nominal power. With this enormous steam power in a vessel of her slight construction and tonnage, when driven against a north-westerly gale in a heavy sea, it cannot be matter of surprise that she made very bad weather of it. Coupling this state of facts with the omission to close the anchor hatches and hawse-holes, by which the forepeak became filled, there appears to be ample reason to account for the subsequent disaster.

“It does not appear to the Court that the ship was over-loaded. According to the evidence of Mr. Edwin Miller, the ship could be safely loaded to 10 ft. 6 in., which she certainly did not exceed. But, however this might be in smooth water and with fair weather, it must be questionable whether a vessel of her size and construction is adapted for carrying a heavy cargo in a sea such as she experienced.

“I inquired carefully, as will be seen by a reference to the evidence, into the state of the weather on the morning when the ‘Lelia’ sailed, and it would certainly not appear to have been such

at the hour of her departure as to have given intimation of the violent gale which subsequently and speedily came on. On the contrary, the barometer had begun to rise. A Fitzroy signal had, indeed, been hoisted on the 12th, but, as I have already observed, there was none up on the 14th. Still, considering the character of the vessel, I cannot but think that it would have been prudent to have delayed her departure, for only three other vessels, all of which were much more strongly built, ventured to sea on that morning. It was not, however, insinuated before the Court that any pressure was put upon the captain by the owners or any other persons to induce him to go to sea.

"I am bound to comment upon the equipment of the boats, four in number. It would seem that the builders had duly delivered on board the necessary equipments into the care of the mate, but, owing to culpable negligence in some quarter, the boats when required for use were found to be without rowlocks, thus rendering them unmanageable when they reached the lightship, and contributing materially to the loss of life. A similar neglect occurred in reference to the key of the sluice valves; although on board, it could not be found when required to let the water from the fore compartment to the engine pumps.

"One other circumstance remains to be noticed. By the Custom-house clearance papers it would appear that no passengers were declared to be on board, whereas there were six passengers, in addition to the two gentlemen who purposed to leave the ship with the pilot.

"The 'Lelia' therefore obtained her port clearance without the usual surveyor's certificate necessary for a ship carrying passengers. It becomes a question for the consideration of your lordships whether the omission to procure the proper certificate is not in violation of the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854."

19. LOSS OF THE "BEATRICE" STEAM SHIP.—A telegram was received by the Bristol Steam Navigation Company from La Rochelle, capital of the department of Lower Charente, announcing the total loss of the "Beatrice" off the French coast. The "Beatrice" was a comparatively new steamer, and commenced running between Bristol and Bordeaux, calling at Cardiff, about a twelvemonth since. She started from Bristol on the 4th inst., and took in a cargo of coals and four or five passengers. The crew numbered twenty hands. In consequence of rough weather, she put in at Falmouth, and left that port on the 11th inst. The voyage from Falmouth to Bordeaux, under ordinary circumstances, would have occupied two days; but nothing having been heard of her arrival, the Bristol Steam Navigation Company telegraphed to their agent at Bordeaux. A reply was received, stating that the vessel had not arrived; and the agent informed the company that a storm had been raging off the coast in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux for several days. On the 19th the



following telegram was received from La Rochelle:—"Beatrice" total loss; all hands saved by a French ship; long. 9, lat. 46." Further particulars state that a heavy sea broke over the "Beatrice" and swept her deck. The man at the wheel, who had not taken the precaution of lashing himself, was swept overboard. The wheel being without the guidance of the helmsman, left the vessel at the mercy of the waves, and the sea ultimately broke the chains and disabled the rudder. This occurred off Cape Finisterre. The ship without the rudder was of course unmanageable, and, after beating about in a helpless state for nearly four days, she went down at the point indicated in the telegram. The whole of the crew, with the exception of the helmsman, were picked up by a French vessel and landed at La Rochelle.

24. DESTRUCTIVE COLLISION ON THE GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.—A serious collision occurred near the Didcot Junction. To avoid the curve in the line to Oxford, immediately after leaving that junction, a loop line was constructed some time ago, and the Northern trains which are not timed to stop at that station, pass along the loop, which is about half a mile in length and commences just as Didcot Station is reached. This morning, between two and three o'clock, a narrow-gauge goods train passed safely down the loop line at full speed, and when it had reached the main line it ran with immense force into an up narrow-gauge goods train, completely cutting the train into two parts, and causing a considerable loss to the company.

The up narrow-gauge train was also proceeding at full speed, and should have been turned on to the up line of the loop, but from some unaccountable cause the switchman sent the train along the main line, and the consequence was that the down train ran into it. As it was dark at the time, the drivers of the respective trains were quite ignorant of the approaching danger, and therefore the collision was most fearful. Several trucks were thrown upon each other and shattered to pieces, occupying not more than the space of one truck. The engine itself was forced completely over one of the trucks, and seven bullocks, which were being conveyed to the London market, were dreadfully mangled, the poor beasts being jammed in among the fragments. In this shocking state they were compelled to remain until daylight, when they were drawn out and put to death. Besides the trucks that were piled high in the air, eleven or twelve others were smashed, and the engine and tender were considerably damaged and bent about. As in the case of the previous collisions on this line, it is marvellous that the accident did not cause the immediate death of the engine-driver and stoker, who were bruised and greatly shaken, but not seriously hurt. Immediately the collision became known, telegrams were despatched to Paddington, Oxford, Swindon, and Reading, and a large force of labourers was sent from Paddington by a special train, and by daylight several hundred men were engaged at the

spot clearing the line. The contents of the trucks were scattered about and damaged, and there was quite a pool of brandy, wine, and other liquors, which had been thrown out at the spot.

— EXECUTION FOR MURDER.—Frederick Carl Kohl suffered the extreme penalty of the law at Chelmsford. He was convicted at the Central Criminal Court of the murder, under horrible circumstances, of a young German named Fuhrop. The evidence appeared to bring the crime home beyond doubt to the prisoner. He, however, steadily protested that he did not commit the murder, and he died protesting his innocence. Shortly before his execution, he attempted to commit suicide by thrusting a penholder down his throat.

26. TERRIBLE ACCIDENT AT WESTMINSTER.—A melancholy accident, attended with loss of life, occurred at the Catholic Free Schoolrooms, St. Peter's-street, attached to the Church of St. Mary's, Horseferry-road, Westminster. The building adjoined the model lodging-houses in St. Peter's-street, and was a somewhat ornamental structure. The basement floor was used in part as a playroom for the children after school hours, and the upper floor as the schoolroom. It was about sixty feet long and thirty feet wide. The church to which the school is attached being in debt, those in authority established a lottery to clear it off, and tickets were sold among the congregation and others in the district, entitling the winners to certain prizes. The meeting took place, and at a quarter-past eight the distribution of prizes had begun, when suddenly, and without any notice whatever, a portion of the flooring gave way. There were at the time nearly 500 persons—men, women, and children—in the schoolroom. Without the slightest warning, one of the beams which crossed from the eastern to the western side gave way, and upwards of 100 persons were thrown down to the floor beneath, amid the frightful screams and agonizing cries of those who were injured. It was at first supposed that a fire had burst out; and to a certain extent such an impression was a fortunate one, for, the alarm being given, the Fire Brigade men hastened to the spot, foremost among whom was Conductor James Cottrell of the Escape Brigade. He rendered most invaluable assistance in rescuing men, women, and children from the windows of the building. In their agony and fright, they tore down the window-sashes, and would have leapt to the ground beneath, had they not been restrained by the police. A large number of the wounded were conveyed to the Westminster Hospital, where they were at once attended to. Nearly fifty were attended to and enabled to leave, while a great many were conveyed to the residences of their friends without receiving hospital treatment. Among the severely injured was Miss Adelaide Fallen, the matron of the Penitentiary, who afterwards died from the injuries she received. Another person, named Mary Hefferan, also sunk under the effects of the severe fractures which she sustained.

28. WRECK OF THE "ASSAYE" EAST INDIAMAN.—This splendid homeward-bound Indiaman, built at Bombay, in 1856, as a paddle-steamer, for the Indian Government, but latterly belonging to Messrs. C. De Bourke and Co., went ashore in Ross Bay, near Galley Head, on the south coast of Ireland, during a heavy gale, and went to pieces on the next evening. There was but one life lost, but an immense destruction of property, as the whole of the cargo, consisting of cotton, wool, jute, and flax-seed, valued at upwards of 250,000*l*, was strewn along the coast for miles. The "Assaye" had experienced heavy gales for a week before, and, by the captain's reckoning, she was fifty miles off the land when she encountered this terrific storm, in which she carried away the truss of her mainyard. In consequence of this damage, the ship would not obey her helm when the captain attempted to wear her, on first sighting the land; and she soon drove ashore upon an iron-bound coast. The commander was drowned whilst endeavouring to get ashore with a line in order to save the rest of his crew. He had actually landed on the point of rock where she first struck, but was almost immediately washed off by a tremendous sea, and never seen afterwards. The remainder of the crew, forty-eight in number, were saved by means of the rocket apparatus, most admirably worked by the coastguard, assisted by some of the country people. The "Assaye," up to this time, had had a most favourable voyage, having left Bombay on November 11. She had on board the mails and despatches from St. Helena, whence she sailed on December 15; and these were all lost. About half the cotton and one hundred bales of wool were saved, but in a damaged state; the remainder of the cargo and the ship herself were a total loss, but were fully insured.

30. DESTRUCTION OF THE ROYAL SURREY THEATRE.—Shortly before 12 o'clock p.m., a fire broke out in the Surrey Theatre, and in less than half an hour the whole fabric was wrapped in flames, which soon reduced it to a mass of ruins, with all the multifarious properties and scenery which it contained. Fortunately, when the fire first made its appearance the audience had thinned considerably, and those that remained were prevailed upon to leave the place in a quiet, orderly manner, so that but few injuries appear to have occurred from panic or otherwise.

The audience, this evening, was an ordinary one in point of numbers, and by no means so large as those that had flocked to the theatre during the Christmas holidays. The last scene of the pantomime was being performed when, it is said, a part of the ceiling immediately over the large chandelier by which the building was principally lighted, caught fire, and a feeling of alarm immediately took possession of the audience. At this crisis Mr. Green, the stage manager, presented himself in front of the proscenium, and implored the people for their own sakes to remain as quiet as possible, and to leave the theatre in an orderly manner.



They could see for themselves that it was the ceiling alone which had at that time caught fire, and he appealed to their reason that it must burn upwards, and that there was ample time for them to leave the building uninjured, if they only did so in a calm and collected manner. The audience, for the most part, followed this very sensible advice, and were so enabled to leave the place unhurt. Immediately over the ceiling was the carpenter's shop, and this, with its inflammable contents, having caught fire, the whole building was speedily in a blaze. Though the night was calm, the flames raged with amazing fury, defying all efforts to arrest them. The theatre was situated at the southern end of the Blackfriars-road, near the point at which that great thoroughfare and the Waterloo, the Borough, and the St. George's roads all converge, and within a quarter of a mile of the Elephant and Castle. Externally it was an unassuming structure, and could accommodate probably from about 2000 to 2500 people. As a suburban place of entertainment, it always bore a respectable reputation.

Mr. Shepherd, the manager, is said to have left the theatre before the fire broke out, and to have gone home, but he was brought back, and witnessed the destruction of the place. Mr. Green, the stage manager, having succeeded in abating the alarm among the audience, applied himself with great energy in collecting all the persons engaged in the pantomime, many of them young ballet girls, and seeing them safe out of the building, he himself being among the last to leave. Most of the pantomimists made their escape in the grotesque costumes in which they had been performing, and took refuge in a house opposite. Little, if any, of the movable property in the building could be saved, so rapid was the progress of the fire. When the roof fell in, which it did shortly after midnight, the flames shot into the air to a great height, lighting up the metropolis for miles round, and attracting people to the spot from all directions. Steam fire-engines and others were soon at work, but to no purpose, except to save some of the adjoining property. Two public-houses which abutted on each side of the theatre were long in jeopardy. The police kept a clear open space for some distance immediately in front of the theatre, and so enabled the firemen to work without interruption. This was also a necessary precaution for the safety of the crowd itself, for at times the burning material, as it was carried into the air, fell in red-hot showers all about the immediate neighbourhood. Huge jets of gas, liberated by the fire from time to time in its progress, swelled the volume of flame, rendering it irresistible so far as the theatre itself was concerned, and the efforts of the firemen were at length chiefly directed to saving the adjoining houses. At two o'clock in the morning the fire was still raging, but with diminished fury, and the theatre itself had been reduced to a complete ruin.

## FEBRUARY.

1. FIRST LEVÉE OF LORD WODEHOUSE AS VICEROY OF IRELAND.—The Lord-Lieutenant held his first Levée at Dublin Castle. The attendance was unusually large. There were twenty-two peers and eighteen judges, including the Lord Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls. The Church was represented by the two Archbishops, Armagh and Dublin; four bishops, Down, Ossory, Kilmore, and Cork, with about seventy of the clergy. Of members of Parliament there were, Sir E. Grogan, Sir P. O'Brien, Sir R. Levinge, Colonel Dunne, Mr. Cogan, Mr. Macdonogh, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Verner. The members of the Viceregal household, the heads of public departments, military officers, barristers, and clergymen supplied a large portion of the long list of names. There was a considerable number of magistrates and deputy-lieutenants.

The first Drawing-Room of the season was held in the Castle in the evening.

7. GREAT ROBBERY OF JEWELS IN CORNHILL.—The shop of Mr. John Walker, chronometer maker and jeweller, of No. 63, Cornhill, at the corner of Sun-court, was broken into in the night, when articles valued at 6000*l.* were carried off. The upper portion of the house No. 63, let out as offices, was approached by a side-door in Sun-court, which at night was secured on the outside by strong patent locks, no person being left in charge. The ground-floor was converted into two shops, one occupied by Mr. Walker, and the other by Messrs. Mitchell and Harris, tailors, who also occupy the basement under both shops as cutting rooms. The shop of Mr. Walker, when closed, was entered by a door at the back, which was gained by the side entrance in Sun-court to the upstairs offices. The shutters of the shop were of iron, and had some openings in them, through which the police could see the interior, the gas being kept alight day and night when the premises were closed. At the rear, which looked into Sun-court, there were similar apertures in the shutter, while inside the shop there were looking-glasses so fixed as to reflect the iron safe and every thing about it, and which could be readily seen by persons looking through the openings in the shutters in Sun-court. The robbery was discovered about eight o'clock on the next (Sunday) morning. Mr. Walker's assistant, on unlocking the side door in the court, found it only partially locked, but the inside door was secure. On his getting into the safe-room at the back of the shop he saw at once what had happened. The safe door had been burst open, and all the most valuable portion of Mr. Walker's stock, which had been removed from the shop-windows and counters on the previous Saturday evening, consisting of gold watches, chronometers,

diamond-rings, pins, studs, bracelets, ear-rings, and other kinds of jewellery, and the cash-box, containing a quantity of gold and some valuable securities, was gone. As soon as the robbery was made known to the police, Mr. Hamilton, the superintendent of the city detective force, and several experienced officers made a minute examination of the place, with a view of ascertaining how the burglary had been committed. It appeared that the thieves in the course of the Saturday afternoon must have secreted themselves in some of the offices in the upper part of the building, and have been locked in the house when the housekeeper left at six o'clock. The burglars commenced their operations in the offices of Sir C. Crosley, the ex-sheriff, on the first floor, by cutting a hole by means of a centrebit through the flooring, into the shop underneath of Messrs. Mitchell the tailors. With the aid of a kind of rope-ladder, which they made fast to a pair of tongs placed across the hole, the thieves lowered themselves into the tailors' shop. It would appear that their reason for not cutting a hole at once into Mr. Walker's shop was to avoid the noise and damage which would have ensued by the mortar and plaster of the ceiling falling on and shattering the glass frames on the counters and the glass shades over the clocks, and which would have instantly attracted the attention of the passers-by, who, by looking through the aperture, could have noticed what was going on. The burglars having safely got into Mr. Mitchell's shop, attempted to cut through the partition at the back, so as to gain the safe-room attached to Mr. Walker's place, but after removing some of the panels they met with an iron lining which successfully resisted their efforts. They then descended into the tailors' cutting-room, which extended under the shop of Mr. Walker, in addition to that of Messrs. Mitchell, and by means of a chair placed on one of the cutting-boards, they succeeded in cutting their way through the ceiling and flooring above into Mr. Walker's safe-room. It is tolerably clear that the possession of the valuable contents of the iron safe was their chief object, as none of the other stock of jewellery and watches in the frames on the counters and shop-windows had been disturbed. The safe was one of Milner's patent, about 4 ft. or 5 ft. in height, 3 ft. in breadth, and some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in depth, and stood in a corner of the room. It bore ample proof of having been operated upon with great violence for the purpose of bursting it open, a task which required probably the united strength of three or four men. Small steel wedges had evidently been introduced in the opening of the door, and by the aid of crowbars and a powerful leverage, the door had been burst open, tearing away the bolts and inner casing. The burglars must have returned to the offices of Sir C. Crosley by hauling themselves up with the plunder through the hole in the flooring, and afterwards reached the street by breaking open the side-door, which was secured by patent locks on the outside, and got clear off with the booty unobserved. It should be stated that while in the offices of



Sir C. Crosley, they contrived to open an iron safe, and possessed themselves of the contents of the cash-box, money and documents. They left behind them a rope-ladder and a formidable life-preserver, showing that they were prepared to offer resistance in the event of their being detected. By the exertions of the police, nine persons, five men and four women, were apprehended; against whom there were strong grounds of suspicion, and they were brought before the magistrates at Bow-street and, after a protracted examination, committed for trial. After the capture of these persons, the police officers employed had reason to believe from information they had received, that much of the stolen property had been thrown into the Thames, and a part of the river was pointed out near one of the bridges at Blackfriars as that in which it might probably be found. Accordingly, a diver was employed to make a search at the place indicated. The result was that a number of gold watches were recovered from the bed of the river, which were identified as belonging to Mr. Walker. A large quantity of the missing property was also discovered in the possession of some of the prisoners, and among other things two deposit-receipts of the London and Westminster Bank for the sums of 250*l.* and 150*l.* and a considerable amount in gold coin<sup>1</sup>.

7. JEWEL ROBBERY IN MANCHESTER.—This morning a startling robbery was discovered to have taken place in Manchester. It was found that the shop of Mr. Howard, jeweller, Market-street, had been entered during the previous night, and the entire stock-in-trade removed. The glass show-cases, and every place in which goods were stowed away, had been cleared out. The thieves had first broken into Mr. Monie's hair-cutting saloon over the shop, and effected an entrance to Mr. Howard's premises by cutting a hole through the floor. The hair-dresser's towels had been cut into strips to make ropes of, and by means of these the thieves had lifted up the jewellery. This was the third robbery of Mr. Howard's premises. The last was some six or seven years ago, and was accomplished at mid-day, the robbers garotting Mr. Howard's daughter, who was in charge of the shop, and leaving her in a state of insensibility on the floor, while they hastily removed property to the value of several thousands of pounds. The value of the property taken away on this occasion was about 3000*l.* The ceiling of the shop was lined with iron plates, but the thieves, after breaking through the floor, had succeeded in detaching one of the plates. Between the Saturday night and Monday morning a party of thieves had attempted to find a similarly indirect way to the shops of two other jewellers, Mr. M'Ferran's, in Victoria-street, and Mr. Dodge's, in the Market-place. They had cut through doors and traversed adjoining shops from floor to roof in search of

<sup>1</sup> For the trial of the persons concerned in this robbery, see the Law Cases in this volume.

suitable means of ingress to the shops designed to be robbed, and, after great labour, had been obliged to decamp in disappointment. They left behind them a new rope ladder. In Mr. Howard's shop there was an iron safe containing some of the more valuable property, and this had been entered by means of drilling tools.

— SUICIDE IN PRISON.—The death took place, by suicide, of Victor Townley, who was found guilty of the murder of Miss Goodwin, near Derby, and sentenced to be hanged, but escaped the gallows, being respited on the report of medical men who visited him in the condemned cell and pronounced him insane. Latterly he was imprisoned in Pentonville Prison, and this morning, as he was returning from the chapel, he killed himself by jumping over the staircase railings.

23. DESTRUCTION OF SAVILLE HOUSE BY FIRE.—One of the old historical land-marks of London was totally destroyed in a few hours by fire. Saville House was that mansion of Sir George Saville which was attacked and gutted by the No Popery mob in the time of the famous Gordon riots in 1780. It underwent many changes of fortune since the days when Leicester-fields retained some slight agrarian character, and were resorted to by duellists, who encountered one another with swords, as Chalk Farm became afterwards the place of similar meetings when pistols had come to be "the weapons of gentlemen." Most Londoners who have arrived at middle age remember the Linwood Gallery—a collection of worsted work, embroidered by Miss Linwood. It is impossible to say what the house has been in later days. At one period it was a *salle d'armes*, where fencing, boxing, wrestling, and feats of strength and dexterous swordsmanship attracted crowds. Billiards have had their day here also; and suppers, singing, and music have attracted many. A bank had latterly established itself in connection with the premises; and this too almost wholly fell a prey to the flames. The accident began in an escape and explosion of gas, by which the gasman of the establishment latterly known as the Shades suffered very severely. From the very nature of its origin, the fire spread rapidly. Breaking out at half-past six, it had passed through every floor and mounted above the roof by seven. A little after this time the Prince of Wales arrived upon the scene, and was loudly cheered by the crowd in the immediate vicinity of the burning house. His Royal Highness was accompanied by the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Richard Grosvenor, and several gentlemen of his suite. Partly attired in the dress of a fireman, the Prince approached as near as safety would permit to the flames. Within the hollow ruins an immense body of lurid light was flecked in places with brilliant jets of the gas that continued to blaze and to feed the fire. Spreading back into Lisle-street, and sideways to the premises of Messrs. Stagg and Mantle, the flames soon threatened devastation to the entire north side of the square. It was in the midst of their most arduous labour that the firemen were alarmed

by the falling of a large mass of the cornice; and two of their courageous band received such injuries as necessitated their being taken to the hospital. It was feared that four persons were in the house at the time of the outbreak, and that they had not escaped; but in the confusion that prevailed it was impossible to ascertain whether this was the case or not. At half-past eight the jets of water poured by steam force upon the buildings had made so much impression that the mischief was confined to the limits within which it had hitherto raged; but throughout the night the fire was not entirely subdued.

23. FUNERAL OF CARDINAL WISEMAN.—Cardinal Wiseman was buried in the Kensal Green Cemetery amid circumstances of ritual pomp, such as probably had not been witnessed in this country since the Reformation, and amid such unmistakable tokens of respect and even of sorrow as do not often attend the public funerals of well-known and eminent men. With the exception, perhaps, of Cardinal Weld, a member of the ancient Roman Catholic family of the Welds of Lulworth, no English Cardinal had been buried in this country, certainly no one with the same amount of pomp and ceremony as were displayed on the present occasion. It was in the Roman Catholic chapel in Moorfields that the most important part of the religious ceremonies of the day took place. The coffin, upon a bier covered with velvet and cloth of gold, lay in the middle of the chapel, surrounded by a hundred massive wax candles, with the cardinal's hat on a cushion, and the heraldic escutcheons of the deceased emblazoned on the gorgeous pall. The windows were veiled with hangings of black cloth, which entirely shut out the light of day, except at the back of the high altar; the whole interior was draped with black and yellow. There was a crowded congregation, amongst whom were the French, Spanish, and Belgian Ambassadors, and many of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of England, with other persons of rank and distinction. The ecclesiastics, who entered in procession, were about three hundred in number; and, being attired in the richly-varied costumes of their several orders, formed a stately and imposing array. The requiem-mass was celebrated pontifically by the Right Rev. Bishop Morris, formerly Vicar Apostolic of the Mauritius, now Bishop of Troy, assisted by the Very Rev. Dr. Russell, President of the Royal College of Maynooth, who acted as assistant priest, and by the Rev. Dr. Melia, confessor of the late cardinal, who acted as deacon, and the Rev. T. Gloeg, of the Oratory, who acted as subdeacon. At one or the other side of the altar were ranged the Most Rev. Archbishop Cullen, of Dublin; and the Right Rev. Bishops, Dr. Joseph Brown, of Newport; Dr. Ullathorne, of Birmingham; Dr. Turner, of Salford; Dr. Grant, of Southwark; Dr. Brown, of Shrewsbury; Dr. Roskell, of Nottingham; Dr. Goss, of Liverpool; Dr. Vaughan, of Plymouth; Dr. Clifford, of Clifton; Dr. Amherst, of Northampton; and Dr. Cornthwaite, of Beverley. The Provost and Canons of the diocese



occupied their stalls in the choir. The other priests—English, Irish, Scotch, French, and Belgian—to the number of upwards of 200, were seated around the bier. After the performance of the mass, the sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Manning, who spoke most affectionately of the personal character of the deceased. After the sermon all the candles round the bier were lighted, and the whole concourse of ecclesiastics assembled about it while the solemn ritual of giving absolution to the departed was gone through. Archbishop Cullen was the first to give absolution, sprinkling the coffin with holy water, and incensing it from the thurible, while the low chant of the choir went on, now rising to a full swell of harmony as the responses were uttered, and then fading away into a gentle earnest cadence, as the touching prayers that God would be pleased to admit to His mercy the soul of the departed, were softly sung. After Archbishop Cullen, Dr. Turner, Bishop of Salford; Dr. Roskell, Bishop of Nottingham; and Dr. Goss, Bishop of Liverpool, all the three latter prelates—who were of the late cardinal's consecration—followed in the same succession, and with the same formulary of prayers and benedictions, round the bier. As far as could be gathered amid the chanting of the choir, in no case during the recital of the style and titles of the late cardinal was his titular style of "*Archiepiscopus Westmonasteriensis*" once employed. Bishop Morris gave the final absolution, and with the chanting of the "*Requiescat in Pace*," one of the most solemn ceremonies which the Roman Catholic Church has celebrated in England since the Reformation was brought to a conclusion. The clergy then left the chapel, and placed themselves in a great number of mourning coaches, which headed the procession from Moorfields to Kensal-green, by way of the City-road, Pentonville-hill, the Euston-road, the New-road, and Paddington. The hearse seemed to be the object of the greatest attention. It was an open bier on wheels, with curtains of cloth of gold, and surmounted by a crown signifying the rank of Prince, with wreaths of immortelles and sundry crosses. It was immediately preceded by several carriages and four, one of which contained the hat, borne by Monsignor Boone, Sir George Bowyer, and Mr. Charles Waterton. The Bishops were in the other principal carriages, besides the relatives and private friends of the deceased, and some deputations from the religious and charitable institutions of which he was president. About five o'clock the procession entered the cemetery. First came the priests in white surplices, two and two, chanting as they advanced, and bearing small wax tapers, unlighted, in their hands. In the midst came the Canons of the diocese, and acolytes bearing incense and holy water. To the number of more than a hundred they came, and, standing round the open grave, lighted their candles, and sang the "*Miserere*." Then came other higher dignitaries of the Church, preceded by bearers of two large lighted candles, with a crucifix borne high between them, and with acolytes waving incense.

Then followed the coffin, borne from the hearse by a small carriage made for the purpose. At the head of the grave, as this was lowered, all the bishops stood as the last solemn words were recited in Latin, and the body was committed to the earth. The whole service scarcely lasted twenty minutes, and differed in nothing but in its pomp and in the hymns being chanted instead of read, from that which marks the burial of all Roman Catholic ecclesiastics. At the conclusion of the service the crowd were allowed to approach the grave, and look down upon the coffin as it lay in its narrow bed. Though the night was then fast closing in, a great stream of spectators gladly availed themselves of this permission to gaze upon the last remains of one whose memory will be looked back upon with feelings of greater interest and even admiration than might have been thought possible from the prominent part he took in arousing one of the keenest religious discussions of this generation.

27. FUNERAL OF THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.—The mortal remains of the most noble Algernon Percy, fourth Duke of Northumberland, and lord of many an earldom and barony beside, were solemnly buried in the earth of the St. Nicholas or Percy Chapel of Westminster Abbey, where the bones of the Percys have mouldered for centuries past, and to which last resting-place the holders of the ducal title have followed each other rather quickly of late. The funeral, though not, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, one of the public and state ceremonials which generally mark interments at Westminster, was an imposing celebration, worthy of the high rank and vast territorial influence of the late peer, and worthy also his great fame for active benevolence and earnest promotion of whatever was good and useful throughout the wide districts over which he exercised almost the rights of a small sovereignty. The sums which the late duke spent in elevating the moral and improving the material condition of his thousands of tenants appear almost incredible. During the time the body lay in state at Northumberland-house nearly 5000 of the nobility and gentry, the personal friends, tradesmen, and dependants of the late Duke passed through the mortuary chamber to pay their last tribute of respect in death to one who in life was universally honoured and esteemed. It was impossible to avoid making a contrast between the ceremonies which attended the funeral of the great peer and those which only four days before accompanied that of Cardinal Wiseman. In both cases the services within the churches were very beautiful, but the mournful simplicity and touching grandeur of the sublime ritual of the Church of England contrasted favourably with the gorgeous and mysterious pageant which marked the somewhat similar observance of the Church of Rome at Moorfields. As far as regards the out-door portions of the processions, they were much alike in both cases,—mutes on horseback, lids of feathers, long cloaks, long velvets, dingy plumes, and all the undertaking paraphernalia of the grave.

These unmeaning traditional adjuncts of death drew thousands to witness the procession of mutes. An immense crowd assembled all round Trafalgar-square, and thickly gathered on both sides of the short line of route which led thence to the Abbey. Those who were to form part of the procession began to arrive at eleven o'clock, and were conducted to the mortuary chamber, where the coffin, covered with its velvet and satin pall, still lay in state. From this apartment they were ushered in the order in which they were to join the cavalcade when all was ready to start. At twelve o'clock the body was placed in a hearse and shell with its sides decorated with the lozenge-shaped escutcheons of the late duke's arms, emblazoned on a sable ground. At a quarter-past twelve the procession quitted the quadrangle of Northumberland-house. It consisted of fifteen mourning coaches and six, the carriage of the Duke of Cambridge, the Duchess of Cambridge, about sixty or seventy private carriages of the nobility and gentry, the Committee of the National Life-Boat Institution, parochial and other officers, and the hearse containing the body, drawn by six horses.

As the funeral procession began to move, the bell of St. Martin's Church, from the steeple of which the Union Jack floated half-mast high, struck up a muffled and mournful peal. At the Admiralty, as a mark of respect to the deceased lord, the flag also floated at half-mast, and the scene altogether from Trafalgar-square, through Parliament-street, to the portals of the Abbey, was a very imposing one, and every spot of ground from which a glimpse of the mournful cavalcade could be obtained was thickly tenanted, whilst every window, and in many instances even the house-tops, had their occupants. Mourning attire was exceedingly prevalent amongst the better-dressed class of spectators, and as a mark of further respect to the noble deceased every shop in the vicinity of Charing-cross, and along the line of route, was either wholly or partially closed.

That portion of the public who were favoured with tickets signed by the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Stanley, were admitted by the western cloister door, and comprised a very large number of the nobility, chiefly ladies, who were almost without exception attired in mourning, and were ushered into their respective places in the nave and transept of the cathedral, whilst other and more favoured friends of the cathedral dignitaries were conducted by a side gateway to the vicinity of St. Nicholas or Percy Chapel, in which the remains of the deceased duke were to be deposited, and where, probably, the most important portion of the ceremony was to be performed. The clock had just chimed a quarter-past one when the signal was given that the body had arrived at the Broad Sanctuary, and the grand western doors of the Abbey were thrown open, and the coffin, covered with the pall, was received at the entrance by the Right Rev. the Dean (Dr. Stanley), the Rev. Canons Wordsworth, E. Hawkins, W. Conway, E. Nepean, the Canon Residentiary, the Rev. J. Jennings, the Minor Canons,



the lay vicars and choristers, and the procession commenced moving up the nave, the choir chanting Croft's and Purcell's beautiful composition, "I am the resurrection and the life."

The body having reached the centre of the chancel, was deposited on the bier in front of the Communion. The 90th, or proper psalm for the day, was read by Canon Nepean, and the proper lesson for the day, 1 Cor. xv., by Canon Jennings. This was followed by Croft's beautiful composition, "Man that is born of a woman," after which the procession was re-formed, and proceeded through the nave to the southern side of the chancel, to the spot where the grave was prepared. The St. Nicholas, or chapel of the Percy family, is situate at the south-east angle of the Abbey, closely abutting on Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and immediately facing the shrine of Edward the Confessor, and the grave had been made on the eastern side of the Percy Chapel. Immediately outside the screen a temporary reading desk, covered with black cloth, had been erected; and as soon as the procession reached the spot, it was occupied by Dean Stanley, on whom the reading of the remaining portion of the burial service devolved. The choir were accommodated on a raised platform, backing upon the shrine of Edward the Confessor, and every nook and cranny from which a glimpse of the point of interest could be obtained was occupied, and even from the giddy height of the clerestory persons might be observed looking down upon the solemn sight below, and listening to the strains of the sacred music, and the pealing of the noble organ as the choir poured forth the canticle, "Now is Christ risen from the dead," and the equally touching composition of Purcell's, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," and others used on this occasion in the choral service for the dead. At the moment when the coffin had been lowered, and the reverend dean read that well-known portion of the burial service of the Church of England, "Ashes to ashes, and dust to dust," the rattle of the earth could be distinctly heard on the lid of the coffin. The dean having read the consolation, the organ and the choir, conducted by Mr. Brown-smith, burst forth with the noble anthem, "I heard a voice from Heaven," and after the Lord's Prayer and the Benediction, the choir and organ again poured forth the jubilant production of the sublime Handel, "His body is buried in peace, but his name remaineth for evermore." The final blessing brought the ceremony to a close, and the immediate friends of the deceased, who filled the Percy Chapel, having taken a final glance at the narrow space in which the mortal remains of him whom they had known and honoured in life reposed in peace, retired, and the general public who had obtained admission to the Abbey, were permitted a similar privilege.

— RE-OPENING OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL DUBLIN.—The re-opening of this cathedral, the restoration of which had just been completed, excited extraordinary interest among all classes of the community. Tickets were issued for 3250 persons, but double that

number of applications were received. Every thing was arranged so well by the stewards that the vast multitude were speedily accommodated without confusion; and no congregation, under ordinary circumstances, could have presented an aspect of more quietness, propriety, and devotion after the service commenced. There was nearly an hour, however, during which the congregation occupied themselves in admiring the beautiful symmetry, the exquisite finish, and the grandeur of the vast structure, now for the first time developed in all its magnificent proportions, according to the original design of the architect when it was erected by Archbishop Comyn, in 1190. Many of those present had been worshippers within its walls when it presented a picture of squalor and decay, when make-shift and tasteless repairs had completely destroyed its internal beauty. All the window-frames were utterly decayed; in the choir all the arches were filled up with monuments or hideous galleries; the capitals of the pillars had been cut away. The side aisles were so blocked up as to leave them but 4 ft. wide, and the windows had undergone every possible change in length, breadth, and shape. One had been converted into a staircase, another into an oven, and a third was widened to admit the length of a tombstone. A report by the late Dean Pakenham, in 1850, described the whole exterior as bearing marks of the unheeded dilapidations of 600 years, and of the violences which were in lapse of time perpetrated on the building. In the graveyard around it, the earth at the east end had accumulated to the height of 11 ft., and on the south side it was 6 ft. higher than the original level; while, within, the floor was so raised as to bury a portion of the pillars. All this rubbish was cleared out; the floor and pews reduced to their proper level; the organ, which blocked up the arch between the chancel and the nave, as well as the partitions which cut off other portions of the building, were all removed; the primitive proportions were carefully sought out; and before the worn-out parts of the structure were taken down every stone was photographed, in order that the renovated walls, pillars, arches, and groins might be exactly in keeping with the style of the building. Mr. Guinness, who was his own architect, superintended every thing himself, and would have no innovation—only a perfect restoration, with better materials and better workmanship. His instructions were effectually and admirably carried out by the builders. The whole effect excited universal admiration and gratitude. It is the greatest work, perhaps, ever accomplished by a single citizen. In a few years more, this national cathedral, with all its historic associations, would have fallen in, and become a mass of ruins, burying all the monuments spared by the iconoclastic soldiers of Cromwell, with the banners, swords, and helmets of the Knights of St. Patrick, who, strange to say, never made any effort to purify and restore this sacred home of their illustrious Order, which has always included a Royal Prince and the Lord-Lieutenant for the time

being, as well as the proudest of the Irish nobility. But the work which was too great for the Knights of St. Patrick, which the Irish Parliament refused to undertake, and which the British Parliament never entertained the thought of executing, has been accomplished within four years by a single merchant, at a cost of 150,000*l*. Mr. Guinness has given back the cathedral to the Dean and Chapter, with all its internal appointments complete and perfect in their kind, even to the upholstering of the pews, stalls, and thrones, the gas fixtures, and the heating of the building; they had only to walk in and perform their services as ministers, and nothing was expected from the Protestants of Dublin but to enter this grand and beautiful cathedral, take their comfortable seats, and worship God with grateful hearts. Mr. Guinness did every thing for them, and paid for every thing.

The bishops' seats which stand upon each side of the chancel, are made of Caen stone, with carved cornices. The entire of the pewing is of solid oak, enclosed with panelling enriched with carved tracery of varied and elegant design. The terminal ornaments are also of several different designs, and are exceedingly bold and well defined. The upholstery consists of crimson cloth and Brussels carpeting of an ecclesiastical pattern. Two carved oak screens at either side of the communion rails are deserving of special notice. Each screen is 9 ft. high, and the design consists of tracery and alternate triple columns, seven in number. The slender shafts are surmounted by richly carved capitals of varied and beautiful design. The communion table, which is also of oak and elaborately carved, is provided during divine service with a cover of the richest velvet, embroidered with gold. The tracery and oak panelling enclosing the pulpit are light and elegant in design, and the carving shows excellent taste and finish. The turret clock is a magnificent specimen of artistic ingenuity and perfect workmanship. Its cost will be about 1000*l*. It is a chime clock, and contains many devices of mechanical skill which were unknown a few years ago.

The new organ was erected by the Messrs. Bevington and Sons. Professor Stewart, the organist of the cathedral, produced magnificent effects with this instrument during the services.

The bishops who attended were the Lord Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Derry, Down and Connor, Tuam, Ossory, Cork, and Limerick. The Knights of the Order of St. Patrick were represented by Lords Headfort, Farnham, and Granard. The Lord Chancellor, the Lord Justice of Appeal, the Attorney-General, the Master of the Rolls, and the Provost and Vice-Provost of Trinity College were present. Among the nobility were Lord Powerscourt, Lord Mayo, Lord Charlemont, and Lord James Butler, the Marchioness of Headfort, Lady Powerscourt, Lady Farnham, Lady Mayo, Lady Charlemont, Lady Otho Fitzgerald, Lady Grant, and Lady Gray. The Lord Mayor came in his robes, attended by the civic officers, some of whom were



Roman Catholics, bearing the insignia of the Corporation, and took their seats in the pew specially reserved for them. A number of aldermen and town councillors also came in their robes. Shortly before eleven o'clock, the Lord-Lieutenant and Lady Wodehouse arrived. His Excellency wore the collar and badge of the Order of St. Patrick. There is a pew set apart for the Lord-Lieutenant, fronting the Archbishop's throne, on the left of the altar. When his Excellency and the other distinguished visitors had been seated, a procession of the clergy and choristers was formed at the western door of the cathedral, and proceeded to the places assigned them. After the service of morning prayer had been performed, the Archbishop of Dublin preached a striking sermon appropriate to the occasion. In the evening another service took place, the cathedral being again crowded in every part.

28. LAMENTABLE ACCIDENT BY DROWNING IN THE THAMES.—In the Thames, near Erith, a disastrous accident occurred by which ten cadets of the Worcester training-ship lost their lives, and many others incurred extreme danger. Three boats, manned by cadets from the above ship, were proceeding up the river, bound for the Southern Outfall Sewer works. They were going to inspect these works, under the charge of boatswain Cashman, boatswain's-mate Cook, and a man named Locke. There were twenty-two boys in each boat; but while wearing round to reach the Sewer Works' Pier, a boy in Cashman's boat let fall his cap overboard. Immediately the sheet was let loose, that the boat might "heave to" and recover it. Instantly a dozen hands stretched out to grasp the floating cap, when the boat canted over deeply to that side, and a puff of wind coming on at the same time she capsized. Cashman and the twenty-two boys were thus suddenly cast into the river to struggle for life. Several of the boys sank at once, clutching each other; but many others struck out manfully, urged on by the boatswain, who himself seized several of them and took them to the boat, which floated lightly, having little or no ballast in. Unhappily, however, too much weight on one side pulled the boat over again, and all of the poor lads were again sent floating down the river. Cashman again struck out, and saved two of them who were just sinking, whom Locke took up in his boat. Meanwhile Cook's boat came up under sail, and throwing out its oars, was the means of rescuing five more. Cashman again essayed to try his strength, but while endeavouring to get his jacket off nearly lost his life, for no less than five boys were clinging to him at the time. One noble little fellow caught hold of his sleeve and pulled the jacket off. The boy sank immediately in consequence of the exertion, but Cashman, getting clear of the rest, dived after him, dragging him to the surface by the hair of his head. It was too late, however; he had wrought the service he did at the cost of his life, and was quite dead when the boatswain brought him up. A brave lad, named Beckwith, who had been saved by Cashman, then leaped over, and succeeded in saving two;

and another little hero, by the name of Denton, also saved other two; but, in his endeavour to rescue a third, sank to rise no more, with three or four clinging to him. They who had been saved from a watery grave were taken ashore as soon as possible. Two medical men who happened to be there, and Dr. Tipple, of Erith, at once took charge of them. The greatest kindness was shown to the sufferers by Mr. Webster and Mr. Houghton, of the works, into whose offices they were conveyed; and it is worthy of note that the navvies took off their own clothing to wrap round the half-drowned boys. These rough men were most kind and persevering in their efforts to restore animation, assisting to rub the patients, and displaying a delicacy and tenderness, which will be remembered with admiration by those who witnessed as well as those who experienced it. The boatswain, Cashman, was so exhausted when he stepped ashore, that he fell on his face in the mud. The names of the missing are as hereunder:—Erington Ord Denton, 14; Hayter Bessemer Wanostrocht, 13; Henry Barber, 16; Alfred Henry Manders, 14; William Powell Stanton, 14; Walter John Strickland, 13; James Waller, 13; Charles Rupert Johnstone, 16; Jos. Ward Leigh, 16; and John Newman Harrison, 14, the last one seized by Cashman. The boat was a powerful and strongly-built vessel, having a beam of 6 ft. 7 in. with a length of 28 ft. It was constructed to carry twelve oars. That it should have gone over so easily, is a remarkable fact. Captain Whitty of the "Worcester," was seriously affected in health by the intelligence of this disaster, which spread great grief in the neighbourhood. An inquest on Henry Newman Harrison, one of the nine cadets downed, was held at the Pier Hotel, Erith, before Mr. Carttar. A good deal of evidence was taken, which entirely corroborated the account of the accident. The jury, without retiring, gave a unanimous verdict "that Mr. Newman Harrison died by accidental drowning by the upsetting of a boat." Mr. Henry Green, and several of the Worcester committee, with Mr. Bullivant, were present, and it was explained that every effort had been made to recover the bodies. In admiration of the gallant conduct displayed on the occasion by John Cashman, the boatswain, who rescued several of the cadets from drowning, a silver medal was awarded him by the London Swimming Club.

## MARCH.

4. THE DISPUTE IN THE IRON TRADE.—SEVENTY THOUSAND MEN THROWN OUT OF EMPLOYMENT.—The struggle that had been going on for years in the iron trade, at length reached a crisis in one of the boldest measures ever adopted by the employers of labour. On Saturday night (the 4th) the South Staffordshire Ironworks were closed, on the understanding that they should not be again opened till the North Staffordshire men had returned to work. There are 3000 furnaces in South Staffordshire. They were at work on the Saturday, but were all cold the next morning. 6000 puddlers were employed at them, and for each puddler there was an assistant, and for every puddler and every assistant there was a labourer. There were coal wheelers, boat loaders and unloaders, horse drivers, and labourers employed in many other capacities in connexion with the ironworks. There were also 3500 millmen. Very soon after the stopping of the ironworks a great number of colliers would necessarily be thrown out of work. On the whole it was estimated that 34,000 or 35,000 persons would be thrown out of employment in South Staffordshire alone, and 40,000% a week that used to be distributed in wages would no longer circulate amongst the families of the poor. In the event of the lock-out being persevered in all over the country, in accordance with the compact which the iron-masters had entered into with each other, 70,000 men would be thrown out of employment, and above 200,000 persons deprived of the means of subsistence. Nearly 100,000% a week that used to be paid in wages would be thus diverted from the labouring classes of the iron districts of the country, and circulate in some other channel.

— GREAT ROBBERY IN THE CITY.—A very daring robbery was committed at a house in Birchin-lane, one of the busiest thoroughfares in the city, connecting Cornhill with Lombard-street, and in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Exchange and the Bank of England. The premises in question, No. 6, consist of a shop on the ground floor, with offices above, all of which have a common entrance from the street. The first floor is occupied by Mr. Lyons, a stock and share broker, the second by Mr. Crane, an agent for the sale of fire-arms, and the third is at present unoccupied. No one sleeps upon the premises, and the occupant of the shop, being the last to leave in the evening, closes them for the night. There is reason to believe that the shopkeeper himself unknowingly locked in the thieves who afterwards ransacked the place and escaped with the spoil. It so happened that Mr. Lyons, on the night in question, before leaving his office for the



day, took from an iron safe in it the money and securities for money which he had there, and deposited them with his bankers; but he left in it a cashbox, which, however, contained only a few documents of value to himself. That being so, he thought he would at once leave the safe-door open, for otherwise, in the event of the house being robbed, the thieves might spoil his safe by forcing or attempting to force it open. Failing to pick the lock of his office-door, the thieves had cut away the jamb into which the bolt shot, and had then prised the door open with a crowbar. They wrenched open a drawer in the same way, but without finding in it any thing of value, and they took from an open drawer a quantity of postage-stamps. Of course, they soon discovered the cashbox in the unlocked safe, and that they forced violently open, leaving it afterwards bulged and broken in a room above. They were more successful in the apartments on the second floor, in the occupation of Mr. Crane, which were stored with a choice selection of small arms, especially revolvers, in which he trades, in the capacity of an agent. Having forced an entrance by cutting away the bearings of the lock and prising open the door, they carried off about 50 revolvers, some of them worth five and six guineas each, and of the value in all, of 130*l*. On the night in question the premises were closed for the night at seven o'clock, and the robbery would appear to have been effected in little more than an hour afterwards, for two of the pistols stolen from the rooms of Mr. Crane were pledged about nine o'clock the same evening at the shop of a pawnbroker in the Borough.

7. RAILWAY ACCIDENT—DEATH OF MR. SENIOR.—A melancholy accident destroyed the life of Mr. Edward Senior, one of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners. It occurred near the residence of the deceased, Ashtoun-lodge, Phoenix-park, about two and a half miles from Dublin. About five o'clock in the afternoon, the mail train from Galway was coming at its usual rate of speed, when Mr. Senior presented himself at the gate where there is a crossing, and wished to pass over before the train came up. The railway policeman on duty, Giles M'Bane, refused permission till the train had passed. But the deceased, unfortunately, insisted on passing, directed the policeman to stand back, and pushed through the gate. He was struck down by the engine, and dragged about thirty yards along the line. He was found quite dead, and the body fearfully mutilated. Mr. Senior was highly esteemed. He was fifty-eight years of age.

An inquest was held by Mr. Davis, the Coroner, on the body of the unfortunate gentleman. The jury proceeded to view the remains, which presented an appearance extremely shocking. The body was literally cut into fragments. After being dragged about thirty yards by the engine, which caught his clothes, he appears to have fallen obliquely upon the rails, in which position the wheels passed over him, severing the body from the right loin to the left side of the head. The only portions found complete were

the upper part of the head and the right leg. The remains were collected, placed in a sheet, and brought to his residence. Some fragments were found the next morning scattered about on the line. Dr. Mapother, Medical Officer of Health, deposed that—"He had seen the body of the deceased. Found it completely severed above the abdomen, the viscera being scattered about. The left leg was divided from the trunk and lacerated in many places. There were several fractures of the skull, from which the brain protruded. Considering the nature of the injuries, death must have resulted instantaneously. The lower part of the face, the entire chest, and other portions of the trunk were destroyed."

It appears that Mr. Senior was in the habit of walking home from his office through the park. At the Ashtown-gate level crossing, there is a policeman always on duty to shut the gate when a train is approaching. It was stated that the deceased was frequently remonstrated with for crossing when a train was in sight, and he wrote to the directors complaining of the obstructions he met from their servant, saying, that, being warned, he accepted the responsibility of passing, and desired not to be annoyed. On this occasion he was earnestly warned, but he persisted, and had reached the middle of the second line of rails, on which the mail train from Galway was approaching at a rapid rate. He miscalculated, and perished awfully as the consequence of his own temerity. The jury returned a verdict of "accidental death," in accordance with the evidence.

10. GREAT BANK FAILURE IN BIRMINGHAM.—The town of Birmingham was thrown into great consternation by the announcement that the old banking house of Attwood, Spooner, and Co. had stopped payment. The deposits amounted to over 700,000*l.*, the current credit balances to more than 300,000*l.*, and the note circulation to 26,395*l.*, so that the liabilities were more than 1,000,000*l.* Some time previously the bank had entered into an arrangement for an amalgamation with the Joint Stock Bank (limited). The arrangement had received the assent of that proprietary. It was the investigation incident to this transfer which hastened the occurrence of to-day.

Simultaneously with the closing of the bank the following announcement appeared from the firm:—

"It is with feelings of the deepest concern and distress we announce that we are compelled to suspend payment, and this is at the moment when, after several months of negotiation, we had confidently trusted we should obtain such assistance as would enable us to carry into effect our part in the preliminary agreement for the amalgamation with the Birmingham Joint Stock Bank. In this hope we have been disappointed. Sums of money to a large amount were drawn out of the bank some years since by the family of the Attwoods. To this circumstance it can be clearly shown at the proper time our failure is to be attributed. For the last ten years every effort has been made to redeem the

loss thus occasioned; but this has only been partially accomplished. The assets of the bank are, however, still very considerable, and there are real estates of great value belonging to the bank, and but slightly encumbered. We hope that in our suspending payment we shall be considered as taking the best and only step to insure a just and equal distribution of our assets among our creditors."

Such was the end of this old bank, in which the public of this district had boundless confidence. So sudden and complete a collapse had perhaps rarely before been experienced.

The bank of Attwood, Spooner, and Co. was established in 1791 by the father of the late Mr. Spooner, M.P.; by the death of the gentleman last named, in November last, and of Mr. T. A. Attwood a year ago, the only surviving partner left was Mr. Henry Marshall.

The catastrophe was attended with very serious effects. Nearly all the friendly societies, building clubs, congregational charities, widow and orphan societies, and similar institutions throughout the district had their funds deposited in this bank, the failure of which has consequently developed wide-spread excitement of the most painful character. The bank premises were guarded by police to prevent acts of violence. The notes of the bank were offered in the streets at five shillings in the pound. If the assets were at once realized, it was calculated that there would be a dividend of from 8s. to 10s. in the pound.

A meeting of the creditors was promptly summoned, at which the Mayor presided. It was resolved to take the affair, if possible, out of the Bankruptcy Court, and to endeavour to get some one to advance money on the assets of the bank. A statement was put in, from which it appeared that the liabilities of the concern were 960,479*l.* 19s., and the assets about 618,412*l.*

13. MURDER AND SUICIDE AT HACKNEY.—A shocking tragedy took place at Hackney. A gasfitter and bellhanger named Henry Carmichael had been engaged in fitting up a row of newly-built houses, situated in the Nightingale-road. The man and his family, consisting of his wife and nephew, were allowed by the landlord to live in No. 3 of the villas. The villa in question was a large empty house. For some time past the woman, Elizabeth Carmichael, had been subject to fits of religious fanaticism. She was in consequence very desponding, and, as her husband expressed it, often "sulked." On the 13th, at half-past eight, the husband got up, and left his wife and her nephew, a boy named Henry Joseph Smith, aged ten years, lying on a bed in the corner of the first floor back room. He went down-stairs, lit the fire, and prepared breakfast. He then took his wife and his nephew their breakfasts up-stairs. Much to his surprise, he found the door locked. He knocked, but received no answer. He thought, as he stated, that his wife was sulking. The husband then went to attend to his bellhanging in the other houses until dinner-time.



He then took his wife up her dinner ; but, upon knocking, he still received no answer. At tea-time he again brought her up her tea, but his knocking elicited no sound. At half-past seven o'clock in the evening he for the fourth time went to his wife's room, and no notice being taken of his knocks, he said, "I tell you what it is, I'll have no more of your sulking ; if you do not open the door or answer, I shall send for the police and have the door burst in." He then burst open the door with his shoulder, and was horrified in discovering the dead body of the nephew lying across the bed, with his head thrown back, and a fearful gash on his throat. Carmichael then turned to his wife, and said, "Aunt, aunt, what have you done?" She gave a moan, and pointed to the dead body of her nephew. There was a dreadful cut across her throat, severing the windpipe. Dr. Charles Welsh, of the London-road, Clapton, was instantly sent for. Upon the arrival of the police, Inspector Norris, of the N division, had her removed to the German Hospital. She was partly sensible, but unable to speak. When asked if she wished to make any statement, she wrote the word "No."

Shortly after her removal, the wretched woman expired. On the inquest which was held on the boy, it was proved that he died from the wounds, and the woman had signified that she had committed the murder.

The only additional evidence now adduced was that of Benjamin Henry Green, a little boy about nine years of age, who stated that the deceased boy was a playmate of his, and that on the 3rd, the day of the murder, he and his brother called deceased several times in the course of the day, but received no answer. The deceased had told him that his uncle did not buy him any food, but spent all the money he got in drink. The deceased never complained of his uncle attempting to harm him. Two days before the 3rd, deceased told witness that his aunt had tried to cut his throat, but that he had got away from her. Some days before, the deceased took from witness a knife, and witness went to Mrs. Carmichael, who gave him twopence for the knife, saying that she would do away with herself rather than there should be any trouble.

The Coroner recapitulated the evidence, and commented upon that of the lad with regard to the expressions made use of by the aunt, which, he said, showed a morbid state of mind. With this, however, they had nothing to do ; it was simply their duty to say whether the deceased met his death at the hands of his aunt, and to find a verdict irrespective of the woman's state of mind at the time of the occurrence.

The jury immediately returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder" against Elizabeth Carmichael.

14. VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO THE CONSUMPTION HOSPITAL AT BROMPTON,—This morning Her Majesty, attended by the Duchess of Roxburghe, Lord Alfred Paget, Colonel the Hon. Arthur

Hardinge, and Dr. Jenner, arrived at the hospital at eleven o'clock, and was received at the entrance by the Hon. Arthur Kinnaid, Mr. Philip Rose, hon. sec. (the founder of the hospital), Dr. Roe and Dr. Cotton (the two senior physicians), and the principal officials of the institution. Her Majesty walked through the four galleries called respectively the "Victoria," the "Albert," the "Foulis," and the "Jenny Lind," entering many of the wards, speaking to several of the patients who were confined to their beds, and bestowing upon all kindly smiles and sympathizing looks. Her Majesty then visited the chapel (which was built by the chairman, Sir Henry Foulis), entered the vestry, and inspected the library; after which she expressed a wish to see the kitchens, with which, as well as with the larder and the steam apparatus for cooking and for raising the lifts for the patients and the provisions, the Queen appeared much interested. Her Majesty wrote her name in the visitor's book, and examined the vellum scroll containing the signatures of the late Prince Consort and of the distinguished visitors who were present at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new building by His Royal Highness on the 11th of June, 1844. During her somewhat lengthened visit, the Queen narrowly inspected all the arrangements, and by her numerous questions manifested much interest in the charity, which has long been honoured by the royal support and patronage. To the patients, of whom there are 210, the royal visit was an occasion of intense gratification. Amongst those honoured by special notice was one of the survivors of the famous Balaklava cavalry charge. This poor soldier was an inmate of the hospital for the third time since his discharge from the army, having on each occasion been sufficiently restored to health to earn his livelihood.

15. TRIAL OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED IN THE RIOTS OF AUGUST, 1864, AT BELFAST.—The Spring Assizes opened at Belfast with the usual formalities, and more than the usual interest and solemnity.

At eleven o'clock the Right Hon. Baron Deasy, accompanied by the High Sheriff, Mr. John F. Ferguson, D.L., J.P., and the Sub-Sheriff, took his seat in the Crown Court.

The Judge then addressed the grand jury at considerable length on the state of the calendar. He said:—

"But for the riots, the cases for trial would be few and unimportant. But the other division of the calendar presented darker features. It reminded him of an observation of the late Lord Macaulay about Ireland:—

"Incedis per ignes  
Suppositos cineri doloso."

This observation was peculiarly applicable to the great town in which they were then sitting. Beneath the fair surface of external prosperity which it presented to the eye of the stranger, slumbered fiery passions which might be roused into destructive activity upon the slightest occasion. On the calendar he found five cases of

murder and six of firing at the person; but it appeared from the constabulary return that there were nine persons killed and sixty-five wounded. Even that return was defective, and he had been referred to a report by Dr. Murney, surgeon to the General Hospital, which was founded on the returns given to him by the professional gentlemen engaged in curing the wounded. He said:—"I give the experience of seventy-eight medical practitioners, added to which is that derived from the practitioners of the Belfast General and Union Hospitals, and I think the public may be satisfied that the death-roll is complete, and the list of those injured closely approximated to." And his return given presented this fearful result:—"persons who suffered more or less seriously, 316; recovered, 219; died, 11; yet under treatment"—(for this was written on November the 6th)—"slight gun-shot injuries, 64; severe, 34; total from gun-shot wounds, 98." That (said his lordship) reads more like the *Gazette* after a very serious naval or military engagement, than the return presented to a judge of assize at the assizes in this country; and often we have read of important military events, perhaps decisive of the success of a campaign—the occupation of a city, the surrender of a commanding position—being achieved with a less effusion of human blood and a smaller sacrifice of human life. And for what, I may now ask, when, I trust, the passions have been cooled and the excitement has subsided—for what object, with what result, has all this blood been shed? It is a melancholy thing, to think that in the year of grace 1864, in the latter part of the 19th century, which boasts of its civilization, in the centre of this great manufacturing community, in a town which may be called, and justly, the manufacturing metropolis of Ireland, where material prosperity has so closely followed successful industry, where intelligence and education are so widely diffused,—it is a melancholy thing to find that here, at such a time and under such circumstances, the blood of Irishmen should be shed by their own hands in causeless, objectless, senseless strifes." The learned Judge proceeded to observe on the great loss and injury occasioned to the town by these disgraceful riots, in which no less than eleven valuable lives had been sacrificed to the demon of theological animosity. He deprecated the introduction of irrelevant and irritating topics during the course of the trials, and said he would use his influence to prevent the disturbing influence of political and religious excitement. He concluded in the following words:—"For, gentlemen, nothing in my mind can so much conduce to the prevention of riots, and to the suppression of those party disturbances which have so long and so often disgraced the North of Ireland, and so far acted as a drawback to its material prosperity, as a firm, impartial administration of the law—that administration of the law which the country expects, and I trust will receive, from all engaged in it at the present assizes. I may be permitted to express one hope,—that this will be the last occasion on which



any judges sitting here will have occasion to address to the grand inquest of the great and enlightened county of Antrim observations such as I have now addressed to you. I trust that Belfast, which has so long been an example to the rest of Ireland for its manufactures and commercial industry, will in a short time be a model of peace and propriety. By so demeaning themselves, its inhabitants will not only conduce to their own welfare and that of the community of which they are members, they will thereby hasten the advent of that time which, I trust, is not far distant, when antagonism of race and religion will have ceased—when Irishmen, from whatever race they may have sprung, whatever religion they may profess, or whatever party they may belong to, will yet remember that they are children of one common country, which has need of the exertions of all her sons; and while exercising to the fullest extent their legal rights and constitutional privileges—while giving the fullest, the freest expression within the wide limits of the law to their religious and political opinions, they will respect each other's feelings and each other's opinions, however little they may sympathize with the one, or however widely differ from the other, and will be content to dwell and work together on this fair land."

John Fagan, Patrick Mullan, Anne Mullan, John Keys, Michael Mooney, Michael M'Mullen, and John Fagan were then called and arraigned for riot and assault on the 15th of August last, in Brown-street, Belfast. The first count charged the accused with unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembling together to the disturbance of the public peace, and with force and arms, &c., injuring and damaging the Brown-street National Schools, it being then a building devoted and dedicated to public use. They pleaded "Not Guilty." The panel was objected to on technical grounds by their counsel. The objection was overruled, and the jury were sworn.

Counsel for the Crown—The Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Sir Thomas Staples, Q.C., LL.D., Mr. Thomas K. Lowry, Q.C., LL.D., and Mr. N. H. Shegog. For the defence of the Roman Catholic prisoners—Mr. Butt, Q.C., Mr. Hamill, and Mr. M'Mahon.

After hearing a large amount of evidence and nearly four hours' consultation, the jury returned a verdict of *Guilty* against all the prisoners but one charged with the attack on the Brown-street Protestant School. Sentence—M'Mullen two years' imprisonment from the date of committal; the others one year from the present time, except a boy, who got three months.

M'Mullen attacked the turnkeys. After a struggle, the prisoners were removed.

Several other trials arising out of the same transactions followed—amongst others, Archibald Mulholland, William Phoenix, William Milliken, and William Campbell were indicted for having on the 16th of August last formed part of an unlawful and riotous

assembly at Peter's-hill, and taken part in the wrecking of the dwelling-house of one Gordon O'Neill. The prisoners, who were fine, respectable-looking young men, pleaded "Not Guilty." Mr. Whiteside, Q.C. (special), Mr. Falkner, and Mr. John Norwood appeared for the defence. The Attorney-General stated the case for the Crown. The facts were very simple. It appeared beyond all doubt that on the morning of Monday, the 16th of August, between two and three o'clock, a mob of persons came up Boyd-street, towards Peter's-hill, where O'Neill lived. They shouted, "To —— with the Pope!" and commenced a violent attack upon the house. They threw stones at it, broke the windows, and fired shots at it. They made such a noise that the police heard them from a distance, and interfered. They were able to identify the prisoners in the dock as having formed part of that riotous mob and having been engaged in the work of injury to this dwelling-house. The witnesses for the Crown were cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside, who addressed the jury for the prisoners. Evidence for the defence was produced. The Solicitor-General then addressed the jury for the Crown. The jury retired at a quarter to two o'clock, and returned into court at half-past five with a verdict of *Guilty* on the counts for injuring the dwelling-house and being concerned in the riot. Sentence—twelve months' imprisonment, with hard labour.

Another jury was empanelled to try Henry Lavery for the murder of John Gorman. The Attorney-General briefly stated the case. John Gorman was shot at a place called Brown-street, in Belfast, on the 10th of August last. The occurrence took place about half-past six o'clock in the morning, in broad daylight. Gorman, after being shot, was carried to the hospital, where he lingered for a few days, and then died. A woman named Catherine Devlin, who had slept the night previously in the house of a Mr. O'Rorke, in Millfield, was proceeding to work a little after six o'clock. In order to get through Brown-street she asked Gorman to escort her. He did. As they turned into Brown-street they saw a crowd. A man came forward from the crowd, went down on his knee, presented, and fired a pistol at them. The shot took effect on Gorman, and, as was stated, caused his death. Catherine Devlin would swear it was Lavery who fired the shot, and that she cried out, "Lavery, you will rue this!" or some expression of that kind. Another witness would also be able to identify Lavery as the party who shot Gorman, and evidence would be given proving the use of the expression by Catherine Devlin, "Lavery, you will rue this." There was some rioting at the time in Brown-street; but if the circumstances relied on by the Crown were proved, the offence could not be reduced below the crime of murder.

Catherine Devlin was then examined by the Solicitor-General, and cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside. Several other witnesses were examined for the Crown, and cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside, who addressed the jury for the prisoner. Numerous witnesses for the

defence were examined by Mr. Norwood and Mr. Whiteside. From their evidence it appeared that the fatal shot was fired while the two mobs were engaged in fighting. They contradicted the witnesses for the Crown as to the time of the murder, and deposed to circumstances to show that the prisoner could not have fired the shot. Both he and the deceased were brought to the same ward in the hospital, and they seemed to be on friendly terms. The Solicitor-General having replied for the Crown, Baron Deasy charged the jury, who retired at six o'clock, and remained in consultation till half-past seven. The foreman then stated that they had not agreed. Again at half-past nine they were called in, when the foreman stated that there was no probability of their agreeing. At half-past eleven o'clock his lordship again returned to court. The jury having again appeared in their box, they reiterated the assurance that there was not the slightest chance of their agreeing to a verdict. His lordship stated that as the jury were now for so many hours in consultation, and as he saw no probability of their agreement, and as it only wanted a few minutes of Sunday morning, he saw no possible use in keeping them locked up without refreshment during Sunday. He would, therefore, on his own responsibility discharge them. They were discharged accordingly.

16. EXECUTION FOR MURDER.—REVOLTING SCENE ON THE SCAFFOLD.—Matthew Atkinson, convicted at the last assizes of the murder of his wife at Spen, under circumstances of great brutality, was executed at Durham. The wretched man appeared on the scaffold at eight o'clock, and walked steadily to the drop. The hangman speedily adjusted the rope and drew the fatal bolt, but the rope being too long, broke, and Atkinson fell. Apparently unhurt by the fall, the wretched culprit was removed until another rope was procured. This occupied about twenty minutes, and all this while an immense mob kept hissing and groaning at the executioner, which tokens of disgust were redoubled when the executioner again appeared on the scaffold to fix the new rope. Atkinson was led out a second time, and once more the drop fell. The wretched culprit struggled violently before his crime was expiated. At one time it was feared that a riot would have taken place, so dissatisfied were the mob with the bungling of the hangman.

25. DESTRUCTION OF THE SHEFFIELD THEATRE BY FIRE.—The Surrey Theatre at Sheffield was burnt down about half-past two o'clock this morning. A small fire had been discovered in Burgess-street half an hour previously, and the fire-engines had been called out. The firemen belonging to the Royal Fire Insurance Company's Brigade were in the act of backing their engine into the station, when a bright light was observed in the direction of Westbar. How long the theatre had been burning it is impossible to say, but when discovered the flames were blazing through the roof, illuminating all the neighbourhood. The fire spread with



frightful rapidity, threatening to destroy the entire square formed by Westbar, Spring-street, Hick's-lane, and Workhouse-croft. The flames had spread from the rear towards the front of the building, destroying the least hope that any considerable portion of it could be saved. Immediately on the fire being discovered, the Royal engines were quickly on the spot; but the flames had obtained such a hold of the building that it was quite impossible to do any thing to arrest their progress. The fire-brigade, therefore, directed their energies to throwing immense columns of water on the adjoining property, in the hope of preventing the flames spreading beyond the walls of the theatre, in which they were pretty successful. The whole of the roof of the building fell in about three o'clock, and nothing but the walls and the tower in front were left standing, in a threatening condition.

The building, of which Mr. Youdan was the sole proprietor, was built in 1851, at which time it was used for the purposes of singing and dancing. A museum and a picture gallery were afterwards added, and subsequently, in 1855, the establishment was enlarged to the proportions of a first-class theatre. It had frequently, since that period, been further enlarged, and last summer was re-opened with great *éclat*, the entire construction of the interior eliciting the encomiums of all who entered its walls. It was in this theatre that the Social Science Association was to have held their principal meeting this year, the proprietor having offered the use of it for the occasion. It was stated that the building, with its contents, including the elaborate fittings and scenery, the museum, picture galleries, &c., had cost the proprietor from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.*

29. LAUNCH OF THE "AGINCOURT."—This monster armour-plated ram, of 6680 tons burden and 1350 horse power, was floated at the ship-building yard of Laird, Brothers, Birkenhead, in the presence of about 30,000 spectators.

## APRIL.

4. OPENING OF THE SOUTHERN OUTFALL OF THE MAIN DRAINAGE WORKS.—The important sanitary work which, for the last five years, had occupied more or less of the attention of the public, was brought to a final and successful close, and London, covering its vast area of nearly 120 square miles, might now be said to be the best and most thoroughly drained city in the world. All that was required to complete the work on the south side of the metropolis was that the huge steam engines should be started, and that the pumps attached to them should commence their work of lifting the many millions of gallons of sewage which, by the series of the upper, middle, and lower level sewers, is brought

down to the reservoir at Crossness Point, in order to be pumped up to the outfall, which will discharge the sewage into the Thames shortly after the time of high water, when it will be carried down to such a distance in the river as will prevent its return by the next tide. The Prince of Wales had, with his usual kindness, acceded to the wish of the Metropolitan Board of Works that he should himself perform this crowning act in a great national work, and due preparations were accordingly made for the reception of His Royal Highness and the noble and distinguished party of guests who were invited to witness the ceremony. The great bulk of the visitors went down by special train on the North Kent line to Plumstead, whence they were conveyed over the contractors' line to the outfall. The Prince of Wales went down the river by the "Oread" steamer, which started from the stairs of the new palace at Westminster. The Prince was accompanied by Prince Alfred (attended by Lieutenant-General Knollys, Major Grey, Major Cowell, Mr. Fisher, and Dr. Bernhardt), the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Sutherland, the Bishop of Oxford, Lord Clarence Paget, Viscount Sydney, Lord J. Manners, and a few other noblemen and gentlemen who were invited to accompany the party. Their Royal Highnesses were received by Mr. John Thwaites (the chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works), Mr. J. W. Bazalgette (the engineer-in-chief), and the members of the reception committee. The Prince in the first instance visited the northern outfall works at Barking, one of the reservoirs of which was lighted up for the inspection of his Royal Highness; and Mr. Bazalgette briefly explained the principles and mode of construction. After a brief inspection, the party proceeded to the opposite side of the river. The great reservoir was here brilliantly illuminated, and the wharfs and terraces above ground were put into trim order. All the ugly and disagreeable features of the place had been hidden. Thick layers of gravel concealed banks which a week since were bogs of muddy clay. Culvert and reservoir, workshop and engine-room, wore a holiday aspect. In all the long lines of sewers there was nothing but neatness and cleanliness to be seen. The great traps and valves in the walls, restraining as they did for the time the repulsive flood, looked bright and trim as iron safes in merchants' counting-houses. From the ceilings hung no foul festoons; from the arches dripped no feculent moisture. There was plenty of light. The "fifty thousand additional lamps," were here multiplied, seemingly, by fifty. The effect produced by the illumination of the reservoir, to which the guests proceeded after they had minutely examined the culvert, was remarkable. Yet very little craft had been necessary to produce it. It was simply the effect of the fortuitous and inevitable picturesque. So many hundred columns and arches arranged in parallel lines, with others crossing at right angles, and stretching away into a perspective whose prolongation baffles the keenest vision, the outline of each arch

and cornice defined by rows of lamps, were all that was needed to bring about the grand consummation.

The engine-room—in itself a marvel of massive construction and mechanical combination—was next visited, and this department merited special eulogium from an artistic point of view. The great engines, the cylinders, and wheels, and piston-rods, are all there; but, by the mere conversion of what might have been a hideous well into a tasteful octagonal court, with Byzantine arches supported on slender columns, with highly ornamented capitals, and, especially by the judicious introduction of colour, the whole place was made to wear a cheerful and refined aspect. The colour is at once brilliant and subdued. It has as yet been applied to the iron work experimentally; but it is intended that the capitals, cornices, and spandrels shall be permanently enamelled in colours; and the effect of this, added to the exquisitely beautiful bronze scroll work in the octagonal court, will give the whole interior of the edifice an appearance certainly unique in the annals of engine-rooms. Numbers of the visitors had gathered on the floor of the building, others occupied the galleries, and looked out from every available point. At that moment all the massive machinery was still. But approaching one of the engines, the Prince of Wales had only, under the instruction of Mr. Grant, to turn a small handle, which worked so easily that a child could have moved it, and the ponderous beam began to move, amidst the cheers of the spectators. The Prince went round in turn to the other three engines, and similarly started them all. The work was fairly completed. In regular stroke the pumps moved up and down, and the engines began a course of duty that nothing will in future interrupt. This ceremony over, the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, and the other royal and distinguished personages were conducted to another of the workshops which had been tastefully fitted up by Mr. Webster, the contractor, as a dining-hall. Flags of all nations hung from the roof. At the further end the door was covered with heavy curtains of red cloth, surmounted by a trophy. The walls on either side were covered several feet high with scarlet cloth, while above this, at regular distances, were designs in crystal and other decorations. Over the entrance-door a gallery covered with scarlet cloth had been erected, one end of which was occupied by ladies and the other by the band of the Royal Marines (light infantry), under the direction of Mr. W. Winterbottom. Along one side of the room ran a platform, on which was placed the table at which the royal party sat. Mr. Thwaites presided, having the Prince of Wales on his right and Prince Alfred on his left. The Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Oxford, Earl Stanhope, the Duke of Sutherland, the Duke of St. Albans, Lord Alfred Paget, &c., were also seated at the raised table. When the collation was over, and grace had been said by the Archbishop of York, Mr. Thwaites briefly proposed “The Queen,” making allusion, in doing so, to the gratification it



afforded himself and the Board of Works to have the presence of the members of the royal family that day. The toast was received with hearty enthusiasm.

The Prince of Wales then proposed the toast of "Success to the Great National Undertaking." He said: Your Royal Highness, my lords, and gentlemen, Although, from the words you have heard from the chair, you were led to suppose that there would be no further toasts, still I think there is one toast which on this occasion ought not to be omitted, and it is a toast which it gives me the greatest pleasure to propose; it is, "Success to the Great National Undertaking," the completion of which we have this day witnessed. It certainly appears to me that we ought not to separate without drinking that toast. And I may, perhaps, be allowed, in the name of all those who are present, to congratulate Mr. Thwaites, the chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the eminent and skilful engineer of the Board, Mr. Bazalgette, upon the great success which they have achieved—a success which will be of material use to London: not so much now, perhaps, as in future years, when the Thames will be completely purified, and London will have become what it ought to be, one of the healthiest cities in Europe. Gentlemen, I propose as a toast, "Success to the Great National Undertaking," the completion of which we have now witnessed.

During the *déjeuner* the band of the Woolwich division of Royal Marines, conducted by Mr. Winterbottom, played a selection of music, and sang several part songs in excellent time and tune, concluding with the National Anthem.

The Royal and distinguished visitors returned to town in the "Oread" shortly before four o'clock, and the general body of visitors returned by the special trains on the South Eastern Railway. As the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred landed at the Speaker's Stairs at Westminster Bridge, they were enthusiastically cheered by a large crowd of people. Photographs of the royal party were taken during the afternoon by Messrs. Negretti and Zambra. The Prussian Ambassador was present, and appeared to take much interest in the proceedings.

8. THE GREAT UNIVERSITY ROWING MATCH.—This exciting contest between the two great Universities took place on the Thames above bridge. The following were the names and weights of the rowers:—

OXFORD.		st. lb.	CAMBRIDGE.		st. lb.
1. R. T. Raikes, Merton . . .	11	1	1. H. Watney, St. John's . . .	11	1
2. H. P. Senhouse, Christ Church .	11	2	2. M. H. Beebee, St. John's . .	11	0
3. E. F. Henley, Oriel . . .	12	13	3. E. V. Pigott, Corpus . . .	11	13
4. G. G. Coventry, Pembroke . .	11	12	4. R. A. Kinglake, Trinity . .	12	8
5. A. Morrison, Balliol . . .	12	6	5. D. F. Steavenson, Trinity Hall.	12	5
6. T. Wood, Pembroke . . .	12	2	6. G. H. Borthwick, Trinity . .	12	0
7. H. Schneider, Trinity . . .	11	11	7. W. R. Griffiths, Trinity . .	11	8
8. M. Brown, Trinity . . .	11	4	8. C. B. Lawes, Trinity . . .	11	7
C. W. Tottenham, Ch. Ch. (cox.)	7	13	F. H. Archer, Corpus (cox.) . .	7	3

The morning was warm and balmy, with a breath of air from the S.W., nothing could be more favourable for this important aquatic event. Every spot from which a view of the race could be obtained—Putney, Hammersmith, and Barnes Railway Bridges, and the banks of the river, were literally covered, and Barnes-terrace almost reminded one of the Grand Stand at Ascot. It was a perfect bevy of the fairest and brightest of England. The tide, which had been gradually improving for the last few days, made up strong at eleven o'clock, and as noon approached the excitement became intense. Cambridge, who had been non-favourites at the commencement of the week, had gradually increased in popular estimation, their form of rowing having decidedly improved, while the same onward movement had not been so visible in the Oxford boat. The odds had now become even, Oxford for choice. It was arranged that the race should commence from two barges moored opposite the Star and Garter, and should terminate at a flag-boat placed about three hundred yards below Barker's Rails. At 12.34 the Cambridge ship was launched from Simmons's Yard, the Oxford being brought out about five minutes afterwards from the boat-house of the London Rowing Club, who had kindly permitted them the loan of their shed during their sojourn at Putney. They paddled down towards Putney Bridge, amid the hearty cheering of the thousands present. Oxford, having won the toss, took up their position nearest the Middlesex shore, having their opponents on the port hand, Mr. Edward Searle being in a boat between the two barges ready to receive them, and for several minutes endeavoured to effect a start, which was rendered utterly impossible on account of the bad behaviour of some of the many steam-boats, some of which surrounded, and some remained directly in the course of the boats.

The start took place at 1.1.40. Cambridge, in the first six strokes, jumped off with nearly half a boat's length lead, Oxford appearing to be hardly aware that the contest had commenced. Cambridge continued to increase their lead, and at Finch's nearly cleared their length, where they settled down to a longer swing than during the whole of their practice. Oxford was rowing wildly, being already fearfully hampered by a steam-boat and a screw tug. The Cambridge coxswain, off Rose Bank, kept in mid-stream, thereby saving his crew from the draught of the steam-boats; while Oxford, having been steered previously too much towards the Middlesex shore, had the disadvantage of having her rudder put on to bring her again into her right course. The crew now settled down to their work, the style of their rowing having decidedly improved. Cambridge, however, continued to increase their lead up to the Crab Tree, where there were two lengths between them. At this point Oxford were rowing thirty-nine strokes per minute, Cambridge slightly quicker. In going over to the Soap Works Point, Cambridge took their

opponents' water, giving them the wash, amidst the deafening applause of their partisans, and this course they continued till Hammersmith was reached by Cambridge in 7 min. 30 sec. from the time of starting, and two boats' length and a half ahead of Oxford. "It's all over!" was the general cry. Separated by the above-mentioned distance, they continued rowing with unabated vigour round the Horse-shoe bend, and Cambridge being kept too much in the bight which lies immediately above it, Oxford, being kept out with the full benefit of what tide yet remained, began slowly but surely to decrease the gap between the boats. This being observed by Cambridge, Mr. Lawes quickened his stroke, working the crew up, we should almost fear, to forty-two or forty-three strokes a minute. As may be supposed, the crew were unable to row this through, and Oxford, showing a determined depression of the knees, exhibited a piece of rowing worthy of any University crew, and passed their opponents with unexampled rapidity opposite Chiswick Church. Then it was really over. The rowing of Cambridge became shorter and shorter, and though their great strength and indomitable courage gave the leading boat no rest, by the time of reaching the Duke's bathing-place, Oxford, admirably steered by Mr. Tottenham, regained their lost course, and were carefully holding the advantage they had gained. In this position they shot under Barnes Railway Bridge in 17 min. 30 sec., about four strokes ahead of their adversaries, and still rowing in excellent form. In fact, throughout the whole of the last part of this race they fully justified the great confidence which had been reposed in them by the best judges. Notwithstanding two or three plucky spurts on the part of Mr. Lawes, they held their own, and passed the flag-boat, in which was seated John Phelps, the waterman, as judge, in case of a close result, about six strokes ahead of Cambridge, doing the entire distance in 21 min. 23 sec., having scored the fifth race in succession for their University, a feat which has never been performed before. Mr. J. W. Chitty, of Exeter College, Oxford, as usual, acted as umpire.

The river banks on both sides presented that picture of animation and merriment which is always an accompaniment of this event. Imagination could picture no gayer scene than that which the whole course presented; and those who had a party interest in the struggle, and who formed a large proportion of the spectators, both male and female, showed in the colours they wore, as well as in their shouts of encouragement, the side on which their sympathies were enlisted.

14. ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.—The facts of this atrocious crime, and of the attempt also made on the life of Mr. Seward, are best given in the following despatch from Mr. Secretary Stanton to the American Minister in London, dated Washington, April 15, 1865:—

"SIR,—It has become my distressing duty to announce to you



that last night his Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, was assassinated, about the hour of half-past ten o'clock, in his private box at Ford's Theatre, in this city. The President, about eight o'clock, accompanied Mrs. Lincoln to the theatre. Another lady and gentleman were with them in the box. About half-past ten, during a pause in the performance, the assassin entered the box, the door of which was unguarded, hastily approached the President from behind, and discharged a pistol at his head. The bullet entered the back of his head, and penetrated nearly through. The assassin then leaped from the box upon the stage, brandishing a large knife or dagger, and exclaiming, *sic semper tyrannis*, escaped in the rear of the theatre. Immediately upon the discharge, the President fell to the floor insensible, and continued in that state until twenty minutes past seven o'clock this morning (April 15), when he breathed his last.

"About the same time the murder was being committed at the theatre, another assassin presented himself at the door of Mr. Seward's residence, gained admission by representing he had a prescription from Mr. Seward's physician, which he was directed to see administered, and hurried up to the third-story chamber, where Mr. Seward was lying<sup>1</sup>. He here discovered Mr. Frederick Seward, struck him over the head, inflicting several wounds, and fracturing the skull in two places; inflicting, it is feared, mortal wounds. He then rushed into the room where Mr. Seward was in bed, attended by a young daughter and a male nurse. The male attendant was stabbed through the lungs, and it is believed will die. The assassin then struck Mr. Seward with a knife or dagger twice in the throat and twice in the face, inflicting terrible wounds. By this time Major Seward, eldest son of the Secretary, and another attendant reached the room, and rushed to the rescue of the Secretary; they were also wounded in the conflict, and the assassin escaped. No artery or important blood-vessel was severed by any of the wounds inflicted upon him, but he was for a long time insensible from the loss of blood<sup>2</sup>.

"Immediately upon the death of the President, notice was given to Vice-President Johnson, who happened to be in the city, and upon whom the office of President now devolved. He will take the office and assume the functions of President to-day. The murderer of the President has been discovered, and evidence obtained that these horrible crimes were committed in execution of a conspiracy deliberately planned and set on foot by rebels under pretence of avenging the South and aiding the rebel cause; but it is hoped that the immediate perpetrators will be caught. The feeling occasioned by these atrocious crimes is so great,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Seward was at the time confined to his bed by injuries received in a carriage accident a few days before.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Seward and his son eventually recovered from their wounds.

sudden, and overwhelming, that I cannot at present do more than communicate them to you. At the earliest moment yesterday the President called a Cabinet meeting, at which General Grant was present. He was more cheerful and happy than I had ever seen him, rejoiced at the near prospect of firm and durable peace at home and abroad, manifested in marked degree the kindness and humanity of his disposition, and the tender and forgiving spirit that so eminently distinguished him. Public notice had been given that he and General Grant would be present at the theatre; and the opportunity of adding the Lieutenant-General to the number of victims to be murdered, was no doubt seized for the fitting occasion of executing the plans that appear to have been in preparation for some weeks. But General Grant was compelled to be absent, and thus escaped the designs upon him."

The assassin of the President was, on the spot, recognized to be a person, named John Wilkes Booth (the son of an actor once well known in England as a rival of Edmund Kean), and it was soon learnt that he had an associate named Harrold. In spite, however, of the vigilance of a large body of military and police, they effected their escape from Washington, and it was not till the 26th of April that their retreat was discovered. This was in a barn near Port Royal, in Maryland, where Booth was seen supporting himself on crutches, having broken his leg in his flight. After some little parley, Harrold surrendered, but Booth steadily refusing to do so, and being well armed, the barn was fired; whilst the unhappy man was endeavouring to extinguish the flames, he was shot dead by a cavalry sergeant of the name of Corbett. Harrold was conveyed to Washington, and was afterwards put on his trial along with the assailant of Mr. Seward and some others; the body of Booth, it is said, was cut into pieces and sunk in the Potomac.

Every possible honour was paid to the remains of President Lincoln, the body being embalmed, and, after solemn funeral ceremonies, especially in Washington and New York, removed to Springfield, in Illinois, for interment. The news of the assassination called forth expressions of sincere sympathy in every part of Europe, and innumerable addresses, from public bodies and from meetings of individuals, were forwarded through the American Minister to the people of the United States; besides which, both Queen Victoria and the Empress Eugénie addressed autograph letters of condolence to the widow of the President.

17. THE VOLUNTEER REVIEW AT BRIGHTON.—The grand field-day for metropolitan volunteers at Brighton on Easter Monday passed off with great success. It is satisfactory to find that there were more volunteers at this the fourth Brighton review than there were at any of its predecessors. The review in 1861 did not bring out quite 8000 men; but dissensions then existed among the commanders, and, while one body of metropolitan

corps went to Brighton, another went to Wimbledon. Happily, harmony was restored, the War Office took the matter in hand, and on the next occasion more than 19,000 men, under Lord Clyde, mustered on the Brighton Downs. In 1863 the numbers were about the same; but this year they rose to above 20,000, a fact showing that, after five years of service, the volunteers are not tired of the work they so readily undertook.

The trains began to run from the metropolitan stations soon after five o'clock, and were despatched with a quietness and a facility which reflected equal credit on the discipline of the volunteers and the administrative power of the railway authorities.

As the volunteers arrived at the Brighton railway station, they marched to their place of temporary encampment in the inclosures fronting the pavilion and the terraces on a line with it. Early as the hour was, the windows of every house on the route were filled with ladies, who waved their handkerchiefs and otherwise testified their pleasure upon seeing the London volunteers once again on their way to Brighton Downs. From several of the housetops flags floated over the heads of the marching regiments, and each fresh arrival was the signal for a renewal of the cheering by the dense crowds who stood along the footpaths. By nine o'clock most of the corps had piled arms in the inclosures, where they were to rest until eleven.

At twenty minutes past eleven o'clock, simultaneously with the firing of the signal-gun, Major General Sir R. W. Walpole, K.C.B., the General Commanding, surrounded by his Staff, left his quarters, and rode along the line of march to the review-ground. On the Staff of the General were:—Captain W. Congreve, 4th Foot; Lieutenant Moorsom, Rifle Brigade; Lieutenant Jones, R.E.; Ensign Walpole, Rifle Brigade. The Volunteer Staff were—Colonel G. Erskine, Inspector General of Volunteers; Colonel E. W. C. Wright, Deputy Inspector; Lieutenant-Colonel C. P. Ibbetson, Lieutenant-Colonel Roney, Lieutenant-Colonel R. Young, Lieutenant-Colonel D. Jones, Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. W. J. Colville, Major Saville, Bristol Artillery Volunteers, and Captain Templer, Harrow Rifle Volunteers, acted as extra aides-de-camp.

The General Commanding had scarcely passed up to the race-course when the volunteers set out. The pavements and roadway on their line of march were so crowded with spectators that there was barely more than enough room for the troops to march in the centre. The windows of the great hotels, and those of all the mansions along the Grand and the Marine Parades were filled with ladies, and ladies also occupied every inch of the balconies in front of those fine houses. People sat and stood on the sea wall all along from the Albion Hotel to Bedford-street, and the greatest enthusiasm was manifested on all sides. Triumphal arches spanned Bedford-street; smiling faces beamed on the volunteers from every



window; and as soon as the open road was reached the regiments passed through double lines of spectators.

Before the march past commenced, one band from each brigade was posted by the side of the Grand Stand, opposite to the saluting-point, for the purpose of playing while the brigades which they represented were defiling. General Walpole, accompanied by the Earl of Chichester, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Sussex, took his stand by the flagstaff which had been placed directly opposite the stand-house on the Brighton race-course, and a dense crowd extended for a distance of fully a mile on each side, commencing about a quarter of a mile to the left of the General's position, and terminating at the windmill, near the scene of the sham fight. For a considerable portion of the same distance the carriages were two and three deep, and every inch of room was occupied on the stand.

Looking forth from the Grand Stand, the troops as they arrived were seen massing on its northern side, the artillery being assembled a little behind; and there the columns were formed for the march past.

The first troops of volunteers to arrive were the Hon. Artillery Company, under the command of Captain Jay, consisting of sixty-six men and the same number of horses—a very martial-looking battery. They were preceded by about 300 of the 6th Dragoons, which led the defile. Then came the various field batteries. All the guns of the artillery corps were horsed in a manner that would do credit to the artillery of any regular forces in Europe. The horses which drew the light guns were ridden by members of the corps; but the heavy 18 and 24-pounders were drawn by farm horses, led by men in smock-frocks. As agricultural horses, the noble brutes which were thus put at the service of the volunteers by the farmers of the counties to which the regiments belonged, could scarcely be matched out of England. All were large, but some were of immense size. Their tails were plaited and tied with ribbons of the colour adopted by the corps, and the rustic drivers wore similar ribbons on their left arms. Hearty and repeated rounds of cheering were given as this portion of the force passed the flagstaff.

The infantry were headed by the 28th Middlesex, or London Irish, who marched to the tune of "Garryowen." Then followed the 3rd London, and the fine body of volunteers enrolled from Her Majesty's Custom House officers, with whom are battalioned one or two companies raised in the St. Katharine's and London Docks, together forming the 5th Middlesex Administrative Battalion, and the 9th Tower Hamlets. The 23rd Middlesex, or Inns of Court, came next, with Colonel M'Murdo, C.B., at their head. The rest of the corps followed in quick succession; but the marching past took up about an hour and a half at a very rapid pace. The London Irish got a hearty cheer, the

London Scottish a grand reception, and Lord Ranelagh's regiment quite an ovation. The Inns of Court were also well received; but perhaps the most vociferous reception of the day was awarded to the various engineer corps, principally composed of working men. Some of these "dressed" admirably, and preserved their line unbroken all along the course, to the great delight of the spectators.

The marked improvement in the marching of most of the corps was a subject of general remark. Without an exception, all the uniforms were in excellent condition, and all the regiments presented a smart and military appearance. At no former great gathering of our volunteers did the men of the force generally look so soldier-like and so much at their ease in the field.

The marching past having been concluded, General Walpole and his Staff rode off in the direction where the sham fight was to take place; and the vast assemblage of spectators, swarming under or over the barriers which had hitherto restrained them from trespassing on the racecourse, set themselves in motion towards the same point of attraction. As far as the eye could reach, backwards or forwards, there was the same multitude, streaming in the direction of Bevendean.

The area within which the conflict took place was as nearly as possible circular, rising at the side furthest from the windmill to a considerable eminence and sinking in the centre, so as to form a valley or gorge called the Bevendean Valley, which for a time defined pretty accurately the territory of the contending parties respectively. The defensive force, 7000 strong, under General Russell, was drawn up on the further slope of this valley, having its heavy artillery on a lofty knoll, from which it was for a long time impossible to dislodge it. The second division, constituting the attacking army, some 12,000 strong, held the slopes nearest the windmill, with each flank resting upon a farmhouse. A battery of heavy guns was posted at each side of the windmill, and the residue of the ordnance was distributed along the front of the line. The artillery, numbering some 3000, were proportionately disposed, and made up the total of 22,000 volunteers on the field.

The engagement opened by a heavy fire from the defenders, who saw themselves approached on one flank nearer than they thought desirable, and, after a short artillery duel, skirmishers were thrown out on each side, and some spirited movements took place among the gorse and broken ground, forming, as it were, the centre of the circle. When the firing began, there was little or no wind, and the consequence was, that the smoke from the heavy pieces of ordnance hung without rising near the spot where the discharge had taken place. Sometimes these smoke-clouds looked as tight and hard as bags of wool. Sometimes they spread out over the surface of the ground, wearing just such an aspect as if the heath and gorse had been set on fire. At one

time the fire from the opposing batteries was so constant and heavy that the whole intervening valley was filled with smoke, and it was impossible any longer to discern any thing that was taking place. Had this state of things continued, the battle might have been fought out, as far as the public were concerned, in complete darkness; but, fortunately, a current of wind sprang up and carried off the densest portions of the vapour, which floated away into the distance, blotting out as they went an entire portion of the landscape.

The general plan of the battle appeared to be that, under cover of a feigned attack on the right of the defending force, the attacking party extended their lines so far to the right as first to throw back, and eventually to overlap, the left wing of the defending army. The latter took up a new position, but only to find the original assault on its right wing renewed with increased vigour, so that, an advance *en masse* of the attacking force having commenced, the defenders retreated from the ground in the direction of their lines in Brighton.

A considerable proportion of the defending troops wore scarlet uniforms, while at least half the attacking party were dressed in lightish grey. This distinction in point of colour lent a wonderful air of reality to the combat. Universal admiration was expressed at the manner in which the artillery was served during the day, the very heaviest guns being handled with a smartness, and such a continued fire kept up from them, as to show that this important branch is one in which the volunteers, if ever called upon, will be qualified to render effectual service.

Firing ceased shortly after four o'clock, and the united divisions marched back to Brighton by the routes assigned to them.

The return of the volunteers to London was a work of many hours, and it was past midnight before the last of the trains arrived.

The official returns made by the brigadiers of the various brigades engaged on Brighton Downs on Monday, show the actual field state of the forces to be as follows:—Cavalry, 300; horse artillery, 36; brigades of field artillery, 1877; garrison artillery, 1080: total artillery, 2957. First division of infantry, under General Russell—1st brigade, 1738; 2nd brigade, 1624; 3rd brigade, 1426; 4th brigade, 1959: total infantry, first division, 6747. Second division, under command of Major-General Rumley—1st brigade, 2065; 2nd brigade, 2258; 3rd brigade, 1882; 4th brigade, 2170; 5th brigade, 1921: total infantry, second division, 10,296—making a gross total of 20,336.

25. THE ROAD-HILL MURDER—VOLUNTARY CONFESSION AND SURRENDER OF CONSTANCE KENT.—This afternoon Sir Thomas Henry, the chief magistrate of Bow-street, received information that Miss Constance Kent, formerly of Road-hill-house, near Frome, had arrived in London from Brighton for the purpose of



surrendering herself to the officers of justice as the perpetrator of the above memorable crime.

The circumstances of this mysterious murder have never been forgotten,—how, nearly five years ago, the body of a male child, which had been missed from its cot, was found in a privy outside the house, and how, suspicion having been directed towards Miss Kent, the eldest daughter of Mr. Kent by a former wife, she was examined before the local magistrates, at the instigation of Inspectors Whicher and Williamson, of the London Detective Police, and acquitted of the charge. It is not so generally known that nearly a year afterwards, in consequence of an alleged confession of the crime by Miss Kent to one of her relatives, another attempt to investigate the matter was made by the detective officers, who had incurred the censure of a large proportion of the Press and the public for their proceedings in the case. They found it inadvisable, however, to act upon the fresh information which had reached them; and it subsequently transpired that Miss Kent had been sent to a convent in France. Nothing more of a reliable character was heard of the case until the startling intimation was conveyed to the chief magistrate that Miss Kent was in custody upon her own confession upon the terrible charge, having been accompanied to London by the Rev. Mr. Wagner, of St. Paul's, Brighton, to whom she had revealed her guilt.

Shortly before four o'clock, Mr. Superintendent Durkin and Mr. Williamson, chief inspector of the Detective force, conducted their prisoner to the private room of Sir Thomas Henry. Miss Kent was attired in deep mourning, and wore a thick fall, which almost screened her face from view. She spoke firmly, though sadly, and occupied a seat during the inquiry. She was attended by the Lady Superior of St. Mary's Hospital, Brighton, in which establishment she had been a visitor during the last two years; and she appeared about twenty-one years of age.

The charge having been taken in the usual form,

Sir Thomas Henry, addressing the prisoner, said,—Am I to understand, Miss Kent, that you have given yourself up of your own free act and will on this charge?

Miss Kent.—Yes, sir.

Sir Thomas Henry.—Any thing you may say here will be written down, and may be used against you. Do you quite understand that?

Miss Kent.—Yes, sir.

Sir Thomas Henry.—Is this paper, now produced before me, in your own handwriting, and written of your own free will?

Miss Kent.—It is, sir.

Sir Thomas Henry.—Then, let the charge be entered in her own words.

The charge was then entered as follows:—"Constance Emilie Kent, of 2, Queen-square, Brighton, charged upon her own confession with having, alone and unaided, on the night of the 29th

of June, 1860, murdered at Road-hill-house, Wiltshire, one Francis Saville Kent."

Sir Thomas Henry.—Have you any objection to sign the statement you have here made? I must again remind you that it is the most serious crime that can be committed, and that your statement will be used against you at your trial. I have had the words written copied upon this charge-sheet, but I do not wish you to sign it unless you desire to do so.

Miss Kent.—I will do so if necessary.

Sir Thomas Henry.—It is not absolutely necessary. There is no occasion for you to sign the charge unless you wish it. I will have your statement attached to the depositions, and I will again ask you if you have made it by your own desire, and without any inducement from any quarter whatever to give yourself up?

Miss Kent.—Yes.

The Rev. Arthur Douglas Wagner was then sworn, and deposed as follows,—I am a clerk in holy orders, and perpetual curate of St. Paul's Church, Brighton, which is a chapel of ease to the parish church. I have known Constance Kent nearly two years—since the summer of 1863.

Miss Kent.—In August.

Sir Thomas Henry.—About twenty-one months?

Witness.—Yes. As far as I can remember, an English family wrote to me, asking for her admission to St. Mary's Home, or Hospital, in consequence of her having no home, or of some difficulty respecting her. The "home," or rather "hospital" as it is now called, is a house for religious ladies, and is attached to St. Mary's Church. She came about that time as a visitor, and has been there up to the present day.

Sir Thomas Henry.—Now, Mr. Wagner, it is my duty to ask you if any inducement has been made to the prisoner in any way to make this confession?

Witness.—None whatever has been made by me. The confession is entirely her own voluntary act, to the best of my belief. It was about a fortnight ago, as far as I can recollect, that the circumstance first came to my knowledge. It was entirely her own proposition that she should be taken before a London Magistrate. She herself proposed to come to London for the purpose. The nature of the confession she made to me was the same, in substance, as the statement produced in her own writing, and copied upon the charge-sheet.

Sir Thomas Henry here read the paper again.

Witness.—Yes, it is the same.

Sir Thomas Henry.—She made this statement to you?

Witness.—Yes, she did.

The Rev. Mr. Wagner here observed that in speaking of "confession" he wished to be understood that it was not a private, but an open, public confession.

Sir Thomas Henry.—I will not go into that point here. It

may be gone into at the trial, perhaps very fully. (To the prisoner.) I hope you understand that whatever you say must be entirely your own free and voluntary statement, and that no inducement that may have been held out to you is to have any effect upon your mind.

Miss Kent.—No inducement ever has, sir.

Sir Thomas Henry.—I am anxious that you should most seriously consider that.

Mr. Wagner.—I wish to mention that many are in the habit of coming to confess to me as a religious exercise, but I never held out any inducement to her to make a public confession.

Sir Thomas Henry.—Yes, I think you ought to mention that. Did you in the first instance induce her to make the confession to you?

Mr. Wagner.—No, sir. I did not seek her out or in any way ask her to come to confession. She herself wished to do so.

Sir Thomas Henry.—If you think that the confession she now makes has been induced in consequence of any thing which she has said to you, or which you have said to her, you ought to say so.

Mr. Wagner.—I never even recommended it. I have been simply passive. I thought she was doing right, and I did not dissuade her.

Sir Thomas Henry.—But do you say that you did not persuade her?

Mr. Wagner.—I do say so. She thought of it herself, without my ever suggesting it.

Sir Thomas Henry.—That must be added to Mr. Wagner's depositions.

The chief clerk then added the latter observations of the Rev. gentleman to the deposition.

Sir Thomas Henry, holding up for Miss Kent's inspection the written paper already referred to, said,—This is the paper you wish to hand in as your statement, is it?

Miss Kent.—Yes, sir.

Sir Thomas Henry.—It is not too late even now. I wish to tell you, once more, that this is a very serious charge, and that whatever you write or say may be used against you. You are not bound to make any statement unless you desire to do so.

The chief clerk then again asked the prisoner if the document in question was in her handwriting.

Miss Kent replied, with a slight emphasis,—Yes, it is.

Sir Thomas Henry asked if Mr. Wagner knew Miss Kent's handwriting.

Mr. Wagner could not possibly tell, never having seen her write. Of course, he had no doubt as to this document having been written by her.

The confession was then read by the clerk. It was as follows:—



"I, Constance Emilie Kent, alone and unaided, on the night of the 29th of June, 1860, murdered at Road-hill-house, Wiltshire, one Francis Saville Kent. Before the deed was done, no one knew of my intention, nor afterwards of my guilt. No one assisted me in the crime, nor in the evasion of discovery."

Sir Thomas Henry.—Do you wish to add any thing to this statement?

Miss Kent.—No, sir.

Sir Thomas Henry.—The offence was committed in Wiltshire, and the trial must be in that county. It will therefore be necessary to send her to be examined before the magistrates in that county.

The warrant was then made out and handed, with the depositions, &c., to Inspector Williamson, who removed the prisoner in a cab to the railway station. Mr. Wagner and Miss Green (the Lady Superior) accompanied her. As they were entering the vehicle the quaint attire of the latter lady (in the costume of a Lady Superior) excited considerable curiosity among the persons outside the court.

The prisoner having been removed to Trowbridge, was brought up on the following day before the magistrates sitting in petty sessions, charged on her own confession with the wilful murder of her step-brother,

The magistrates present were Messrs. H. G. G. Ludlow, C. F. D. Killard, J. H. Webb, John P. Stancombe, and Thomas Clarke. Captain Meredith, the Chief Constable, and Superintendent Harris, of the county police, were also present.

The prisoner was undefended.

The business was delayed for some time in consequence of the absence of the Rev. Arthur Douglas Wagner (of Brighton), and upon his arrival the prisoner was brought into court. She was accompanied by Miss Green, and in charge of Inspector Frederick A. Williamson and Sergeant Thomas, of the Metropolitan Detective Police Force, Scotland-yard. Miss Kent was dressed in deep mourning, and wore a thick veil, but she looked very much flushed on entering the justice-room.

The Chairman, addressing her, said,—You are brought on a warrant from Bow-street, where you appeared yesterday, and the evidence then taken will be read to you.

The warrant on which she appeared was in the first instance formally produced.

The clerk to the magistrates then read to the Rev. A. D. Wagner, who was present, the following statement:—

"The Rev. Arthur Douglas Wagner, clerk in holy orders, on his oath saith as follows:—

"I am perpetual curate to St. Paul's Church, Brighton. I have known Constance Kent about twenty-one months. She was introduced to me for the purpose of being admitted into St. Mary's Hospital at Brighton, which is connected with St. Paul's Church,

and she came there about that time, and has resided there ever since. I have not in any way induced her to make any confession to me, and to the best of my belief the confession she has made has been entirely by her own free will. About a fortnight ago it first came to my knowledge, and it was entirely her own proposition, that she wished to confess and give herself up, and it was her own proposition to come to London for that purpose. She stated to me, or in words to this effect, that she had alone and unaided, on the night of the 29th of June, 1860, murdered at Road-hill-house, Wiltshire, one Francis Saville Kent. I have never said any thing to Constance Kent to persuade her to confess, nor have I said any thing to dissuade her from doing so, but I have been perfectly passive in the matter, feeling that she was doing the right thing. It is entirely her own free act. She thought of it herself without my suggesting it to her.

“‘A. D. WAGNER.’”

The Chairman (to Mr. Wagner).—Is that true?

Mr. Wagner.—Yes.

The Chairman (to Miss Kent).—Have you any question to ask the witness?

Miss Kent.—No, sir, I have not.

The Chairman (to Mr. Wagner).—You may retire.

The Clerk to the Magistrates then read over the statement which was made by the prisoner to the magistrate at Bow-street.

Mr. Frederick Adolphus Williamson, who was then called, said, —I am an inspector of the Metropolitan Detective Force. Yesterday afternoon, the 25th of April, I went to Bow-street Police-station, where I found the prisoner. She was undergoing an examination before Sir Thomas Henry, the chief magistrate, and this paper (the confession) was handed to me. The prisoner was handed into my custody at Bow-street, and I conveyed her down here last night to Trowbridge.

After some further evidence, chiefly of a formal kind, the prisoner was committed for trial at the ensuing assizes for the County of Wiltshire<sup>3</sup>.

29. BANQUET AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.—The anniversary dinner of the Royal Academy took place at the Rooms in Trafalgar-square, when a distinguished company assembled, on the invitation of the President and Council, to share their sumptuous hospitality and to enjoy the opportunity of inspecting the beautiful works of art which formed the Exhibition opened to the public this day.

Among the company were His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Archbishop of Dublin, several of the Bishops, the Ministers of State, and leading politicians of both parties, several

<sup>3</sup> For an account of the proceedings at the Trial see the Chronicle for July, *post*.

of the judges, and many noblemen and gentlemen, whose names are known in connexion with literature and art. There was also a full attendance of Academicians and Associates. Sir Charles Eastlake, President of the Academy, occupied the chair. The usual round of toasts was given—the health of the Dignitaries of the Church, proposed by the President, was acknowledged by the Archbishop of York. That of the Army and Navy by the Duke of Cambridge and Duke of Somerset. The health of the President was proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. That of Earl Russell by the President, who afterwards gave that of the Earl of Derby. In proposing that nobleman's health in connexion with the toast of the "Interests of Literature," Sir C. Eastlake said:—"Many of those who deign to be our guests, and who have earned great literary success, are renowned in the Senate; others are conspicuous ornaments of the Church or of the learned professions. In the practice of the formative arts there is generally a decided line of demarcation between the professional artist and the amateur. In letters it is not so—there are no amateur writers. All literary candidates for fame come before the public on nearly equal terms; and the consequence is, that the author by profession has not only the whole world to please, but the whole educated world to contend with. In selecting a representative at once from the aristocracy of intellect and the aristocracy of rank, I am, therefore, not departing from the catalogue of public contributors to the literary attractions of our time. In connexion with the toast I have the honour to propose the health of a nobleman who has solaced the intervals of important and useful public labours by a happy intercourse with the greatest poet of antiquity. I have the honour to propose 'The Health of the Earl of Derby.'"

The speech in which Lord Derby returned thanks was one of the most felicitous of the evening, and was warmly applauded by the company. He said:—Sir Charles Eastlake, my lords, and gentlemen,—to the great majority of those who are honoured with invitations to attend this anniversary festival, it is not one of the least attractions that we can enjoy the company and feast presented to our eyes without being called upon to perform any part of the ceremony ourselves, and, with the exception, perhaps, of those members of the Government called on to return thanks in some official capacity, or those connected with some of those societies which this illustrious Academy delights to honour on this and other occasions, your other guests come with the happy consciousness that they may enjoy in silence that which is presented to them. It was in that happy conviction that I came here this evening, and I must say I never was more taken aback than when, immediately before we sat down to dinner, you, Sir Charles, informed me of the cruel kindness you had destined for me. I confess I had at the moment a very strong disposition to be seized with a sudden and violent indisposition; for I felt myself very



much as if I were the wrong man in the wrong place in returning thanks for such a toast; and when I looked around me and saw so many who are identified with general literature, with literature in the various walks of fiction, poetry, history, science, and divinity, I certainly felt that you had committed, what indeed is not a frequent circumstance with you, a great error in judgment, in calling on me to return thanks in the name of literature. Why, Sir Charles, I really feel, and I am sure those I am addressing must feel, that I have no claim to respond for the literature of the country, any more than any person might have a claim to be admitted to the distinguished honour of belonging to this Academy on the sole pretension of having produced one single copy, however faithful, of one of the great masters. It is true I have had before me in that great work to which you have done me the honour of alluding a masterpiece of art. And if it be true that "*ut pictura poesis*"—if it be true that poetry is word-painting and painting is visible poetry, then I think I may venture to claim for that great original I have endeavoured to copy, that he was among the greatest painters of any country in the world. For, let me ask you and this assembly, what are the great qualities which are required to form a distinguished painter? First, I apprehend, they are fidelity to nature, a genuine appreciation of the beauties of nature—a vivid imagination—a correct and anatomical knowledge of the formation of the human frame—a correct and almost equally anatomical knowledge of all the expressions, feelings, and passions of the human mind,—a correctness of outline,—boldness of touch,—a vividness of colouring,—a judicious distribution of light and shade; and, the great quality of all others, in grouping the subjects together, so to arrange your groups that each individual figure should possess its own characteristic merit and position, and yet all unite to concentrate the eye and attention on the great central and principal figure of the group. Now, if these are really the characteristics of painting, I claim for Homer that in no age and no country has any painter surpassed the infinite variety of his achievements. It is not in one branch alone, but it is in historical painting, in landscape, I may say even in portrait painting; he stands almost unrivalled in each and every one of them. If he desires to bring before you an extended group of gods, or warriors, or chieftains in debate, he presents a variety and individuality among them that would create the envy of a Maclise, a Herbert, or a Frith. If he desires to represent the ocean in its milder or stormier characters, by a few rapid touches he produces a sketch a Stanfield might look on with envy. If he paints the vineyard or harvest home, he bathes the landscape in a flood of light which a Linnell would hardly venture to emulate. And, passing to the wilder features of rural life, the representation of the passions and contests of the brute creation, if he attempts to describe a lion springing at and striking down a bull in the midst of the herd, or a wounded boar

turning on his pursuers, or a pack of wolves with blood-stained jaws lapping with their lean tongues the cool surface of some dark-watered fountain, or a wounded panther writhing itself up the spear that has transfixed her, in order to reach her assailant, the few touches which Homer gives brings before the mental eye the whole scene with a life and vigour which could hardly be equalled by an Ansdell or surpassed by a Landseer. He must be cold indeed,—he must be insensible to all the beauties of poetic language, who could sit down and study and endeavour to imbue himself with the spirit of such an original, without catching some faint emanation of its spirit. I only wish it could have been in my power by language to represent to the mass of my fellow-countrymen the grace, simplicity, and power of the original, with as much power, as much clasical talent, and as much ability, as have immortalized the illustrations of Homer by Flaxman. But I feel how unequal I have been to the task I had undertaken. I doubt not there may be among those whom I have the honour to address many who in their earlier days sat down before some great masterpiece of art and determined, not servilely to copy each line which they saw before them, but to fill themselves with the full perception of its beauties, and when, after devoting days, and weeks, and months to a faithful copy of the great work they had set before them, it had been completed amid the applause of the public and the congratulations of friends, their own feeling of internal consciousness told them how far short they had come of the original, what an immense distance there was between their best efforts and the work they had before them. Most unaffectedly such are the views with which I look back on those efforts of mine, which you have been pleased to honour with approval this night. But while feeling how unworthy I am to receive the compliment you have paid me in this presence and on this occasion, I need hardly say how deeply and gratefully I feel the honour which has been conferred on me by this distinguished assembly.

Several other speeches were delivered in acknowledgment of the various toasts, by which tributes were paid to science, architecture, and other objects. Among those who addressed the company were Dr. Livingstone, the African traveller, Earl Stanhope, General Sabine, Mr. Tite, M.P., Lord Naas, Lord Bury, and the Lord Mayor of London.

## MAY.

9. VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES TO IRELAND, AND OPENING OF THE DUBLIN INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—The International Exhibition at Dublin was opened by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with an imposing ceremony and various attendant festivities, and witnessed by a company of at least 30,000 visitors, who enjoyed a day of the finest possible weather, and a thoroughly successful performance of the whole programme. The Winter Garden, as it is to be called hereafter, which resembles the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, but is about one-fourth its size, will be used as a vast conservatory, with the adjacent pleasure-grounds, affording in all seasons a delightful promenade. But for the present this light and graceful structure, nearly 500 ft. in length, is occupied by the Exhibition of Arts and Industry, while the substantial building of brick and stone, which forms the centre of the Eastern front, contains—the picture-galleries; a large concert-hall, to accommodate 3000 persons; a smaller concert-hall, for half that number; a practising-room for the orchestra, a lecture-hall, and the saloons and dining-rooms; with a large annexe for machinery in motion, a second annexe for other machinery, a third annexe for carriages, and a fourth annexe for refreshment-rooms, kitchens, lavatories, and other convenient offices. The principal entrance is from Earlsfort-terrace, there being six pairs of gateways, for entrance, exit, and foot-passengers; the grounds and drive in front being inclosed with a handsome chain railing and rock-face wall. There is also an entrance through the pleasure-grounds from Harcourt-terrace.

The architect was Mr. A. G. Jones, of Dublin; the engineers Messrs. Ordish and Le Feuve, of Westminster. The decoration of the buildings was entrusted to Mr. Doyle; the prevailing colours are green and grey on the columns and ribs.

The pleasure-grounds, laid out by Mr. Niven, are approached from the circular transept in the centre of the Winter Garden, whence a colonnade leads out upon the terrace in the open air, with a flight of steps to descend. A very effective cascade, which forms one of the most picturesque features of these pleasure-grounds, is seen from the entrance of the Exhibition building, looking along the transept, in the centre of which is a bronze fountain, of ornamental design. The extent of the out-door pleasure-grounds is about thirteen acres, containing lawns, avenues, shrubberies, slopes, and terraces, with fountains, flower-beds, conservatories, and rock-work. Here the geologist finds massed together, in and around the basin of the cascade, specimens of some of the most beautiful Irish rocks. Here are quartz, with mica run-



ning through it like veins of silver; greenstone, with quartz veins; grey granite, glistening with mica; dark basalt, and limestone of coralline formation, with many valuable metallic ores, marbles, and other samples of the mineral wealth of the country. In the rock-work are ferns and primroses, great roots of ancient oak from the bogs, and a variety of mosses which fill up some of the interstices and enliven the whole. Feathery trees droop over the basin from which the water descends; and after a short lapse of time the rockery, which is very beautiful now, will be the most attractive portion of these grounds. Adjoining the grounds is a house fitted up for Mr. Guinness, who has built at the end of his private garden a very elegant little pavillion, overlooking the garden of the Exhibition on one side and a small lake or piece of artificial water on the other.

The arrival of the Prince of Wales on the previous afternoon was not marked by any great public demonstration in the city of Dublin. His Royal Highness, having crossed from Holyhead to Kingstown, with the Duke of Cambridge, Earl Spencer, Lord Dufferin, and Sir Robert Peel, in the Queen's yacht, the "Victoria and Albert," was met on his landing by Lord Wodehouse, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with some of his suite. The Prince was heartily cheered by a crowd of people on the platform. He came to Dublin with the Lord Lieutenant by a special train, in which a state carriage had been prepared for his use. At the Westland-row station the Lord Lieutenant's carriages were in attendance with an escort of cavalry, and the whole party went at once to the Viceregal Lodge in the Phoenix Park. The streets of Dublin were illuminated at night, looking very gay and splendid, and were filled by a greater crowd than has been seen in them since the night following the Queen's public entry into Dublin a few years ago. Fireworks were let off from some of the houses, flags and banners hung from the windows, and nothing was left undone to show how rejoiced the inhabitants of Dublin were at receiving the unusual compliment of a Royal visit.

The next morning the weather was beautiful, and the streets were alive from an early hour with holiday folks of every class. The neighbourhood of the Exhibition building was soon thronged with vehicles of every description; and when eleven o'clock, the hour for opening the doors, arrived, the rush of well-dressed company was greater than had probably ever before been seen in Dublin. The naves, galleries, and halls were all soon filled to overflowing, so that long before the Prince arrived there must have been 30,000 persons present.

His Royal Highness arrived at about half-past two o'clock, and was received at the principal entrance by the following noblemen and gentlemen: The Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Meath, Lord Powerscourt, Lord Southwell, Mr. Sanders (the chairman of the Executive Committee), and Mr. B. L. Guinness. His Royal Highness, who was accom-

panied by the Duke of Cambridge, and attended by the Lord Lieutenant and Lady Wodehouse, Earl Spencer, and Sir Robert Peel, was conducted by the gentlemen named above to the dais which had been prepared for the occasion; and then a pause of a few moments took place, during which His Royal Highness surveyed the splendid coup-d'œil before him, and bowed in acknowledgment of the cheers that greeted him on every side. The orchestra, conducted by Mr. Levy, of the Theatre Royal, performed the National Anthem.

The Duke of Leinster, accompanied by Mr. Sanders, then advanced to the foot of the dais, and, on behalf of the Exhibition Committee, read an address thanking His Royal Highness for having come, in the name of Her Majesty, to inaugurate this Exhibition. They recognized in this Royal act a high appreciation of the interests of industry and art, a gracious wish to advance the welfare of the Irish people, and a continuance of the enlightened course of the late illustrious and lamented Prince Consort, who bestowed so much encouragement upon works like these. They concluded with an expression of their heartfelt wishes for the health and happiness of the Princess of Wales, whom the Irish people earnestly desired to see amongst them. "Whenever circumstances may permit Her Royal Highness to visit our shores, which we trust will be at no distant period, we venture to promise such an enthusiastic welcome as will convey to Her Majesty and your Royal Highness the fullest assurance of loyalty and devotion."

To this address His Royal Highness was pleased to return the following reply:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I thank you for your address. It is a source of sincere pleasure to me to discharge the duty which has been confided to me by Her Majesty the Queen in thus inaugurating your Exhibition. It is not less in accordance with my own feelings than with those of Her Majesty to assist in every measure which is calculated for the happiness and welfare of the Irish people. The example of my lamented and beloved parent will, I trust, be ever present to my mind as a stimulus to the encouragement of every work which is calculated to advance international prosperity and to develop the resources of my country. The cultivation of the fine arts, in itself so powerful an auxiliary in civilizing and refining the human race, has been an important object in this Exhibition, and, indeed, is known already to have produced most satisfactory results. Believe me to be very sensible of your kind wishes on behalf of the Princess of Wales. Her regret at not being able to accompany me only equals my own, and you may rely on her anxiety to come among you and herself to ask the welcome which she is as sure to receive."

An address was then presented by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, after which a procession was formed, at the head of which His Royal Highness made the tour of the building, receiving fresh

demonstrations of loyal welcome as each department was reached. His Royal Highness took much notice of the sculpture, and stopped before several pictures in the gallery.

A good deal of time was spent before the "Marriage of the Princess Royal," containing portraits of the whole family; and their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge paused, evidently much affected, before the picture of the first Exhibition, the central figure of which is the late Prince Consort. "The Presentation of the Crimean Medals" also attracted much attention from the Royal visitors, as did also several of the Dresden pictures.

The Prince and his companions, having made the complete tour of the building, receiving the most enthusiastic acclamations from the vast assemblage, returned to the dais, which then, with the two Royal Princes, the Lord Lieutenant, the Irish Court in full uniform, the numerous naval and military officers, and the various municipal bodies in their robes, presented a most brilliant and animated appearance. Mr. Parkinson, the principal comptroller of the Exhibition, presented His Royal Highness with the key of the building, which His Royal Highness graciously accepted, and then, with due solemnity, declared the Exhibition to be opened.

A rocket was shot into the air, the artillery thundered in response from a hundred guns, and the inaugural ceremonial of the exhibition terminated.

The police arrangements were excellent. The vocal and instrumental music was very well performed; Mr. Robinson directed the choral singers.

The Prince of Wales returned to the Viceregal Lodge at four o'clock. In the evening he was entertained by the Lord Mayor with a splendid ball at the Mansion House, to which a large number of the nobility and gentry were invited to meet His Royal Highness. The city was again illuminated at night.

On the 10th a grand review of the troops in garrison in Dublin was held on the Fifteen Acres, in the Phoenix Park. The Duke of Cambridge took the command of the troops. They were reviewed by the Prince of Wales and the Lord Lieutenant; Lady Wodehouse, Mr. Edmund R. Wodehouse, the Hon. Ralph Harbord, and other members of the Viceregal Household accompanied the Royal party. The number of spectators on the ground was greater than on any similar occasion since the visit of the Queen in 1849. The Prince of Wales, who was attired in the uniform of the 10th Hussars, of which regiment His Royal Highness is Colonel, was received with the greatest enthusiasm. On the arrival of the Prince, at a quarter past three o'clock, a Royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and the troops having been inspected, the review at once commenced. It terminated at half-past four o'clock.

On the 11th, the Prince, accompanied by Prince Leiningen, Lord and Lady Wodehouse, and an escort of the 10th Hussars, paid a second visit to the Exhibition, where he was received by



the Duke of Leinster and the Exhibition Committee. His Royal Highness spent two hours in minutely inspecting the objects of interest in the building. After leaving, he visited St. Patrick's Cathedral, where he was received by the Dean, Mr. Benjamin Lee Guinness, the munificent restorer of the venerable edifice, and other eminent persons. Having inspected and commended the improvements in the church, His Royal Highness drove through the leading thoroughfares of the city in an open carriage, and returned to the Viceregal Lodge at four, p.m. The Prince's reception every where was enthusiastic.

On the 12th, the Prince left the Viceregal Lodge to visit Lord Powerscourt, at that nobleman's seat in the county of Wicklow. He was accompanied by the Lord Lieutenant and Lady Wodehouse, Earl Spencer, Mr. Herbert Fisher, private secretary: Colonel Keppel, Mr. E. R. Wodehouse, private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; and Captain Arkwright, A.D.C. in waiting. The royal party arrived at Powerscourt House about half-past two o'clock, and were received at the front entrance of the mansion by Lord and Lady Powerscourt. Having partaken of luncheon, the Prince proceeded, accompanied by his noble host, to see the waterfall, which, in consequence of the recent rain, presented a magnificent cascade. The Royal party then proceeded to Kingstown, where they arrived about five o'clock. His Royal Highness entertained on board the "Victoria and Albert" the Lord Lieutenant and Lady Wodehouse, Sir George Brown, Lord St. Lawrance, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and other distinguished persons. At twenty-five minutes past seven the royal yacht steamed out of the harbour, and the Prince, who stood on the deck, was loudly cheered by the immense concourse of people who had assembled to witness his departure.

2. PRESENTATION OF THE KEYS OF THE TOWER OF LONDON TO SIR JOHN BURGOTNE.—The newly-appointed Constable of the Tower of London, General Sir John Fox Burgoyne, took possession of that ancient fortress, with all the accustomed formalities. This ceremony was performed within the walls of the Tower, in the presence of Viscount Sydney, the Lord Chamberlain, the officers of the garrison, and a battalion of the Grenadier Guards, now stationed there. Among the persons who were present on this occasion were the Duke of Richmond, his son, the Earl of March, Lord Frederick Paulet, General Wyndham, the Hon. Spencer Ponsonby, Lord de Ros, and other gentlemen. The Guards, attended by their band, were drawn up within the garrison, and formed three sides of a square. The Yeoman Warders of the Tower, forty in number, also took part in the pageant, dressed in their quaint bright scarlet costume and bearing halberds. At one o'clock General Sir John Burgoyne, attended by his Aide-de-Camp, Captain the Hon. George Wrottesley, entered the garrison, and the troops presented arms to receive him. He wore the uniform of a general officer, and all his many military decorations.

Having taken his place within the hollow square formed by the troops, Mr. John Humphreys, by virtue of his office of Coroner for the Eastern Division of Middlesex, but wearing the uniform of a Deputy Lieutenant on the occasion, proceeded to read her Majesty's letters patent appointing Sir John Lord Lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets and Custos Rotulorum; and Mr. T. W. Ratcliff, Steward and Coroner of the Liberty of the Tower, read the patent of appointment as Constable and Governor of the Tower of London. That done, Lord Sydney, the Lord Chamberlain turning to Sir John, presented him with the keys of the fortress in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen; the Yeoman Warders, following an ancient custom on such occasions, responded "Amen" in chorus, the troops gave a Royal salute and presented arms, and the band played the National Anthem. Sir John was then formally presented to the officers of the garrison. With that the ceremony of installation ended, and the new Constable and Governor was conducted over the armoury, and afterwards took luncheon with the officers at their head-quarters.

31. EPSOM RACES—THE DERBY.—Notwithstanding that there seemed no diminution of the crowd on the road, the railway was crowded even more than on any previous anniversary. Trains at the shortest possible intervals consistent with safety were despatched from London Bridge, Victoria, and Waterloo; and countless thousands availed themselves of the new route, *viâ* Banstead, to the Downs. The scene in Epsom, between eleven and twelve o'clock, baffles all description—the centre of the High-street being crammed; and the clock tower was the centre of the largest muster of vehicles and people ever remembered on a Derby morning. The hotels, taverns, and refreshment shops were completely besieged. The crowd on the Downs was as great as on any former anniversary, the immense masses of people stretching on both sides of the course far beyond Tattenham Corner. The Grand Stand and the general and inner rings were crammed. Almost all the prominent members of the House of Peers and of the House of Commons could be noted, and there was a great gathering of Frenchmen, who had come to England for the purpose of watching the race with the hope of witnessing the victory of Gladiateur. The Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Duke of Cambridge and the Duke de Brabant, arrived at the Grand Stand about two o'clock, having journeyed from Marlborough House, and shortly afterwards His Royal Highness proceeded to the paddock to witness the saddling of the horses. Much excitement was created by the appearance of the Prince in the paddock; and His Royal Highness was mobbed in the most approved manner of English demonstrative loyalty. The first race, the Bentinck Plate, was, as usual, almost totally disregarded by the general company, and all was impatience for the decision of the grand struggle. Betting on the Derby had in the meantime undergone some alterations. Large outlays were made on Gladiateur,

principally from the pockets of the French party, until he closed at 5 to 2; whilst 7 to 2 was taken freely about Breadalbane, 10 to 1 was offered to the close against Longdown, and 11 to 1 against Oppressor, to get on whom there had been a rush in the earlier portion of the day. So good a thing was it considered for one of the favourites, that the rear rank found scarcely any support, 1000 to 8 being always obtainable about Eltham. Gladiateur and Le Mandarin were saddled at the lower end of the course. There was the usual "mobbing" in the paddock, and the favourites were surrounded by their anxious partisans. The police contrived to get the course admirably cleared, and the appearance of the cracks in their preliminary canters was eagerly scrutinized, Gladiateur and Mr. Chaplin's pair, Breadalbane and Broomielaw, being received with great cheering from the spectators as they swept past the Stand. Immediately after the preliminary canters a body of mounted police preceded the Prince of Wales to the Grand Stand, His Royal Highness being arm-in-arm with the Duke de Brabant and the Earl of Derby. As they proceeded past the crowded Stand they were at once recognized, and cheered. The Prince, who had been received by Mr. Henry Dorling, the clerk of the course, took his station on the Stewards' Stand, and evinced the liveliest interest in the proceedings. Several failures occurred before the final signal was given, and in one of the breakings away the pulling Joker slipped up sideways, and throwing Sharp, broke away, and ran some distance before being stopped. The horse was subsequently led away, and did not go to the post. Although an hour elapsed before the Derby was run, the spectators bore the continual disappointments remarkably well, and when the signal was given at four o'clock, the deafening shout of "They're off," resounded far over the Downs. From Tattenham corner only Gladiateur, Christmas Carol, Eltham, Archimedes, Brahma, and Oppressor appeared to have any chance. But at the distance Gladiateur, who had prieriously been twice disappointed in his efforts to get through, came up full of running, and commencing to overhaul Christmas Carol and Eltham at every stride, he breasted the hill, and settling his opponents directly he got fairly into his stride, won in a canter by two lengths; Eltham being beaten half a length for second place; whilst Longdown was a good fourth. Breadalbane, who was in trouble at three-quarters of a mile, was beaten a long way by his stable companion Broomielaw, who came round Tattenham Corner, accompanied by Oppressor, with a clear lead, but the pair gave in immediately afterwards. Thus for the first time in the annals of British racing, the Derby fell to a foreigner.

The sensation produced when it was known that the French horse had actually won, was indescribable. The barriers burst like so many cobwebs, and fully half the spectators present flocked on to the race-course, so that from the paddock well nigh to Tattenham corner there was one dense, swarming, excited mass



of humanity. The utmost efforts of the police with difficulty sufficed to clear and keep the space requisite for unsaddling; and, although there appeared to be no visible need for the precaution, Gladiateur was escorted into this area by a force of mounted constabulary. His jockey was repeatedly and very cordially cheered, and the friends of Count de Lagrange applauded again and again. The following was the result of the race.

The Eighty-sixth Derby Stakes of 50 sovs. each, h. ft., for 3-yr.-olds; colts 8st. 10lb., and fillies 8st. 5lb.; the owner of the second received 100 sovs. out of the stakes; one mile and a half (on the New Course); 249 subs.

Count F. de Lagrange's Gladiateur, by Monarque out of Miss Gladiator (bred in France), 8st. 10lb. (H. Grimshaw)	1
Mr. R. Walker's Christmas Carol, 8st. 10lb. (T. French)	2
Mr. W. Robinson's Eltham, 8st. 10lb. (S. Adams)	3
Mr. Spencer's Longdown, 8st. 10lb. (J. Osborne)	4
Mr. Palmer's Kate Hampton, 8st. 5lb. (Norman)	0
Duke of Beaufort's Todleben, 8st. 10lb. (Fordham)	0
Count F. de Lagrange's Le Mandarin, 8st. 10lb. (Hunter)	0
Lord Stamford's Archimedes, 8st. 10lb. (Challoner)	0
Mr. Haig's Roderick Random, 8st. 10lb. (G. Noble)	0
Baron Rothschild's Zephyr, 8st. 5lb. (J. Daley)	0
Mr. Chaplin's Breadalbane, 8st. 10lb. (Aldcroft)	0
Mr. Chaplin's Broomielaw, 8st. 10lb. (J. Mann)	0
Mr. Merry's Wild Charley, 8st. 10lb. (A. Edwards)	0
Mr. Mackenzie's Oppressor, 8st. 10lb. (J. Doyle)	0
Marquis of Hastings's Kangaroo, 8st. 10lb. (J. Grimshaw)	0
Capt. Gray's Audax, 8st. 10lb. (F. Adams)	0
Sir J. Hawley's Bedminster, 8st. 10lb. (Wells)	0
Mr. C. P. Hudson's Tilt, 8st. 10lb. (Perry)	0
Lord Poulet's Nutfinder, 8st. 10lb. (J. Reeves)	0
Lord Durham's Ariel, 8st. 10lb. (J. Adams)	0
Lord Glasgow's Rifle, 8st. 10lb. (H. Covey)	0
Mr. J. B. Morris's Puebla, 8st. 10lb. (A. Cowley)	0
Lord Westmoreland's Brahma, 8st. 10lb. (J. Goater)	0
Count Batthyany's King Charming, 8st. 10lb. (Custance)	0
Mr. Watt's Olmar, 8st. 10lb. (J. Snowden)	0
Mr. Bowes's Farewell, 8st. 10lb. (Ashmall)	0
Mr. C. E. Johnstone's The First Born, 8st. 10lb. (Maidment)	0
Mr. T. Parr's Friday, 8st. 10lb. (Clement)	0
Mr. J. White's Joker, 8st. 10lb. (E. Sharp)	0
Mr. G. Reynolds's Richmond, 8st. 10lb. (Morris)	0

Betting before the start.—5 to 2 agst. Gladiateur, 7 to 2 agst. Breadalbane, 10 to 1 each agst. Archimedes and Longdown, 11 to 1 agst. Oppressor, 100 to 7 each agst. Wild Charley and Christmas Carol, 25 to 1 agst. Zephyr, 50 to 1 each agst. Broomielaw, Bedminster, Ariel, and Brahma, 1000 to 12 agst. Kangaroo, 1000 to 10 each agst. King Charming, Olmar, Friday, and Farewell, 1000 to 8 agst. Roderick Random and Eltham, and 1000 to 5 each agst. Richmond and Audax.

## JUNE.

2. THE OAKS.—Ranking second as the great sporting event of the year, the Oaks again sustained its reputation, and the fillies' race brought together another enormous assembly on Epsom Downs. The following are the particulars of this race:—

The Eighty-seventh Oaks Stakes of 50 sovs. each, h. ft., for 3-yr.-olds; fillies 8st. 10lb. each; the owner of the second horse received 100 sovs. out of the stakes.

Mr. Harlock's Regalia, by Stockwell out of Gem, 8st. 10lb. (Norman)	1
Mr. Henry's Wild Agnes, 8st. 10lb. (J. Osborne)	2
Baron Rothschild's Zephyr, 8st. 10lb. (Webb)	3
Mr. Craven's Cobweb, 8st. 10lb. (J. Goater)	4
Lord St. Vincent's Araucaria, 8st. 10lb. (F. Adams)	0
Mr. Naylor's Icicle, 8st. 10lb. (Challoner)	0
Count Lagrange's La Fortune, 8st. 10lb. (H. Grimshaw)	0
Mr. W. Robinson's Miss Hobbie, 8st. 10lb. (S. Adams)	0
Mr. W. R. Cameron's Peeress, 8st. 10lb. (W. Boyce)	0
Duke of Beaufort's Siberia, 8st. 10lb. (Fordham)	0
Lord Glasgow's White Duck, 8st. 10lb. (Custance)	0
Lord Glasgow's sister to General Peel, 8st. 10lb. (J. Adams)	0
Mr. T. Gunnell's Grace Darling, 8st. 10lb. (Edwards)	0
Baron Rothschild's Amber, 8st. 10lb. (J. Daley)	0
Mr. H. Wilmer's Zenobia, 8st. 10lb. (J. Snowden)	0
Mr. T. Valentine's Celerrima, 8st. 10lb. (T. French)	0
Mr. Fleming's Quill, 8st. 10lb. (H. Covey)	0
Mr. H. Savile's Spice, 8st. 10lb. (Perry)	0

Betting.—9 to 4 each agst. Siberia and Wild Agnes, 8 to 1 agst. Grace Darling, 10 to 1 agst. White Duck, 100 to 8 each agst.

Miss Hobbie and Zephyr, 20 to 1 each agst. Araucaria and Regalia, 25 to 1 agst. La Fortune, and 50 to 1 each agst. Cobweb and Icicle. After a few failures and a short delay at the post—caused mainly by Peeress refusing to start—they were despatched at thirteen minutes past three o'clock. Amber was first off, but in a few strides the running was taken up by Sister to General Peel; Amber, Regalia, Grace Darling, and Icicle following her in a body to the top of the hill, where Celerrima took fourth place, Siberia going on fifth, and Wild Agnes sixth, and behind whom was Grace Darling, who had just previously dropped from the front rank. In the immediate wake of this lot were Spice, Zephyr, and Quill; whilst the rear division comprised Araucaria, Miss Hobbie, and Peeress. Half-way across the furze Wild Agnes went to the front, having, however, only a slight lead of Regalia and Celerrima, who, as stated, were second and third, close up with whom were Sister to General Peel and Siberia. Descending the hill towards Tattenham Corner, La Fortune ran into about sixth place, Zephyr at the same time following the French mare, and Cobweb simultaneously with this movement drew forward. When fairly in the straight Regalia passed Wild Agnes, next to whom followed Zephyr, Cobweb, White Duck, La Fortune, and Siberia, but long before reaching the distance Regalia assumed a decided lead, and coming away, won with the greatest ease by six lengths; four lengths separated the second and third, and three lengths divided the third and fourth. White Duck was fifth, La Fortune sixth, Siberia seventh, and Grace Darling eighth. The three last were Araucaria, Amber, and Peeress. Net value of the stakes, 5275*l*. Time, 2 min. 51½ sec.

3. BIRTH OF A PRINCE.—(*From the London Gazette.*)—"Marlborough House, June 3. This morning, at eighteen minutes past one o'clock, Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales was happily delivered of a Prince.

"His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household, and the Lady of Her Royal Highness's Bedchamber were in attendance. The Secretary of State for the Home Department arrived at Marlborough House immediately after.

"This happy event was made known by the firing of the Park and Tower guns."

The recovery of Her Royal Highness the Princess and the health of the infant Prince proceeded most favourably.

5. OPENING OF THE ROYAL DRAMATIC COLLEGE AT WOKING.—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales went through the ceremony of inaugurating and formally opening the central hall of this institution. The honour of the Prince's visit was quite sufficient to make a gala day and festivity of the occasion, and though the number of visitors who came down from London was less than was expected, the short ceremony passed off with the utmost *éclat*. A temporary station was erected in front of the building



for the occasion, and all over the grounds around it flags and banners were hung about in picturesque confusion, while the main entrance to the new hall in the centre was most effectively draped in colours. On the lawn in front of the College the band of the 24th Surrey Volunteers was brigaded, and played during the day admirably, though their performances were almost eclipsed by the really beautiful instrumentation of the band of the boys of the Duke of York's School, whose playing elicited repeated applause. At four o'clock His Royal Highness arrived at the platform, where he was received by the master, Mr. Webster, the deputy-master, Mr. Creswick, and the wardens, Mr. Bell, Mr. Buckstone, Mr. Compton, Mr. Theodore Martin, Mr. William Sams, Mr. Toole, Mr. Wigan, Mr. Jerwood, and the secretary to the College, Mr. Anson. His Royal Highness passed at once to the entrance of the hall, under the porch of which Mr. Webster presented him with a massive gold key, with which, amid loud cheers, the Prince proceeded to unlock the doors and enter the building, which was already full of visitors—nearly all ladies. The hall itself is a plain lofty building, hung around with a few fine pictures, and with its high walls ornamented here and there with busts of celebrated actors. In the centre of the hall a small canopied dais was erected, and on this the Prince stood while Mr. Webster read the following address:—

“May it please your Royal Highness,—Five years ago, on the 1st of June, 1860, close to this spot, your Royal Highness's illustrious father, the late revered Prince Consort, laid the foundation-stone of the building which is to-day happily inaugurated by your Royal Highness. Upon that memorable occasion the illustrious Prince said that the Royal Dramatic College would confer a benefit upon the public as well as upon the stage, by aiding a profession from which the community at large derived rational entertainment, in which popular amusement was combined with moral instruction and intellectual culture. Sir, these golden words are treasured among the highest incentives which, from that time to the present, have stimulated our exertions in carrying out the design of the institution. We have sedulously endeavoured to establish the Royal Dramatic College on such a basis as would have justified the approval of the illustrious Prince, your father. We have the satisfaction, Sir, of being able to say that the design which your Royal father approved has not been in the slightest particular departed from, and that by steady perseverance we have already succeeded in effecting the main purpose of the institution. Three objects were contemplated in the erection of this College—a retreat for aged and infirm members of the dramatic profession, schools for the education of the children of actors and writers for the stage, and a central hall, which should embrace a library and gallery for the collection of works of art and literature illustrative of the English drama. The first of these objects is accomplished; for the second funds are in course of

accumulation; the third, which crowns the edifice, your Royal Highness is now about to dedicate to the uses for which it was designed. Among the numerous benevolent institutions which abound in this country, there is none more deserving of generous support than the Royal Dramatic College. The actor, who is the interpreter of the poet in his gayest and in his gravest moods, and who imparts to the drama that vital grace and expression which brings out its passions and emotions into palpable life, possesses peculiar claims upon the sympathies of the public. His rewards are precarious; his fame is ephemeral; and when his faculties fail he passes from the bright footlights into oblivion. Here we hope to afford him rest and comfort in old age, where, no longer fretted by the outer battle of life, he may serenely look ‘through the loopholes of retreat,’

‘to see the stir  
Of the great Babel, and not feel the crowd.’

Here, too, we hope to preserve the records and personal relics of his profession, so that when the actor is seen no more, the memorials of his art shall survive him. The stage of this country owes your Royal Highness a large debt of gratitude for the constant interest you have taken in its progress; and, by extending your favour to the Royal Dramatic College, your Royal Highness has not only bestowed an important boon on the whole dramatic profession, but materially elevated its title to public respect and support. Upon your Royal Highness properly devolves the task of bringing to a successful conclusion the noble work whose foundations were laid by your illustrious father, and whose objects Her Gracious Majesty, your Royal mother, has thought worthy of her patronage. We thank you for it from our hearts. May the work which you have this day inaugurated prosper, and may your Royal Highness live long to witness its happy fruits.”

To this address, the conclusion of which was loudly cheered, His Royal Highness replied as follows:—

“Gentlemen,

“It is truly gratifying to my feelings to find myself this day called on to take a part in the final completion of a building the foundation of which was the work of my lamented father, as it was also an object which he had much at heart. My satisfaction is increased by finding his beneficent plan carried out in a manner worthy of the cause and of the profession for the benefit of which the Dramatic College has been instituted, and that, as the inevitable hour approaches, he who has so often administered to your amusement, blended with instruction, will here find a retreat open for age and its infirmities, in grateful recognition of a debt due by the world at large. I am happy to learn that the funds are progressively increasing towards conferring the inestimable boon of education on the children of men who, whether by their per-

formances or by their writings, have themselves laboured so well in the cause of literature, and so justly earned this provision for their offspring. The inauguration of the building we are now in completes the three purposes which you have enumerated as forming the original design of this institution. After having provided for the material wants and comforts of those who are entitled to seek a shelter in this asylum, the last object is to cheer their evening of life, and to embellish its closing scenes with the books, memorials, and records of their art, that they may again live in the past, and make their final exit in a spirit of thankfulness to God and their fellow-creatures."

At the termination of this reply the ceremony of presenting the purses collected by ladies in aid of the funds of the College was gone through; after which His Royal Highness made a short tour round the buildings of the College, and then took his departure for London.

6—9. FUNERAL OF THE CZAREWITCH.—On the first of these days the funeral of the late heir to the Russian Empire was celebrated with great pomp in the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, at St. Petersburg. It may be said that all the inhabitants of the capital assisted at the sad ceremony. The steamers on the Neva, the English quay, all the streets, and every place the *cortége* had to pass, were covered by compact crowds dressed in mourning. Conformably to the fixed ceremonial, the coffin had been removed at Cronstadt from the frigate "Alexander Newsky" to the Imperial yacht "Alexandria," and placed on the catafalque of red velvet which surmounted a dais of gold and silver cloth, with tassels of gold, ornamented with garlands of flowers, shrubs, and bouquets. The catafalque was placed on the deck of the steamer, the curtains of the dais open and fastened to the columns. Salvoes of artillery and the bells of Cronstadt saluted the departure of the "Alexandria," on board which the Emperor conducted to St. Petersburg the mortal remains of his son.

When the Imperial steamer entered the Neva, the fire of the guns announced its approach, and the bells of the city began to mix their funeral volleys with the rolling of the artillery. It was then a little past one o'clock. The landing-place on the English quay was covered with black cloth. At twenty minutes past one the "Alexandria" anchored. The cannons continued to fire incessantly, and the military bands played the Dead March. Every one was uncovered.

His Eminence the Metropolitan of Novgorod and St. Petersburg received, with the whole of the clergy, the body of His Imperial Highness, and read the customary prayers. After those prayers, four major-generals belonging to the Emperor's suite removed the pall from the coffin. His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, their Imperial Highnesses the Grand Dukes, and the aides-de-camp general of the Emperor then carried the coffin from the steam-vessel and placed it on the funeral car. Then the



four major-generals of His Imperial suite who had removed the pall again covered the coffin with it.

The funeral *cortége* was then formed, and was of an extraordinary length. Its route was along the English quay, la place Petrovsky, la place de l'Amirauté, la place du Palais, and the quai de la Cour. It crossed the St. Petersburg Bridge, and entering the fortress through the St. John's Gate, proceeded towards the cathedral. The whole road was lined by troops and by dense crowds of people. When the procession reached the cathedral, it found the Corps Diplomatique, headed by the Ambassador of Spain, standing on the right of the dais, near the south gate, and at the side of the places reserved for the Imperial family. Behind were the Councillors of the Empire, the Ministers, the Senators; then the ladies of honour, the mistresses of the Courts of the Grandes Duchesses, the maids of honour, &c.

In the centre of the cathedral the catafalque had been erected upon a base of three steps, covered with red velvet bordered with gold. Four gilt-twisted columns supported a dais of silver cloth, surmounted by the Imperial crown; at each side of the cornice were scutcheons with the arms of the august dead; the draperies of the dais were of gold cloth, trimmed with silver, and lined with white satin. At the four corners were plumes of white ostrich feathers. The canopy was lined inside with white satin; on it were embroidered in gold the monogram of the late Czarewitch, encircled by the badge of the Order of St. André, and surmounted by the crown. Four candelabra were burning at the sides of the superior steps; eight more were around the first. In front of the catafalque were arranged three gilt pedestals; the middle one received the naval flag of the late Czarewitch; the two others the colours of the Ataman. Between these three pedestals and the iconostase were ranged, in two rows, thirty-two tabourets, covered with cloth of gold, on which were placed the Foreign and Russian orders of the deceased Grand Duke, and the insignia of the Ataman.

When the coffin, brought into the cathedral by His Majesty the Emperor, the august members of the Imperial family, and the aides-de-camp general of the Emperor, had been placed on the catafalque, two aides-de-camp of the Emperor, and two officers who were attached to the person of the late Czarewitch, removed the lid of the coffin and carried it to the table destined for its reception. The body was then re-covered, as high as the chest, with the funeral pall. The service of the dead and the reading from the Evangelists being concluded, His Majesty the Emperor approached the coffin, and embraced his dearly-beloved son. The same duty was then performed by all the members of the Imperial family who were present. By degrees, after the departure of the Emperor, the assembly dispersed, and soon a pious crowd of visitors of every degree invaded the cathedral. Whilst the *cortége* had pursued its route from the English quay to the fortress, a crowd,

also very numerous, had asked for the distribution of the flowers and foliage which, on board the "Alexandria," had ornamented the catafalque; and it was a touching sight to witness that multitude, in which every one was desirous to preserve some material memento of that day, so especially marked in the mourning with which all Russia was clothed. In the evening, at eight o'clock, His Majesty the Emperor, and all the members of the Imperial family, attended the funeral prayers at the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. Her Majesty the Empress, conducted by the Emperor, arrived at half-past nine, when the church contained only the attendants of the Court, to salute the mortal remains of her well-beloved son, to weep and to pray at the foot of his coffin.

On June 9 the body was finally deposited in the vault of the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, at St. Petersburg. The Emperor was present, but the Empress remained at Tsarskoe-Selo, where the Emperor with his sons hastened to rejoin her as soon as the mournful ceremony was over. The late Prince was buried by the side of his sister Alexandria, who died young.

— RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—The Whitsun-week was marked by three railway accidents, two of which were accompanied by a deplorable loss of life.

(1.) On the 6th, the mail train on the Great Western Railway came to a stand-still near the Keynsham station through the breaking down of the engine, and in a few minutes after, the train with the letter-bags ran into it, crushing several carriages, and injuring many persons, but, happily, none fatally. Ere any measures could be taken to stop the traffic, a long train of empty carriages from Bath dashed into the two disabled trains, adding greatly to the mischief, and it is almost unaccountable that with these repeated collisions no lives were lost.

(2.) A most frightful accident took place on the 7th, at Rednal, a station on the Shrewsbury and Chester railway. A large excursion train consisting of thirty-two carriages, and drawn by two powerful engines, was proceeding from Liverpool to Birmingham; near Rednal the rails had been newly relaid, and a portion of them had not been ballasted, and on approaching that part of the line the carriages began to oscillate fearfully. The train was proceeding at great speed (it was much behind its time), and the drivers, seeing the danger, attempted to draw up, but were unable to do so, and both engines dashed off the line, proceeding in opposite directions. The scene that ensued baffles all description. From eight to nine hundred persons were in the train, and the shrieks, cries, and groans of the poor creatures were most heartrending. The engines and a great portion of the carriages were smashed to atoms. One of the stokers was killed, and one of the drivers seriously injured. When the mangled bodies of the passengers were got out it was found that seven men and women and two children were killed, and about fifty persons, including men, women, and children, were more or less injured,

the greater portion of them very severely. The bodies of the dead, who in most cases were frightfully disfigured, were removed to the goods-shed, while those who were injured were sent on to Shrewsbury. A large number of stretchers were put in requisition, and the great bulk of sufferers at once carried to the Salop Infirmary; but it was found that accommodation could not be had for the whole, and several were taken to hotels and private houses. Most of the medical men in the town at once went to the infirmary and offered their services, and the regular staff of the infirmary were engaged during the whole of the night in dressing the wounds and otherwise alleviating the agonies of the sufferers. One person died almost immediately after being taken to the infirmary. The coroner's jury, after a long investigation, returned a verdict of "Accidental Death," but at the same time expressed their opinion that great blame was attached to the officials of the Great Western Railway in not providing sufficient break power before leaving Chester, and in not providing better carriages and engines for the train. They also considered the engineman guilty of gross and culpable negligence in not attending to the signal put up by the platelayers, and they expressed an opinion that they were driving at too great a speed over the defective portion of the line. They thought the platelayers were also guilty of gross and culpable negligence in not efficiently packing the sleepers. They carefully avoided the word "wilful," because they did not wish to bring in a verdict of "Manslaughter."—Mr. Grierson said the verdict would be laid before the Great Western directors, who would give their most anxious consideration to the safe and proper working of the road. They had ordered various improvements, with continuous break power, and had also other machinery in preparation, but which over so large a district would require time to bring into use. The public could not be more anxious than were the company to provide every means to make travelling on their line secure and convenient.

(3.) On the 9th, a fearful accident occurred to the "tidal train" from Folkestone to London, on the South-Eastern Railway. The road at a bridge near Staplehurst was under repair, and two rails were actually up, leaving a gap in the line, when the train came in sight. To the consternation of the platelayers the train dashed into this gap, and eight out of the fourteen carriages of which (inclusive of the break, luggage and guard's vans) it consisted were precipitated over the bridge, carrying death and destruction in their fall. Then ensued such a scene of agony and bewilderment as is happily but rarely witnessed. The engine and tender, together with the guard's van, leaped as it were over the vacant space, but the former then ran off the rails into a hedge, while the centre portion of the train, some eight carriages, toppled over the bridge, leaving the two end carriages of the train erect on the lines, thus forming by the coupling-chains a support at either end, and presenting a rugged and fearful outline of a semi-



circular form. One carriage fell upon the other, so that those unfortunate creatures who were undermost were either crushed or suffocated in the muddy stream. The six first-class carriages were crushed and huddled together. From every one piercing cries were heard, and in more than one a wife lay dead by the side of her living husband. Ten persons were killed, and some twenty injured.

A passenger, and to some extent a sufferer, gave the following account of the accident, in a letter to "The Times:"—

"Just as the train arrived at Staplehurst, and while I was reading the severe comments made in one of the morning papers on the railway accident at Shrewsbury, I and my fellow-passengers were startled by a deep and heavy-sounding noise; then followed two terrible jolts or bumps, and in an instant afterwards, from bright sunshine all became darkness, and to me chaos. In a second or two I found myself enveloped in moisture, and then in the terrible din I became conscious that an accident had happened to the train in which I was a passenger. I found myself afterwards up to my knees in water, in the middle of a heap of broken carriages, amidst which the whole of the party I had seen but a short time ago on board the steamer were lying. We succeeded, after great difficulty, in getting a female from the muddy bed of the river, all but dead, and, as we were assisting another sufferer, Mr. Charles Dickens, who was a passenger, came upon the scene. He, it appeared, had occupied a seat in the only carriage that did not go over the bridge, although the chance that it did not do so was the slightest in the world. Mr. Dickens was most energetic in the assistance he rendered to his fellow-passengers. I heard this gentleman call for brandy for some of the wounded persons, but unfortunately none was at hand, it being with the luggage or else in the possession of those who were struggling in the river. As brandy was not to be had, Mr. Dickens took off his hat, and having filled it with water I saw him running about with it and doing his best to revive and comfort every poor creature he met who had sustained serious injury. Another gentleman, whom I afterwards discovered to be Mr. Samuel Reed, a gentleman connected with the 'Illustrated London News,' acted in a praiseworthy manner, for although he had a narrow escape from a terrible death, he with great nerve assisted in extricating those imploring help from beneath the carriages. One lady whom I had particularly noticed on board the steamer as being a very fine and handsome person, I saw taken from the water; she had been actually crushed to death, and as she was laid on the bank, her husband, who had been previously frantically running about, exclaiming, 'My wife, my wife!' came up, and when he discovered that the mangled and disfigured corpse was that of her he was in search of, he sat down by the side of the body, a figure of utter despair. I cannot dwell upon the terrible scene. It is too much for human nature."

In this case, the evidence at the inquest showed that the regula-

tions of the company for the safety of passengers had been neglected, and accordingly the coroner's jury returned a verdict of "Manslaughter" against Joseph Gallimore, district inspector, and Henry Benge, foreman platelayer, who were afterwards committed for trial.

8. CONSECRATION OF ARCHBISHOP MANNING.—On this day the Rev. Henry Edward Manning, D.D., formerly of Balliol College, Oxford, Archdeacon of Chichester, and Rector of Wood-Lavington with Graffham, Sussex (benefices in the Church of England, to which he was, in 1838, nominated by his friend Samuel Wilberforce, now Bishop of Oxford, the proprietor of the estate), was consecrated to the Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Westminster, in the pro-cathedral of St. Mary, Moorfields. The consecration of so distinguished an ecclesiastic, and under such remarkable circumstances, naturally excited much interest, many foreign ambassadors and a large number of the English Roman Catholic nobility and gentry being present. Ten o'clock was the hour appointed for the commencement of the service, and by that time the chapel was as closely packed as it was on the late occasion of the funeral of Dr. Manning's predecessor. The tinkling of small bells, and the sound of what seemed in the distance to be a jubilant hymn, heralded the approach of a procession, and in a few moments afterwards there arrived from the sacristy a long line of bishops, priests, deacons, and other officers, who made their way to the altar. For some moments a solemn silence prevailed, and Bishop Ullathorne, the consecrating prelate, took his place in front of the altar, the Archbishop elect sitting before him. The Rev. Canon Edgar Estcourt, Bishop Ullathorne's notary, read the letters apostolic nominating Dr. Manning to the Archbishopric, and directing that the consecration of the new prelate should be proceeded with. This part of the business having been completed, Bishop Ullathorne proceeded with the "examen," consisting of a series of interrogatories touching the faith of the Archbishop elect in the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, the Holy Scriptures, and the authority of the Church to interpret them, to all of which, as in the Church of England, the elected prelate answered according to a prescribed form. At the close of this examination, the bishops and priests having taken the places assigned to them in accordance with their clerical and ecclesiastical rank, Bishop Ullathorne commenced the mass, "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti." A portion of the service which followed was performed by the Archbishop elect at a side altar, and afterwards Bishop Ullathorne took his seat in front of the altar. Dr. Manning, advancing towards him, prostrated himself on the steps while the great litanies were being sung and responded to. In the course of the litanies there were three pauses, during which Bishop Ullathorne rose and three times intoned a solemn suffrage and blessing over the Archbishop elect (still prostrate), upon whose shoulders a "Book of the Gospels" was then laid. The

hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* was then sung in majestic style by the choir, and during its progress the consecrating prelate anointed with the "chrism" the head and hands of the Archbishop elect. He then delivered to him, with the exhortations prescribed in the Consecration Service, the crozier, or more properly the pastoral staff, and the "Book of the Gospels," which the consecrating bishop removed from his shoulders. The Archbishop elect then rose, and took his seat in front of the altar. Bishop Amherst ascended the pulpit, the same from which only a few weeks since Archbishop Manning pronounced the funeral oration over his deceased friend and predecessor, and delivered a sermon from the words, "The Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole earth, and that which containeth all things containeth knowledge of the voice," taken from the 7th verse of the 1st chapter of the Book of Wisdom. The scene during the sermon was very striking; the Archbishop, bishops, and others in their rich attire forming a splendid *tableau*, while the sun poured down upon them through the beautiful eastern window. At the offertory which followed the sermon, the Archbishop presented to the Consecrator the accustomed offerings of two large candles, two loaves, and two barrels of wine, the whole gilt and silvered, and bearing the arms both of Bishop Ullathorne and Archbishop Manning. The Archbishop received from the Consecrator the mitre and the episcopal gloves, and then came the imposing ceremony of enthronization. His Grace was led to the throne by the attendant bishops, and the mitre having been placed on his head, the choir sang the *Te Deum* with magnificent effect. After this, the Archbishop, descending from the throne, proceeded along the church, accompanied by the assistant bishops, and gave his benediction to all present, the congregation for the most part kneeling. The final gospel (St. John i. 6), "In principiis erat Verbum," was then read, and the procession having been re-formed, returned to the sacristy, where Archbishop Manning received the congratulations of the foreign ambassadors and other distinguished members of his Church. The music was that of Palestrina.

10. VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE LANGHAM HOTEL. —The opening of this magnificent structure to the public was distinguished by a visit with which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales honoured the Directors. The Prince was accompanied by the Duke of Sutherland, and attended by Colonel Keppel. Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, who resides immediately opposite the hotel, together with the Earl of Shrewsbury, chairman; Sir James Carmichael, Bart.; Mr. W. Edgcombe Rendle, Mr. Capel Hoare, and other directors of the company, assisted in the honours of the reception.

The directors having been presented by the Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince, His Royal Highness was conducted through the hotel, commencing with the basement, and ascending to the summit of the building, subsequently returning to what are described



as the ambassadors' apartments, where an elegant *déjeuner* was provided for the royal party.

The Prince informed the Earl of Shrewsbury that he greatly admired the building, and that its admirable arrangements reminded him of the Avenue Hotel in New York. He complimented the Messrs. Graham on the elegance of the furniture and on the luxurious and original style in which they had carried out Mr. Owen Jones's designs for the decorations adopted throughout the building; and on taking leave, after having congratulated the directors upon the successful completion of their labours, His Royal Highness, addressing Mr. Schuman, the manager, in good German, wished the hotel all possible success.

The admission of the general company took place at three p.m., and from that time until six, Langham-place and Portland-place were thronged with the carriages of the nobility and gentry.

15. THE CUP DAY AT ASCOT.—This race, one of the most interesting competitions of the season, was decided, in presence, as usual, of a brilliant assembly. The weather was most favourable; the gathering included all the elements that give to the Ascot meetings their peculiar charm; and to add to the attractions of the scene, the international emulation kindled by the French success at Epsom was heightened by the fact that French horses competed here for all the principal prizes. The foreigners present, of whom there were many, naturally expressed good wishes for the owner of *Gladiateur*. But the great majority of the visitors were most heartily national in their aspirations.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales arrived about half-past one o'clock. Three carriages formed the Royal *cortège*, in the first of which were seated His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and the Duke and Duchess of Brabant. The second and third carriages contained the members of the Prince's household usually in attendance on such occasions.

His Royal Highness was received with every manifestation of respect and cordiality.

After some less interesting contests had been decided, the great event of the day took place as follows:—

The GOLD CUP, value 300 sovs., given from the fund, and added to a subscription of twenty sovs. each; the owner of the second horse to receive fifty sovs. out of the stakes; for three-yr.-olds and upwards. Weight for age. About two miles and a half. Thirty-seven subs.

Mr. W. S. Cartwright's Ely, by Kingston, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (Custance)	1
Lord Glasgow's General Peel, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (Fordham)	2
Baron Rothschild's Zephyr, 3 yrs., 7st. 5lb. (J. Grimshaw)	3

Mr. Mackenzie's Oppressor, 3 yrs., 7st. 5lb. (H. Covey)	4
Count F. de Lagrange's Fille de l'Air, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (H. Grimshaw)	5
Mr. G. Hodgman's Victorious, 3 yrs., 7st. 5lb. (Morris)	6

Betting.—7 to 4 agst. General Peel, 2 to 1 agst. Fille de l'Air, 6 to 1 agst. Ely, 8 to 1 agst. Zephyr, and 100 to 8 agst. Victorious.

Oppressor jumped away immediately the flag was lowered, and came on with a clear lead, Victorious lying second, Ely third, and General Peel next, Fille de l'Air, who followed next, being a couple of lengths in their rear, close up with whom came Zephyr. These positions were retained past the Stand, where Covey sent Oppressor along and speedily placed a dozen lengths between him and his followers. Rounding the top turn, Fille de l'Air, overpulling Grimshaw, ran into the third place, and when fairly off the hill she headed Victorious and became second, but on reaching the bottom she was pulled back, and her place was taken by Ely, closely attended by the French representative, and Victorious. The latter, however, beat a retreat on passing the Limekilns, and became the absolute last. The General at the same time moved nearer his horses, followed by Zephyr, the lot, with the exception of the leader, running in a body to the bend into the straight. Here the lead of Oppressor began to diminish, and half-way up he dropped away, leaving Ely next the rails in front, Zephyr, who came up on his left, heading the General, followed by Fille de l'Air. The Baron's filly for a brief period held out flattering hopes to her supporters, but these faded away as they neared the distance, where she and Fille de l'Air appeared in difficulties, and were headed by General Peel, who caught Ely at the Queen's Stand, and after an exciting and punishing set-to finished with a dead heat. The fiat of the judge, which was waited for in solemn silence, was received with deafening acclamations by the excited multitude. Zephyr finished a bad third, Oppressor fourth, and Fille de l'Air fifth.

Deciding heat.—Betting—6 to 4 on General Peel, who waited upon Ely to the turn into the straight, where he drew up to the leader, but on reaching the enclosure he put down his ears, and shortly after gave in, swerving across the course, and defying all Fordham's efforts to keep him straight. He was beaten by a long distance.

## JULY.

1. ACCIDENT TO AN EXPRESS TRAIN.—An alarming accident occurred to the down express train to Norwich on the Great Eastern Railway. The train, which was somewhat behind time, had approached within about two miles of Norwich, and had just passed under the Lakenham viaduct, when the driver felt the engine give a violent jerk. He had just previously shut off steam, but was running at from thirty to forty miles an hour. When he felt the jerk, he at once gave three whistles to the guard to apply his break, and the fireman proceeded to put in force the tender break. The leading wheels of the engine remained on the line, but the driving wheels tore up the permanent way, breaking the chairs and ploughing up the ballast. The train continued on the metal, and for a brief space nothing serious happened. After running about 120 yards, however, the train approached a long wooden bridge which carries the line over a shallow stream and some swampy ground on either side. On reaching the bridge all the wheels of the engine left the metals, and a scene of terrible confusion ensued. The locomotive plunged across the bridge; but although the rails were torn up and bent in the most surprising fashion—although the driving wheels ploughed and ground into the timbers, the engine was landed on the other side, where the ballast recommenced. Then it flung itself across the up-line, the wheels became embedded in the ballast, and its progress was at last stopped. The train had been dragged somehow across the bridge, notwithstanding the tearing up of the rails by the engine, and, marvellous to relate, not one of the carriages was thrown into the stream beneath. One of the carriages was, however, thrown a little on one side, and its occupants (among whom was Lord Stafford) had to scramble out through the windows as well as they could. The other passengers, among whom was Sir F. Crossley, M.P., were soon liberated from the carriages, and it was found, happily, that with the exception of a few bruises, no one was much the worse for what had happened. The driver and fireman held on to their engine till it reached the bridge, then the fireman jumped off into the river; the driver following his example when the engine had crossed the bridge, and blocked the up-line. The prompt measures which the driver had taken to reduce the speed after the first jerk no doubt materially mitigated the final disaster, and prevented a repetition of the Staplehurst catastrophe. The brave fellow at once ran on to the Trowse station to prevent any train coming upon the up-line, and the guard ran back in the contrary direction to stop a train expected on the down-line. The



result of these timely measures was that no further mischief ensued. Intelligence of the accident was at once forwarded to Norwich, and Mr. Stevenson, the local superintendent, went down to the spot in a special train, with as little loss of time as possible, taking with him a number of men. He found, however, that the damage done was so great that the regular traffic must be suspended. The up mail train, which should have started from Norwich at 10 p.m., was accordingly delayed till daybreak, and on reaching the shattered bridge the passengers were transferred to another train brought on from Wymondham. As many as seventy men were set to work to remove the carriages which had become entangled in the wood-work of the bridge.

3. A BALLOON DISASTER.—The balloon ascent of Mr. Coxwell, the aeronaut, took place from the Royal Botanic Gardens. The weather was magnificent. The "Research," the name given to the balloon, is the largest aerial machine ever constructed. It was purchased by public subscription, and presented to Mr. Coxwell by a committee of scientific gentlemen, in order that the science of aerial discovery which, in conjunction with Mr. Glaisher, he has pursued with such unwearied devotion, and which has already led to highly useful as well as interesting results, might not be interrupted. Probably from 10,000 to 12,000 people were in the gardens to view the ascent. It was nearly five o'clock before the balloon was completely inflated, and at a quarter to six the "Research" rose into the air, and bounded over the heads of the spectators in a north-westerly direction.

The aerial voyage and its disastrous termination are thus narrated by Mr. Coxwell himself. He says the inflation and ascent of the balloon were in every respect satisfactory. At an altitude of about 3000 ft. the air did not appear to be near so strong as it was closer to the earth. The course of the balloon was vertically over the top of the Cave-hill, and the country beyond for about ten miles looked to him to be well suited for landing. However, at that distance, hills seemed to rise up in mountainous ranges, and Mr. Coxwell particularly inquired of the passengers whether they could give him any information respecting the nature of the country on the other side of the hills, and whether it was suitable for making a descent, because, if it were not, he would rather come down before approaching the hills. The gentlemen in the car were naturally anxious to extend their voyage as far as possible, without thinking of the suitableness of the ground on which they should descend. When the balloon was brought down, it was found that the country was worse than could have been expected—rugged and rocky—and, in fact, the most unsuitable place for a balloon descent that it is possible to conceive. The anchor, or grapnel, would not hold in the rocky soil—it broke away from every thing, and the consequence was a series of bumps and collisions of a most frightful character. Had there been any hedges or trees in the neighbourhood, the balloon would in all probability

have been stopped in its progress at once; but as there was no likelihood of getting the anchor fastened at that place, it became necessary to throw the large valve open to its full extent, and after about two-thirds of the gas had escaped, and the balloon was almost crippled, the valve line unfortunately broke. Every person in the car then felt that the only thing to do was to get out as quickly as possible, and Mr. Coxwell gave orders for all to jump out and save their lives. Two gentlemen did not obey Mr. Coxwell's summons to spring out at once, and immediately afterwards a sudden gust of wind came and carried the balloon up a height of 40 ft., after which she continued to rise still higher. Nothing could be done by the gentlemen who had succeeded in getting on the earth again to hold the balloon down, and she ascended with the two gentlemen who had remained in the car. As soon as the passengers who had succeeded in getting clear of the balloon were on *terra firma*, the "Research" ascended with tremendous velocity. Some distance from the scene of the first serious adventure the balloon struck against a rock, below which was a deep valley, and threw out Mr. Halferty, who had to fall a distance of about 20 ft. before reaching the ground. The balloon ascended again at a very rapid pace, carrying then a solitary passenger, Mr. Runge, who must have ascended a distance of at least two miles. His presence of mind, it appears, never deserted him, and he made extraordinary exertions with his knife and some instruments left in the balloon to make a hole in the silk, for the purpose of allowing some of the gas to escape. At the same time he was almost benumbed with cold. Whether his exertions to effect a descent were successful or not, Mr. Runge himself is not able to tell; but after going eight or ten miles further to Glenariff the balloon descended as rapidly as it had risen. It was then between nine and ten o'clock, and Mr. Runge had been a solitary traveller through the clouds for nearly an hour. On approaching the ground he observed a great number of people watching in wonderment the proceedings of such a rare visitor to the romantic Glenariff. The balloon came to the ground with a dreadful bump, when its occupant cried as loudly as possible to assist in capturing the unruly monster; but the people, seemingly frightened at the appearance of the thing, ran away. Immediately afterwards the grapnel was caught by a tree, and a woman who was near, with a courage deserving of all praise, seized some ropes which were hanging from the balloon, and endeavoured to attach them also to the tree; but before she succeeded in her exertions the balloon by the grapnel iron pulled the tree from its roots and flew off on another excursion—this time towards the Irish Channel. When coming near the coast the "Research" went off on another erratic tour, taking a contrary direction. It again descended at a very short distance from the sea, when Mr. Runge saw his last chance was come, and that if he did not use the opportunity of throwing himself out, even at the peril of his life, he would be carried off without any chance of escape. He then, with great

presence of mind, threw himself out of the car when he came near the ground, and fell into a hedge. The balloon, being again lightened, once more disappeared in the clouds. Mr. Runge received very severe injuries, being bruised in nearly every part of the body. Mr. Halferty escaped with slight injuries. The other passengers by the car—Mr. A. P. Henderson, Captain Hardy, Messrs. Candy, James Taylor, jun., Felix Simms, R. A. Wilson, John Baines, and R. Kinghan—all arrived safely in Belfast. The balloon was eventually wrecked on the shores of the Bay of Luggan (Islay).

4. FIRE AT MARLBOROUGH HOUSE.—A fire broke out at Marlborough House, the residence of the Prince of Wales. The fire commenced in the ventilating shaft running from the bottom to the top of the building. In these wooden shafts gas-burners swing to and fro, and it is supposed that one of them must have been placed too near the wood-work, for it was found to be on fire and burning upwards apace. A strong force, numbering between forty and fifty, was quickly mustered from the stables and employed in conveying hose to the roof; but in the mean time energetic efforts were made by the servants of the household and others to check the progress of the fire, and to do this, air was excluded from the place as much as possible, while water from a large tank on the roof was poured in abundance on all the places apparently in danger. All worked vigorously enough, but few with such ardour as the Prince of Wales himself. He was on the spot immediately, and, seeing the urgency of the case, threw off coat and waistcoat and worked with the buckets most diligently. Some had fears that the fire had spread under the roof, and an entrance was made there. The Prince headed the party, and, failing to keep to the rafters, he put his foot through the lath and plaster, and was in peril of going through the ceiling to the room beneath. Several engines arrived, but, by the exertions of the Prince and the people by whom he was assisted, the fire was all but extinguished before they came up. The Duke of Sutherland arrived soon after the alarm was given, as did also the Duke of St. Albans, the Hon. Spencer Ponsonby, and other gentlemen; and it was somewhat remarkable that while the fire was raging, Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston called at Marlborough House. As soon as the fire had declared itself, the Princess of Wales removed to the other side of the Royal residence, overlooking St. James's Palace, whither Prince Albert Victor and his infant brother were also conveyed. The Prince of Wales, as soon as the fire was extinguished, ordered refreshments to be served out to the blackened and begrimed people who had worked with him, and in a short time tranquillity was restored, and the Prince and Princess and their children departed for Windsor.

7. BAPTISM OF PRINCE GEORGE OF WALES.—The baptism of His Royal Highness the infant Prince, grandson of Her Majesty the Queen and of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, son of



their Royal Highnesses Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, took place yesterday at one o'clock, in the chapel within Windsor Castle.

The Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishop of London, Dean of the Chapels Royal; the Bishop of Oxford, Lord High Almoner; the Bishop of Worcester, Clerk of the Closet; the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Windsor, Resident Chaplain to Her Majesty; and the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, took their place within the rails of the Communion Table.

The Sponsors for His Royal Highness the infant Prince, viz.:—

Her Majesty the Queen of Denmark, represented by Her Majesty the Queen;

His Majesty the King of Hanover, represented by His Serene Highness the Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar;

His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Denmark, represented by Viscount Sydney, G.C.B., Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household;

Her Royal Highness the Princess Louis of Hesse, Princess Alice of Great Britain and Ireland, represented by Her Royal Highness Princess Louise;

Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge, represented by Her Royal Highness the Princess Helena;

His Royal Highness the reigning Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, represented by Earl Granville, K.G., the Lord President of the Council;

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.; and

His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen;

were conducted by the Lord Chamberlain to the seats prepared for them on the left side of the Communion rails.

Her Majesty the Queen was attended by Her Grace the Duchess of Wellington, Mistress of the Robes; and by Viscountess Jocelyn, Lady of the Bedchamber; the Honourable Emma Lascelles and the Honourable Florence Seymour, Maids of Honour in Waiting; and Lady Augusta Stanley, Extra Bedchamber Woman to Her Majesty.

Their Royal Highnesses the Princess Helena and Louise were attended by Lady Caroline Barrington, the Lady Superintendent.

When the Archbishop of Canterbury commenced the prayer "Almighty, ever-living God," the Countess of Macclesfield placed the infant Prince in the arms of the Queen, who handed His Royal Highness to the Archbishop.

On reaching the portion of the service for the naming of the child, the Archbishop demanded of the sponsors how it should be named.

The Queen answered, "George Frederick Ernest Albert;" and His Grace the Archbishop baptized the child in those names.

Having received the sacred symbol, His Royal Highness the infant Prince was returned to the arms of the Queen.

The Countess of Macclesfield afterwards took the Prince, who was re-conducted from the chapel in the same way as on entering.

— LOSS OF THE SHIP "WILLIAM NELSON" BY FIRE.—News was received of the disastrous loss of the "William Nelson," which left Antwerp on the 1st of June last, with a cargo of rails, wine, and various merchandise, about 448 emigrant passengers, and a crew of thirty men, including the captain. The ship did not, however, put to sea until the 4th of June. The voyage continued without incident worthy of remark until the 26th of June, when the ship had reached lat. 41 20, long. 52 20 W. The captain here observed that several emigrants who had been ill for some days were suffering from a violent fever, and, fearing that this might become contagious, he gave orders at 10 a.m. on the 26th to the first mate and carpenter to go below and make the passengers come on deck, in order that the ship might be fumigated, as a precautionary measure. The passengers having all ascended, the first mate and carpenter were again sent below with several sailors, furnished with tar buckets and red-hot irons. The operation was nearly completed, about half-past twelve o'clock, when the last barrel burst into a flame, and the boiling tar flowed over upon the deck, in the centre of the ship, seriously burning the carpenter and the sailor who was assisting him. The vessel immediately took fire. The middle deck was then, as may be imagined, full of smoke, and the ignited tar, which had fallen on the deck, flowed with the roll of the ship under the bed of one of the emigrants, setting it on fire. In an instant the flames spread to all the other beds fore and aft, rendering it impossible for the men to do any thing to extinguish them. Even before they could reach the deck immense columns of flame shot up through the hatchway, and, reaching the sheets of the mainsail (all sail was set at that moment), enveloped the mainmast with the rapidity of lightning. In the twinkling of an eye all the sails on the mainmast were on fire, as well as the rigging. The captain immediately ordered part of the crew to get the boats ready, in order to save as many passengers as possible, and the rest to close the ventilators and the hatchways. This was hardly done, when a number of men, consisting partly of sailors and partly of emigrants, formed a chain fore and aft, in order to pass buckets of water, which were poured down the main hatchway, whence issued a column of flame. The pumps were also set at work. Hitherto discipline and good order had been maintained. The fire, however, made such rapid progress above and below that the captain considered it his duty to lower the boats immediately. But now a general panic seized the unfortunate passengers, all of them throwing themselves upon the boats, which from their numbers it was completely impossible to prevent. One had no sooner touched the water than she was capsized by a number of emigrants who jumped into her. These, not knowing how to swim, were nearly all drowned. Four sailors, however, who were also

in the water, succeeded with much risk in righting the boat and bringing it to the side of the vessel again, and then saved some of the unfortunate men struggling in the water. But while the boat was still alongside some more emigrants leaped into it and capsized her a second time. The sailors were again able to right it, and took on board as many passengers as it could hold. The captain himself assisted in lowering the launch, and the second mate, the only sailor who entered it, was fortunate enough to save several cabin passengers, among others, seven women and four children, one not three months old. The two other boats were lowered with much trouble. The largest contained no less than thirty-five passengers, with six of the crew, some of whom got into another boat less heavily laden, leaving two to steer. The last boat, with the same number of sailors, and full of emigrants, succeeded in getting clear of those who, endeavouring to jump in off the ship, fell in the water and swam around it. It is miraculous that it was not capsized in the efforts the poor creatures made to get on board. Meanwhile the captain, seeing that he could do nothing more to save the ship, ordered the rest of the crew, about fifteen men, to throw overboard every thing possible that would float—spars, planks, barrels, hencoops, &c. All were lashed together, so as to form a kind of raft, in order to save as many lives as possible. This was hardly finished when the unhappy passengers still on board, losing all presence of mind, threw themselves upon it in large numbers, followed by several of the sailors, filling the air with despairing cries. Others on board the ship rushed madly from one end of the deck to the other, and, going into the cabin, broke the furniture and threw it into the water.

The confusion which now reigned was extreme. The tumult was such that it was impossible for the captain to make himself heard, though giving reiterated orders and seeking to stop the panic. This took place about half an hour after the fire broke out. At this time from 130 to 150 emigrants had succeeded in getting upon spars alongside the ship, though there were many struggling in the water, when the topmasts, with their yards, &c., all on fire, suddenly gave way and fell upon them, killing many at once and throwing the others into the sea. The cries of the wounded and drowning were terrible. The unfortunates still on board the ship in their great terror surrounded the captain and the sailors, clinging to them and beseeching them to save them. But they could do nothing. Some time after, the fire between decks gaining the upper deck and the masts, a fresh panic broke out among them, and, seeing their only chance of safety was to get upon the raft, the poor creatures fought among themselves to reach it. Several fell into the water and were drowned; others succeeded in reaching the raft, but they were not to escape their fate, for the mainmast fell



upon them some minutes afterwards and crushed several to death. The same frightful scene was again presented. Then only did the second mate and a few of the crew jump overboard. Being good swimmers, they proceeded towards the boats, at some distance, and were fortunate enough to reach them, and still more so in being taken in by the occupants. After these lamentable events, there was one still more terrible to take place. About two hours after the fire broke out, a part of the deck, being entirely undermined, fell in, and a large number of emigrants were precipitated headlong into the burning furnace beneath. It was horrible to see the flames leaping out of this gulf; the heat was suffocating, and it was impossible to remain any longer on board. Some passengers jumped into the sea, and with them the remaining sailors, three of whom are supposed to have been drowned. The lashings which held the raft together being burnt through, it parted in two, with many persons clinging to the planks and many underneath. The captain, under the absolute impossibility of doing any thing to save those still on board, and not being able to remain with them longer, jumped overboard, and, seeing two boats at a great distance, swam towards them. After swimming for three-quarters of an hour, together with two sailors, who followed him, they were at last perceived and recognized by the emigrants, who with the greatest humanity steered towards them, and, at the risk of being capsized and drowned, picked them up in a state of almost complete exhaustion. The captain then took the command of the two boats, and immediately steered towards the ship, in order to see if, with the spars floating about, they could make a raft to save those clinging to various objects and those hanging upon the ship's bowsprit. But nothing could be done. They remained, however, near the burning ship until 3 a.m., when she sank, carrying with her the rest of the poor creatures on board. The boats then started N.N.W. There was no water on board either of them. One had no provisions, and the other had two or three fowls, a duck, and a pig.

During all this time the sea was fortunately calm, for had the lightest breeze arisen all must inevitably have perished, the boats being laden nearly to the water's edge. The shipwrecked party continued their way until 5 p.m., and were then seen and saved by the steamer "Lafayette."

The third boat was met by the Russian three-masted bark "Ilmari," which spoke the "Lafayette" the same night. At the request of Captain Bocandé, the captain of the "Ilmari" transferred his shipwrecked guests to the "Lafayette," which thus had on board the forty-two persons who arrived safely at Havre.

The "Mercury" picked up the fourth boat's crew, respecting whose fate so much anxiety was felt on the 28th of June. The captain of the "Mercury" lay-to for several days, and subsequently cruised about in the neighbourhood of the disaster, with

watches on the yards, in the hope of rescuing others of the shipwrecked. One man, and subsequently one woman and three men were thus picked up.

This was the fourth service of the kind which the captain of the "Mercury" had been enabled to render to shipwrecked crews. Among other recompenses he received a gold chronometer from the English Government for having saved 454 men of the steamer "Persian," wrecked by bad weather.

14. FATAL ACCIDENT ON THE MATTERHORN.—A most disastrous occurrence befell a party of English tourists while descending the Matterhorn mountain in Switzerland, the ascent of which they had successfully achieved, but in coming down met with an accident which cost the lives of four of the party, viz. Lord Francis William Bouverie Douglas (born Feb. 8, 1847, brother of the Marquis of Queensberry); the Rev. Charles Hudson, an experienced "mountaineer;" Robert Douglas Hadow, Esq., eldest son of P. D. Hadow, Esq., of Sunbury Priory, Middlesex; and Michael Croz, an Alpine guide. The party consisted, beside the above, of E. H. Whymper, Esq., and Peter Taugwalder, a guide, and his two sons. The ascent was commenced on the 13th, and by noon of the next day it had been safely achieved. After remaining on the top of the mountain for an hour, the descent was commenced. Mr. Whymper has given an account of the catastrophe, from which we learn that Croz, as the most powerful, was appointed to go first, Mr. Hadow being second; Mr. Hudson was third, and Lord F. Douglas fourth, and behind him old Taugwalder, all of whom were roped together. Mr. Whymper stayed behind with one of the young Taugwalders (the other had been left in the tent below) to write the names of the party and put them in a bottle. In a few minutes these two followed the party; and Mr. Whymper's narrative thus proceeds:—"The greatest care was being taken. Only one man was moving at a time; when he was firmly planted the next advanced, and so on. The average distance between each was probably twenty feet. I was detached from the others, and following them; but after about a quarter of an hour Lord F. Douglas asked me to tie on to old Taugwalder, as he feared, he said, that if there was a slip Taugwalder would not be able to hold him. This was done hardly ten minutes before the accident, and undoubtedly saved Taugwalder's life. As far as I know, at the moment of the accident no one was actually moving. I cannot speak with certainty, neither can the Taugwalders, because the two leading men were partially hidden from our sight by an intervening mass of rock. Poor Croz had laid aside his axe, and in order to give Mr. Hadow greater security, was absolutely taking hold of his legs and putting his feet, one by one, into their proper positions. From the movements of their shoulders it is my belief that Croz, having done as I have said, was in the act of turning round to go down a step or

two himself; at this moment Mr. Hadow slipped, fell on him, and knocked him over. I heard one startled exclamation from Croz, then saw him and Mr. Hadow flying downwards; in another moment Hudson was dragged from his steps, and Lord F. Douglas immediately after him. All this was the work of a moment; but immediately we heard Croz's exclamation Taugwalder and myself planted ourselves as firmly as the rocks would permit; the rope was tight between us, and the shock came on us both as on one man. We held, but the rope broke midway between Taugwalder and Lord F. Douglas. For two or three seconds we saw our unfortunate companions sliding downwards on their backs, and spreading out their hands endeavouring to save themselves; they then disappeared one by one, and fell from precipice to precipice on to the Matterhorn glacier below, a distance of nearly 4000 feet in height. From the moment the rope broke it was impossible to help them. For the space of half an hour we remained on the spot without moving a single step. The two men, paralyzed by terror, cried like infants, and trembled in such a manner as to threaten us with the fate of the others. . . . For more than two hours afterwards I thought every moment that the next would be my last; for the Taugwalders, utterly unnerved, were not only incapable of giving assistance, but were in such a state that a slip might have been expected from one or the other at any moment. I do the younger man, however, no injustice when I say that immediately we got to the easy part of the descent he was able to laugh, smoke, and eat as if nothing had happened. There is no occasion to say any thing more about the descent. I looked frequently, but in vain, for traces of my unfortunate companions, and we were in consequence surprised by the night when still at a height of 13,000 ft. We arrived at Zermatt at 10.30 on Saturday morning (July 15)." On the following day a search was made for the bodies, when three of them were discovered; that of Lord Francis could not be found. As it was thought impracticable to remove them, they were buried in the snow with a brief service, but they were afterwards brought down and interred in the cemetery at Zermatt. More recently some portions of the body of the unfortunate young nobleman were discovered through the exertions of his brother, Lord Queensberry.

— CRICKET.—ETON *v.* HARROW.—This great match of the year was commenced at Lord's Cricket Ground, and attracted a very large and aristocratic company. The ground was roped and staked all round, and the outer ring was completely blocked up with carriages. The grand stand was well filled with beauty, rank, and fashion. Altogether the scene was one scarcely ever witnessed on a cricket ground. There were present about 12,000 spectators, and the weather was delightfully fine. The contest, however, proved a very unequal one, and the result sorely disappointed the friends of Eton. The score was as follows:—



## HARROW.

Mr. A. N. Hornby, b. Walter . . . . .	27
Mr. H. H. Montgomery, c. Walter, b. Lyttelton . . . . .	21
Hon. J. Amherst, c. Ponsonby, b. Alexander . . . . .	85
Mr. J. M. Richardson, b. Lyttelton . . . . .	24
Mr. W. Evetts, c. Alexander, b. Barrington . . . . .	18
Mr. H. M. Stow, not out . . . . .	32
Mr. W. B. Money, b. Wakeman . . . . .	8
Mr. T. Hartley, c. Barrington, b. Wakeman . . . . .	0
Lord H. Butler, c. Walter, b. Wakeman . . . . .	0
Mr. C. L. Arkwright, run out . . . . .	1
Mr. J. A. Boyson, b. Lyttelton . . . . .	17
B., 6; l.-b., 6; w., 3 . . . . .	15
	—248

## ETON.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. S. V. Gibbs, c. Montgomery, b. Arkwright . . . . .	0	c. Money, b. Amherst . . . . .	12
Hon. F. Ponsonby, b. Money . . . . .	1	b. Money . . . . .	1
Mr. Micklem, c. and b. Money . . . . .	27	c. Stow, b. Amherst . . . . .	13
Hon. S. G. Lyttelton, b. Amherst . . . . .	1	c. and b. Money . . . . .	3
Mr. A. F. Walter, b. Money . . . . .	2	c. Hartley, b. Amherst . . . . .	28
Mr. C. R. Alexander, l.-b.-w., b. Amherst . . . . .	2	c. Montgomery, b. Money . . . . .	7
Mr. E. Lubbock, c. Montgomery, b. Hartley . . . . .	35	b. Money . . . . .	11
Mr. W. W. Phipps, b. Hartley . . . . .	1	b. Hartley . . . . .	26
Mr. E. Wakeman, run out . . . . .	5	st. Stow, b. Money . . . . .	5
Mr. T. H. Phipps, not out . . . . .	3	not out . . . . .	3
Mr. W. B. Barrington, st. Stow, b. Money . . . . .	3	c. Evetts, b. Money . . . . .	0
B., 2; l.-b., 2; w., 2 . . . . .	6	W., 1; n.-b., 1 . . . . .	2
Total . . . . .	86	Total . . . . .	111

Umpires—Deane and Hearne.

Thus Harrow won in one innings by forty-six runs. Both schools were thus placed on equal terms, having won nineteen matches each.

16. THE SHIRLEY MURDER.—George Broomfield was indicted at Winchester Assizes, before Mr. Justice Keating, for the wilful murder of Caroline Sophia Colborne, at Shirley, on the 3rd of December, 1864.

Mr. Bere and Mr. Compton conducted the case for the prosecution; Mr. Coleridge, Q.C., and Mr. H. T. Cole defended the prisoner.

The prisoner was placed in a chair, and appeared to be in a most weakly state.

The Judge sent for the surgeon of the gaol, and asked him if he thought the prisoner sufficiently strong to take his trial. The surgeon having expressed an opinion that he was, he was called upon to plead, but the only answer he gave was, "I wish to die."

The Judge then directed a plea of "Not Guilty" to be recorded.

Mr. Bere opened the case on the part of the prosecution. The prisoner was charged with the wilful murder of Caroline Sophia

Colborne at Shirley, on the 3rd of December, 1864. The facts of the case were these:—The prisoner was forty-seven years of age; he had been married six or seven years, and had been in the service of several gentlemen. In October, 1863, he entered the service of Miss Onslow, at Alresford, and remained there until March, 1864. The unfortunate deceased was also living in the service of Miss Onslow as lady's maid. She was a person of attractive face and form, of modest and pleasant demeanour. It would seem that unfortunately she attracted the prisoner, and he fell in love with her and paid his addresses to her. She however did not encourage the prisoner, although he still persisted in pressing his addresses upon her. In consequence of his importunities she left Miss Onslow's service, and went to her parents' house at Shirley. She was at the time engaged to be married, and afterwards did marry Colborne, and they lived at Shirley. On the 3rd of December last the prisoner was seen at Shirley. He went to the hotel there, had some brandy and water, and got change for half a sovereign; he inquired if a Miss Wing (the maiden name of the deceased) lived there, and eventually he was directed to Colborne's house. He left the hotel, and the husband of the deceased happening to call there, was told that a person had been inquiring for his wife; he at once proceeded to his house, and found his wife and the prisoner sitting in a room. The deceased introduced the prisoner to her husband, and some conversation took place. After some time the prisoner asked "Carry" to give him a cup of tea; he said he was going to America. Colborne offered the prisoner all the hospitality his house afforded. Colborne left the house for about half an hour; on his return he found his wife seated at the table writing a letter. She told her husband Mr. Broomfield would like some brandy, and he went out and procured some, being absent about ten minutes. When he came back he found the prisoner folding up a letter. The prisoner then said he was going to America to join the army, either the Federal or Confederate. Colborne said he was not quite sure who was right or wrong. Colborne asked the prisoner if he would like to join him in a pipe, and they smoked together. Mrs. Colborne went out for some domestic purposes, but was afraid to go out by herself, and her husband and her mother went out with her, leaving the prisoner sitting by the fire. They returned in about three-quarters of an hour. The husband then went out to get some potatoes, and he was absent about ten minutes, and during that time the fatal event which they had now to inquire into took place. What happened between the prisoner and the deceased no one could tell, but it was clear that the prisoner caused the death of the unfortunate woman by shooting her with a pistol. A Mrs. Harris, who lived next door, was alarmed at hearing a noise like a cracker, followed by a fearful scream, and she went out and saw Mrs. Colborne lying by the door. She raised her up, but found she was dead. Mrs. Harris then heard

another report. She was frightened, and went for help, and she then heard a third report. Mrs. Harris and some other persons then entered the house, and found the woman lying quite dead, and the prisoner still living, but severely wounded, lying on the floor with a revolver in his right hand. The revolver had five chambers, and upon being examined it was found that two were still loaded, but three had been discharged. The police came, and they found some letters and a 10*l.*-note upon the prisoner. One of these letters was in the handwriting of the deceased woman, and was in these words:—

“My dear, dear Ann,—These are the last words you will ever hear from me. I feel I have broken your heart. I desire to die, if I should reach America, in the Confederate army; that is, providing I can reach the Confederates by first joining the Northerns, then desert for the Confederates, for I feel they are a people that deserves fighting for. Oh, my darling Ann! I shall not have your kind and affectionate eyes and hands to watch over me, as you ever have done, particularly the last nine months, night and day. Had I never gone to Alresford, my happy home never would have been broken up. Give my kind and affectionate love to all, particularly those who have been kind and affectionate to me under my heavy affliction. I left all my affairs in the hands of Mr. Brown and Mr. Cooper. You will find my will and papers and about 50*l.* or 60*l.* in the cash-box. I hope all will be carried out as I have left it to be. I hope the Dr. (Mr. Tweed) will go to you, as I ordered him, immediately.”

Then, in the prisoner's writing,—

“Dear Sarah,—Render all the assistance you can to my dear wife. Tell her not to fret about me; I am not worthy of her doing it. Good-bye. —————

GEO. BROOMFIELD.

“I have my watch with me and about 1000*l.* in money. I name this, as there might be some unpleasantness, and the watch I have named in my will.”

There was another letter in the prisoner's handwriting, addressed to the husband of the deceased, and which was probably written while they were all absent from the house:—

“My dear Mr. Colborne,—You must bear up under this heavy trial, same as one that I have left, she dying through the heavy trial I have brought upon her. I have always thought—since I have been so ill I cannot rest night or day, as I have constant ringing in my ears—that Carry must die with me. I feel we shall both meet again in heaven, where I trust we shall both meet you and my poor dear and affectionate dying wife. Yours will not be half the trial as the one I have left behind has gone through, and is now going through. I hope you will get some to telegraph to say I am dead. I wish you to do so, or some one,



to Mr. Brown, 49, Great Marylebone-street, Portland-place. Good-bye, and God bless and support you all under this heavy trial. "G. B."

"I hope you will forgive me, and let us both lay together till we shall be called forth to meet Christ; then all sorrow and trouble will be at an end. I have changed my mind in going away since dear Carry wrote the note, as I feel she must die with me. I got Mrs. Colborne to write this note, as I feel too ill to do so. "G. B."

These letters had been found upon the prisoner. He was taken to the infirmary. A surgeon there asked the prisoner what he had done it for. He said he had done it for love. The police remained in attendance upon the prisoner night and day. On the next morning after he was in the infirmary he said he wished to make a statement, and his words were written down:—"I am guilty of shooting Caroline Sophia Colborne on Saturday, December 3, but I was not at the time in a sound state of mind." On a subsequent occasion he made another statement:—"The letter found upon me I wish you to send to my wife; it was written by the dear creature Caroline Sophia Colborne in the cottage in her own house, and if I would stay over to-day she had lots to tell me." For a long time the prisoner hovered between life and death, but now, whether fortunately or not for him, he was sufficiently recovered to take his trial, and he was standing before the jury either to be relieved from the charge or to be condemned by their verdict. That the deceased came to her death by the hand of the prisoner there could be no doubt. She was shot through the heart. There could be no doubt as to the motive which had induced the prisoner to commit the act. It appeared that strongly, but wrongfully, he was in love with this deceased woman; he had tried to overcome the influence of that passion, but he had not been able to succeed, and it was evident he had come there with the determination, if he could not prevail upon the young woman to leave her husband, to take away her life. He was fond of her, and did not wish any one else to possess her. Then, what was the answer to this? He had no official intimation of the defence, but from some expressions that had dropped from the prisoner, and from questions that had been put for him in cross-examination of the witnesses, there was no doubt that the defence would be this—that although the deceased died by the hand of the prisoner, he was not at the time in such a state of reasonable power, in such a state of mental ability, as to make him responsible for the act. It was not the duty of the prosecution to make out that a prisoner was of sound mind; but, until the contrary was proved, the law assumed a person to be of sound mind and understanding. If the prisoner was sufficiently sane to know that he was committing an unlawful and wrongful act, he was responsible for the crime he had com-

mitted. The prisoner had stated after the act that no one could tell what he had suffered in his mind for the last twelve months. When told the woman was dead, he expressed a wish that they should be buried in the same grave. He also said that he had been shot in the head.

Several witnesses were called to prove these facts.

Mr. Coleridge addressed the jury on behalf of the prisoner. He stated to the jury, with much force and clearness, the question they had to try—was he or was he not at the time he committed the act responsible for the consequences of the act which he did? The prisoner was a man of most blameless character, and this act was totally inconsistent with the whole tenour of his life. He was a gentle, affectionate man in disposition. There were cases of lovers being desirous of preventing any others but themselves becoming the husband or wife of the persons they were in love with, and doing some act for which they were responsible; but that was not the case here. The prisoner did not kill her to prevent her marrying another; she was a married woman; he was a married man, having great affection for and living with his wife; there was no object for his putting this poor girl out of the world. There was an alienation of mind with which it had pleased God to afflict him. He believed that this poor girl and himself and his wife were to die together; he yielded to an irresistible impulse to which his disease had urged him. He asked their verdict not for mercy, but for the sake of justice, that the mind was not his mind, that according to law he did not do it, and according to law he ought not to answer for it.

Several witnesses were then called, who bore out the learned counsel's statement as to the diseased state of the prisoner's mind.

The general evidence first was that the prisoner was a man of the highest moral and religious character. His masters with whom he had lived stated that he was the best servant they ever had. Lord George Beauclerk was out with the prisoner one day (in September, 1862) shooting, when Lord Falkland missed his bird, and shot the prisoner. He cried out, "Oh, I am shot!" and he fell into Lord George's arms. He was shot all over. He was taken home, a surgeon was sent for, and he extricated thirty shots from his head and back. He was altered in manner from that time.

Other witnesses detailed circumstances which had occurred which had led them to believe that his mind was gone. He was frequently crying; he believed his head was empty, and his stomach falling to pieces; he had an idea that his wife was dying, and that it had broken his heart. On the 3rd of December (the day of the murder) he got out of his house in South Molton-street under the pretence of getting a newspaper. He went to a Mr. Brown's and asked him to lend him 10*l.*, which witness did. Upon looking up witness saw his face, and was alarmed at its

appearance. He looked wildly, his eyes starting out of his head. He said he was going to America. Witness tried to detain him, but he slipped from him and got away. Witness was convinced that he was mad.

Dr. Tweed, surgeon, of Upper Brook-street, stated that he had known the prisoner as a patient for six years. He was first suffering from indigestion; it had since taken the form of melancholia. He had been subject to it for the last eighteen months. He complained of an emptiness in his head. He said his blood was turned to water. He felt a trickling from his heart. He was under great apprehension of death, and frequently sent to witness to come to him, as he feared his death. There was no reason for this. He suffered from lowness of spirits. He always imagined that he was going to die. Witness latterly thought the symptoms were suicidal, and gave directions that he should not be left alone, and should have frequent change of air and scene. His disease was mental. He did not require medicine, but he gave him some in order to quiet him. His mind decidedly was off its balance, and he thought it likely to become worse, and that he would probably become dangerous to himself, and perhaps to others.

There was not any attempt to prove anything like love-making, or that the prisoner had formed an attachment for the deceased, and it was clear that she knew he was married.

The prisoner told one of the surgeons in the infirmary that he did not know how he came to leave London, but there was some impulse which he could not control.

The learned Judge, in summing up, observed that the prosecution had produced evidence, possibly satisfactory to their minds, that the prisoner did take the life of Caroline Sophia Colborne under circumstances that, unless the prisoner was legally irresponsible, would amount to the crime of murder. Having done that, the prosecution had discharged all the duty which the law cast upon them, and it was for the prisoner then to show, and to show clearly to the satisfaction of the jury, that his state of mind at the time he committed the act was such as to free him from responsibility. The defence now set up, and which had been so ably and eloquently impressed upon them by the counsel for the prisoner, was that at the time he committed the act he was irresponsible, in consequence of being in an insane state of mind; that he was in such a state of mind, and insane to an extent, as would free him from responsibility. It was not every aberration of mind that would free him. The aberration must be to such an extent as to disable him from distinguishing between right and wrong, with reference to the nature and quality of the act which he committed. The learned Judge then read to the jury the rule laid down in M'Naughten's case, and having done so, proceeded to place before them the evidence which had been adduced.

The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty."

Sentence of death was passed.



10. THE WIMBLEDON PRIZE RIFLE MEETING FOR 1865.—The great prize meeting of England for the competition of our volunteers in rifle shooting opened this day, and despite the occurrence in the same week of two such absorbing and interesting events as the great rifle contest of the country and the general election, the attendance was quite equal to that of any former year. The competition on the first day consisted of—

The City of London Bronze Medal, between ten first-class shots of the brigade, at 200, 500, and 600 yards, won by Colour-Serjeant Cross, with a score of 43.

The Oxford and Cambridge Bronze Medal, at 200, 500, and 600 yards, five shots each, six on each side, won by Oxford, with an aggregate score of 173, against Cambridge's 169.

The Tower Hamlets Bronze Medal, five shots, at 200, 500, and 600 yards, won by Private Berkly, of the 2nd Tower Hamlets, with a score of 32.

The Middlesex Bronze Medal, with two prizes of 5*l.* each and other prizes, won by Serjeant A. Anderson, 22nd Middlesex (Queen's), with a score of 45; Serjeant W. Michee, London Scottish, being second, with a score of 41; ranges, 200, 500, and 600 yards, five shots at each.

The most exciting match of the day was the All Comers' County Match, at 800 and 900 yards, eight men from each, and in which the counties entering into competition were Aberdeenshire, scoring a total of 484; Gloucestershire (headed by Earl Ducie), 471; Lancashire (headed by Captain Henton), 530; Middlesex, 495; Surrey, 400; and West York, 455. Lancashire, it will thus be seen, was the winning county, with Middlesex for second.

*Second Day* (11).—The day was cloudy and gusty, and little adapted for making good scores; it was, however, what was called the "boys' day," hence a very large assemblage of spectators was the consequence. The competition, which brought out groups of eleven each from the schools of Harrow, Eton, Rugby, Cheltenham, Marlborough, and Winchester, was for the Ashburton Shield, and Earl Spencer's Cup, shot for by the youths making the highest score for the former amongst each squad. On this occasion the excitement of the contest was increased by the fact that Harrow not only won the Ashburton Shield, but that a little fellow, named Serjeant Jones, who not only contributed to the above event by making the highest score in his squad, also succeeded in carrying off Earl Spencer's Cup. This young gentleman had the honour of being carried on the shoulders of his comrades round about the common. The scores for this interesting competition were:—Harrow 216, Marlborough 209, Rugby 204, Winchester 198, Eton 193, Cheltenham 183. At the final competition for Earl Spencer's Cup, at 500 yards, the scores were:—Serjeant Jones (Harrow) 19, Private Taylor (Cheltenham) 14, Captain Collyer (Rugby) 13, Private Marriott (Winchester) 13,

Private Dumbyne (Marlborough) 11, Adjutant Russell (Eton) retired.

The great events of the day were, however, the contest for the Prince of Wales's Prize, the St. George's Challenge Vase, and the International Enfield Challenge Trophy. The former was again won by the same marksman who carried it away last year. The Prince of Wales's Prize ended in a tie between Private T. W. Poole (12th Somerset), who made a score of 45, and Serjeant W. May (12th Sussex); but the necessity of shooting off was avoided by the prize being awarded to the former as the marksman by whom the largest score was attained in his last and longest range.

For the St. George's Challenge Vase Serjeant T. Penzer (4th Stafford) was winner of the Vase, the Gold Jewel, and 6*l.*; Private H. Redcliffe (South Middlesex), winner of the Silver Jewel and 5*l.*; and Private W. Bustard (20th Middlesex), winner of the Bronze Cross and 4*l.*

The International Enfield Challenge Trophy was a most exciting contest, and the shooting generally of the teams of twenty representing each nationality was, considering the gusty state of the weather, very good. The ranges were at 200, 500, and 600 yards, at five shots each, and the scores were—England at 200 yards 393, 500 yards 366, and 600 yards 270, total 1029. Scotland at 200 yards 398, at 500 yards 348, at 600 yards 301, total 1047. Ireland at 200 yards 341, at 500 yards 325, at 600 yards 243, total 909, Scotland thus being the winner over England by 18 points.

On the third day, in addition to the first stage of the Queen's Prize, the first stage of the Alexandra Prize at 200 yards was also shot for, and for both, with five shots, the highest scores were 18. For the Duke of Cambridge's Prize of 50*l.* at 800 yards, with breech-loaders, and the Westley Richards Prize, Private Barnard of the Victorias won the first, with a score of 27; whilst Captain Ross, of the 6th Kincardineshire, won the second, value 43*l.*, with a double sporting breech-loader, or match rifle, with 24. The second series of extra prizes was also shot for; and for the Telescope Prizes at 1000 yards, any rifle, Private E. Ross (London Scottish) was the winner of the first, value 20*l.*, with a score of 22. For the Enfield Association Cup, at 200 and 500 yards, the highest scores were 34, five having led with that number.

The most important competition of the fifth day was for the honour of being the sixty entitled to compete for the Queen's Prize, and which was completed at the 600 yards range. The shooting was not equal to that of last year, but it is to be accounted for by the very unfavourable weather this year as compared with that of last. In spite, however, of this drawback, it required the same score of last year to take the National Association Silver Badge, the Silver Medal, and 50*l.* awarded to the best shot of the ultimate competitors for the final range for the Queen's Prize. This again fell to the lot of Mr. Edward Ross, of the London Scottish, who

was the winner of the Queen's Prize the first year. He made the splendid score of 47, in which he was tied by Captain H. Holme, of the 1st Somerset; but by the plan adopted this year for deciding ties, giving the priority to the best score at the longest range, Mr. Ross was declared the winner.

The competition for the Queen's Prize was decided on the 8th day, and although Mr. Edward Ross was the favourite at the outset, it soon became evident that he had no chance. At the 800 yards range he made an average of centres, but at 900 he fell off to 14, and at the 1000 yards to 13, making but a total score of 47, whilst the winner of the Queen's Prize, Private Sharman, of the 4th West York, having made only 15 at the 800 yards range, made 25 and 24 at the 900 and 1000 yards, giving a total of 64. The winner of the Queen's Prize this year comes from Halifax, in Yorkshire, where he carries on the business of a woolstapler, and when the fact was ascertained that he was the winner, his countrymen, in their delight, hoisted him on their shoulders and carried him in triumph round the camp and into the council tent, to await the arrival of the official figures.

The most exciting match of the 9th day's shooting was that between Oxford and Cambridge, for what is termed the Chancellor's Challenge Plate, a prize of the value of 100*l.* given annually by the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Derby, for competition between the volunteers of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, eight competitors on each side, with seven shots at 200, 500, and 600 yards; and it is a competition which invariably excites much interest at Wimbledon, and attracts a large number of friends of either University. Last year Cambridge made 415 against 370 by Oxford. This year it was expected that the contest would be a closer one, the Cambridge team having lost some of the men who had previously contributed materially to their success. Last year Mr. Edward Ross and Mr. Doe formed part of the Cambridge squad, and they made as a top score 67, following up with a 58, a 53, 52, two 51's, and 48 and 35; whilst Oxford's top score was 64, but fell to 53 for a second, descending to 53, 50, 47, 44, 41, and 39, to 32. The anticipation that Oxford would make a better fight this year was borne out by the first trial of strength for the bronze medal, for which, although taken by Cambridge, Oxford made the highest aggregate score. At the firing of the first range the shooting was tolerably even, and at the end of the second range Oxford was 2 ahead; but at the 600 yards range the balance of victory was in favour of Cambridge, the total score being 344 as against 340 for Oxford. Oxford, however, made the highest score of 48 against 45 by Cambridge. The Wimbledon Enfield Cup, restricted to the winners of 20*l.* and upwards in "Enfield" rifle competition at any of the Wimbledon meetings previous to 1865, at ranges of 200 and 600 yards, of 5 shots each, was, after good competition, won by Mr. E. Ross, London Scottish, with 15 at 200 and 16 at 600 yards.



The Albert Prize competition, which brings the best small-bore shots to the front, and which consists of two ranges, 500 and 600 yards, with a second stage at 800, 900, and 1000 yards, for a prize of 100*l.* open only to the sixty winners of the first stage, excited great competition. Last year the winner of this prize was Mr. Hercules Ross, who, in seven rounds at each of the long ranges, made a score of 73 marks, Lieutenant Burt, 1st Warwickshire, coming next with 71. This year the average shooting was not quite so good, the best score being made by Assistant-Surgeon Henderson, Midlothians, who made a total of 70. A series of four prizes were given for competition with the five-grooved navy rifle, with which volunteer serjeants and the Hants Light Horse are armed. A squad of Colonel Bower's famous Hants Light Horse entered the competition, one of them winning the first prize. The very useful competition for the *Spectator* Prize, 5 shots, between 200 and 300 yards, without raising the back sight, was brought to a conclusion, Serjeant Holland, of the Victorias, who made 17 marks, being declared the winner. For the *Saturday Review* Prize the two highest scores at 500 yards were Serjeant Thompson, 1st Derby, and Ensign Halliday, Civil Service, 18 each. For the Rifle Oaks the highest score was 49, made by Mr. J. Rigby, D.S.C., and the next, 48, by Private Radcliffe, 2nd Middlesex; Captain Field, Hon. Artillery Company; Private Dighton, 14th Middlesex; Lord Aberdeen, London Scottish; and Serjeant Robinson, 15th Middlesex, followed with 46 each.

*Tenth Day.*—The Elcho Challenge Shield has proved on all occasions since its establishment by the noble lord whose name it bears a matter of considerable interest in the Wimbledon competition, but this year that interest was increased by the permission given to eight shots selected from the sister island to compete with those of England and Scotland. The shooting of the match this year had its disadvantages, for although the weather was fine, the wind was strong and variable, making frequent adjustments of wind-gauges necessary. At the 1000 yards the sun was dazzling in the eyes of the competitors, but whilst the Irish and Scotch teams counteracted this by adjusting their screens, the English took no such step, but shot with the light full on their front sights. It was obvious that between England and Scotland the match would be a well-contested one, and that the Irish, as youngsters, would come in last, though by no means far in the rear, and this proved to be the case. Last year, though eventually losing the match, England scored 375 at the first range, against 356 by Scotland; this year that excellent score was beaten by both competitors, and at the conclusion of the 800 yards range it was stated that England and Scotland had tied, with 378 marks each. Scotland was, however, slightly ahead, a majority which she continued to increase until the 1000 yards range, towards the end of the shooting, at which the scale

of victory inclined to the side of the English, who finally won by two marks.

The English team consisted of Captain Heaton, 40th Lancashire; Lieutenant-Colonel Halford, 1st Leicester; Serjeant Martin Smith, Victorias; Hon. M. Fetcher, Liverpool Rifle Brigade; Captain Bland, 76th Regiment; Lieutenant Purchas, 14th Worcester; Private Cunliffe, 26th Cheshire; and Lieutenant Banting, St. George's; and the scores were:—At 800 yards, 377; at 900, 333; and at 1000, 343—total, 1053 marks.

The Scottish team were—Private E. Ross, London Scottish; Private C. Ross, ditto; Captain H. Ross, 6th Kincardineshire; Captain Mitchell, Alloa; Mr. Wilkin, Ellon; Hon. J. Gordon, Aberdeen; Serjeant Forbes, Ellon; and Captain Lord Aberdeen, Aberdeen. The scores were:—At 800 yards, 378; 900 yards, 339; and at 1000 yards, 334—total, 1051 marks.

The Irish team included—Greenhill, J. Rigby, M'Kenna, Walkington, J. Clare, Barlow, W. Rigby, and Major Leech (London Irish); and the scores were:—At 800 yards, 338; at 900 yards, 298; and at 1000 yards, 299—total scores, 935 marks.

*Eleventh Day.*—The Wimbledon meeting, so far as the shooting is concerned, may be said to have been brought to a close this day, the most important competition being for the Dudley Prize, value 50*l.*, restricted to winners of small-bore prizes during the meeting. The conditions of this match were—any rifles, five shots at 500 and seven shots at 800 yards. Being calculated to bring all the small-bore crack shots to the front, an unusual display of fine shooting was anticipated, and in that respect there was no disappointment to the large crowd who thronged the shooting-point throughout the day. Last year the Dudley Prize was won by Lieutenant Burt, 1st Warwick, with 46 out of a possible score of 48. This year the Earl of Aberdeen, who has made admirable shooting, took the prize with one mark more. The general average shooting has been far better than last year. By the conditions last year those who did not make 17 at the first range were excluded from the second, but in consequence of the favourable weather this year the council raised the minimum score to 18. The Henry Peek Prize of 50 guineas, which stands in the same relation to Enfields that the Dudley does to small-bores, was shot for, five shots at 500 and seven at 600 yards, those not making 16 at the first range precluded from firing at the second. The average shooting was not very good, but the winner was Colour-Serjeant Marriott, of the 4th West York, who made 38 marks, two over an average of centres.

The Ladies' Consolation Prize, restricted to 100 volunteers who had competed without winning a prize during the meeting, excited considerable interest, as did also the competition at the Swiss Canton Prizes.

The Horatio Ross Prize, the object of keen competition between Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Peterkin, fell eventually to the latter.

On a previous occasion Lord Aberdeen, after much effort, surpassed by two points what had been regarded as the unapproachable score of 42 made by his agile rival. The latter, stimulated to fresh exertions, made such energetic efforts that he actually succeeded in increasing his score to 47,—that is to say, within the space of five minutes he ran 500 yards, loaded and fired 12 times, never missed the target or made an outer, but scored 11 bull's-eyes and one centre, or within one point of the maximum capable of being made, had the rifle been fired from a mechanical rest. Lord Aberdeen had spent the previous afternoon in winning the Dudley Cup. But, fatigued as he must necessarily have been, he presented himself last evening at the firing-post for the Horatio Ross Prize, to make one final effort to wrest this distinction from Mr. Peterkin, when, as he was about to run, the signal-gun fired, and the prize competition for 1865 on Wimbledon-common was at an end.

On that evening there was a grand display of fireworks in the camp, and a very large gathering of residents in the neighbourhood, and of visitors from the metropolis, and other parties were assembled to witness the exhibition.

The next day the distribution of prizes took place, Lady Spencer undertaking that office. The whole proceedings were terminated, as usual, by a review of volunteers, which was very numerously attended, and passed off with much *éclat*.

17. VISIT OF THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES TO PLYMOUTH.—Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, with Lady de Grey, Major Grey, General Knollys, and suite, embarked in the steam-ship "Osborne," at Osborne, on the 17th, at 11 p.m. After encountering some boisterous weather, the "Osborne" arrived at Plymouth on the afternoon of the 19th, when the Lords of the Admiralty and the naval and military authorities of the port went on board to pay their respects.

The corporations of Plymouth and Devonport also presented addresses.

The Royal party landed at 5 p.m., at Mount-Edgcumbe, where they were the guests of the Earl.

The next day their Royal Highnesses left Mount-Edgcumbe at 12.30 p.m., crossed the Hamoaze, and landed at the Royal William Victualling-yard. Their Royal Highnesses proceeded thence in carriages to the show-yard of the Royal Agricultural Society's Exhibition, and inspected the stock and implements, being afterwards entertained at a *déjeûner* by the society's officers.

They left at 3 p.m. for a visit to the Royal Albert Bridge at Saltash, and there embarked on board the Royal yacht "Osborne," proceeding with the Lords of the Admiralty to visit the English and French squadrons in the Sound.

The Prince went on board and inspected the "Magenta," the French commodore's ship, and H.M.S. "Royal Sovereign" and "Achilles."



Their Royal Highnesses returned in the evening in the "Osborne" to Mount-Edgumbe, and dined with a large party invited to meet them.

20. COMMENCEMENT OF NEW BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE.—The foundation-stone of the new Blackfriars Bridge was laid with much ceremony by the Lord Mayor, the whole Corporation and chief civic officers marching in procession from the Guildhall, and assisting at the ceremony. In the evening the Lord Mayor entertained the whole of the Court of Common Council, with several persons of distinction, at a banquet at the Mansion House in honour of the occasion. The new bridge, which is to span the Thames at Blackfriars, will be a stately edifice, resembling in its general features and in its great width and easy inclination that at Westminster, but differing in ornamentation and in some respects in the mode of construction. It will be of five arches, and 963 ft. in length from bank to bank, the width being 75 ft., or 9 ft. less than that of Westminster Bridge.

24. THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES IN CORNWALL.—Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales visited the famous Botallack Mine, extending many fathoms under the sea, near the Land's End, and accomplished the descent to the great delight of the mining population, who with other inhabitants of the district were assembled in great numbers to do honour to the Royal visitors. After putting on the flannel dresses worn by persons who go underground, the Princess and Lady Elizabeth St. Aubyn entered the carriage, and were driven along the path skirting the precipices which overlook the mine. The carriage was followed by the Prince, the Duchess of Sutherland, Lady Audrey Townshend, Lady de Grey, Lady Vivian, the Duke of Sutherland, the Duke of St. Albans, the Earl of Mount-Edgumbe, Lord Vivian (the lord-lieutenant), Mr. John St. Aubyn, Mr. E. St. Aubyn, and Captain Grey, all of whom descended the mine. The scene was most effective. On the heights above were many hundreds of people. On either side were weather-beaten rocks and rude constructions of planks and beams to aid in the working of the mine. Half-way below was the head of the shaft, the gaunt upper works and platforms hanging over deep chasms, and at the base of the high cliffs the water surged into foam against the rocks. As the Royal party passed along the path to the mine head, a long line of volunteers representing each corps of the Duke of Cornwall's Artillery Volunteers, under Colonel Gilbert, presented arms, the band playing the National Anthem. On arriving at the shaft head, the Princess, dressed in rough flannel, and wearing a coarse straw hat trimmed with blue, and Mr. John St. Aubyn sat upon the lower seat, the Prince and a brakesman sat on the seat above, or rather behind, and the rest of the suite followed. The car descended gently down a steep inclined plane, and the Royal party passed from the light into the dark shaft, the depth of which is 200 fathoms. After more than an hour's absence the Royal party were drawn to

the surface, where they were greeted with hearty cheers. The Princess looked rather heated, but she smiled charmingly in response to the cheers. The Prince appeared somewhat fatigued, but highly pleased with his novel journey. Having partaken of luncheon, the Prince of Wales proceeded in a two-horse carriage to the Land's End, accompanied by his suite and by Mr. John St. Aubyn. The Princess, being too much fatigued to accompany the Prince to the Land's End, left for Penzance, a letter having been sent that Her Royal Highness would return at six. The mayor and several members of the council repaired to the Albert Pier to receive the Princess, and had the honour to assist Her Royal Highness down the landing-place to the Royal barge. In an hour and a half after the Princess went aboard the Royal yacht, the Prince returned, the mayor being still waiting. On alighting the Prince said, "Mr. Mayor, we have been very much gratified by our reception at Penzance, and feel exceedingly obliged to you all for your kind attentions." He then shook hands heartily with the mayor, and bade him good-bye. The Royal barge then pushed off amidst the cheers of the thousands who lined the quays, and of those who filled the shipping and the numberless boats that studded the water. From the yacht, which anchored on the west side of the mount, the Prince and Princess witnessed the magnificent display of fireworks, and the gorgeous illuminations which were prepared for the occasion.

The next day the yacht proceeded with the Prince to Scilly, to be the guest of Mr. Augustus Smith. The visit was unexpected, as the only notice received had been given by the revenue cutter, which was sent on the previous night, and had been becalmed at the Seven Stones. A boat had to be sent to the shore, which by means of hard rowing arrived early in the morning, and by six o'clock it became generally known that the Prince would arrive at 7.30 a.m. Shortly after that hour the "Osborne" anchored in St. Mary's Roads. Lieutenant Hire, of the Coast-guard, proceeded to the "Osborne," and on his return announced that the Prince would land on the Island of St. Mary at ten o'clock. Much disappointment was manifested when it was stated that the Princess was not on board. Lines of flags, festoons, and arches of beautiful flowers, were suspended from the houses and across the streets. The shops were gaily decorated, and flags were flying from every flagstaff and many windows. Mr. Augustus Smith, lessee of the island, who had in the morning proceeded on board, the "Osborne," landed on the quay at 11.30 a.m. at St. Mary's, where nearly all the inhabitants were assembled, and soon afterwards, with the Prince, the Duke of Sutherland, the Duke of St. Albans, and others, arrived in the Royal barge, and were received by Mr. Smith, amidst the loud cheers of the inhabitants. The distinguished party then ascended gigs and carriages, which were in waiting, and visited the infant school and church. Afterwards they drove to the beautifully situated village of Holyvale, sur-

rounded by orchards, in the centre of the island. Here they alighted for a short time, and a very ancient chair in the possession of Mr. J. Mumford, farmer, which is said to have been used by Charles II. when he fled to those islands, was shown to the Prince, who examined it, and seated himself in it for a short time. Some flowers having been presented to His Royal Highness, the party again mounted and proceeded a little further round the island, and returned to the quay about 2 p.m., receiving again the hearty cheers of the inhabitants, who also cheered for the Princess and the Queen. The party, accompanied by Mr. Smith, having embarked in the barge, proceeded to Mr. Smith's residence on the Island of Tresco, whose beautiful gardens are very interesting, and returned to the Royal yacht about 6.30 p.m. Mr. Smith afterwards joined the party on board at dinner. Bonfires and tar-barrels were lighted on several prominent places, and some rockets were thrown up from a cutter at anchor in the roads.

Early on the 26th the Royal yacht left for Mount Bay (where the Princess had slept), and, on arriving, the Prince proceeded to the Mount, and their Royal Highnesses, with others of the Royal party, breakfasted with Mr. and Lady Elizabeth St. Aubyn; after which the Royal party were rowed to the Royal yacht, and departed amidst tremendous cheers and a Royal salute from the battery on the mount. The Prince having consented to pay a visit to Falmouth as he passed that port on his trip up the river Fal, the "Osborne" shortly before two o'clock entered the harbour, greeted by a Royal salute and cheers from the immense crowds which had assembled on the quay of the Dock Company. The blue waters of the harbour were covered with boats, yachts, and steamers, and the lengthy pier formed above the Prince of Wales's Breakwater (so called by desire of the late Prince Consort) was thronged by visitors, amongst whom were the mayors and corporations of Falmouth, of Penryn, and of Truro, and the directors of the Dock Company. At the entrance of the dockyard an arch of evergreens was erected, and a similar arch was constructed over the shore end of the pier. Several steam-boats with passengers proceeded to meet the Royal party, and they followed the "Osborne" until she came to her moorings. The "Osborne" having dropped her anchor, Captain Sullivan went on board with Mr. Tilly, solicitor of the Docks Company, who waited on the Prince by his special request, conveyed through General Knollys. Mr. A. Fox, chairman of the Dock Company, presented, on their behalf, to the Prince a large pictorial plan of the Falmouth Docks. Addresses were then presented to the Prince and Princess from the corporation of Falmouth, the Falmouth Docks Company, the corporation of Truro, and the corporation of Penryn. The Prince duly responded, and shortly afterwards the Royal party landed amidst hearty cheering. The Prince and Princess then seated themselves in Mr. Tweedie's carriage with the Dukes of Sutherland and St. Albans. General Knollys, Earl Morley, and the rest of the party followed



in carriages, and a number of the corporation brought up the rear in a large covered drag. The volunteers presented arms, the band playing the National Anthem. Seats were erected along the road, the ground having been liberally given for the purpose by Lord Wodehouse. The cheers were loud and general, and the Prince and Princess acknowledged them graciously, being evidently delighted with the enthusiasm of the crowd. A vast number of persons followed the Prince and Princess to the quay, where, amidst loud cheers, the Prince and Princess embarked on board the Duke of Sutherland's yacht "Undine," in which the Royal visitors passed on to Victoria Point, where Queen Victoria landed in 1846. The "Undine" then put about, and when she left Malpas it was understood she would return to Falmouth to enable the Royal party to exchange into the "Osborne," and steam for Osborne on the following morning.

The next afternoon, most unexpectedly, the Royal party visited Portland, and landed at the Albert Pier, where they were received by Commodore Ryder, of the Coast-guard Service; Captain Rice, of H.M.S. "St. George" (coast-guard), Mr. John Coode, engineer-in-chief of the breakwater, and other officials. Carriages were in waiting for the Royal visitors on landing at the Victoria Pier. They first proceeded to the fortification works in progress on the Verne Heights, where they were received by the commanding officer of the Royal Engineers stationed at Portland, and, after inspecting the forts, and being shown some curious fossil deposits which have been brought to light in excavating the Verne Ditch, with which the Royal party seemed highly interested, they proceeded on a truck, especially prepared for the occasion, to the end of the breakwater, now nearly two miles in length, and, after inspecting the new fort in course of construction at its northern extremity, and witnessing the divers at work—a sight which evidently afforded much gratification to their Royal Highnesses—the Royal party re-embarked on board the "Osborne," which was anchored off the end of the breakwater, and proceeded to the eastward at 2.30 p.m., amid the enthusiastic cheers of the workmen assembled and a Royal salute from Her Majesty's ship "St. George."

The "Osborne" arrived safely at Cowes at 8 p.m. on the same evening.

28. EXTRAORDINARY CASE OF CHILD MURDER.—At Exeter Assizes Mary Jane Harris, aged twenty-three, and Charlotte Winsor, aged forty-five, were placed at the bar on a charge of having murdered Thomas Edward Gibson Harris, on the 14th of February, at Torquay. The prisoners were not called upon to plead, as they had been tried on this charge at the preceding assizes before Baron Channell. The jury were locked up on that occasion for several hours, but at twelve o'clock on a Saturday night, as they declared there was no chance of their agreeing upon a verdict, the learned baron discharged them, but ordered the prisoners to be detained in custody to be again tried at the present assizes. Mr. Justice

Keating presided, and all parties being agreed, it was resolved that the prisoner Harris, whose child the murdered one was, should give evidence. Her story, which was of the most extraordinary character, was as follows:—

“In February last I was a servant at Mrs. Wansey’s. I went there on the 12th of December last. Before that I had lived thirteen weeks with Mrs. Gibson. I went to Mrs. Gibson’s, and was confined at her house on the 16th of October. I had the child registered as Thomas Edward Gibson Harris. It was a fine child. On the 12th of December the prisoner called on me, and we took the child to the prisoner, having on the 10th of December made an arrangement with her to take care of it. I had previously been to two other persons to ask them to take care of it. It had three short frocks, two long ones, three shifts, two white petticoats, two flannel petticoats, and one pair of white socks. It had nothing for its head. I saw the child four times while it was at the prisoner’s. As we were taking the child to the prisoner, I said there had been one child picked up in the country. The prisoner said, ‘I wonder I have not got myself into it once before.’ She had put one away for a girl who had been confined at her house, who had promised to give her 3*l.*, but she did not give it her. I asked her how she did it. She said she put her finger under the jugular vein. She said she had stifled one three weeks old for Elizabeth Darwin, and thrown it into Torbay, and when it was picked up it was nearly washed all to pieces; that she had put away one for her sister Poory, as her sister said she would give her 4*l.* While her sister was staying at the house she directed a letter to be left at the Jolly Sailor for the father of the child, and she received a 5*l.* note by return of post. She said she only gave her 2*l.*, but said that when her husband returned from sea she would make her a handsome present; but she had not done it. I then went on with her to her house and had tea. I asked her if she was not afraid. She said, ‘To — with you; it’s doing good,’ and she would help any one that would never split upon her. I was leaving, and she said, ‘I’ll do whatever lies in my power for your child.’ I said, ‘All right,’ and went away. I saw my child a fortnight after in Mrs. Wansey’s kitchen. The prisoner brought it. She said if I would give her 5*l.* she would do away with the child. I said I had not got 5*l.* to give her. She asked me to give her a note to the father of the child. I said I could not do that. She said, ‘Get it any how else; I’ll put them all by for thee, if thee hast forty.’ I said I should not do any such thing. She said she did, and I could do the same. The prisoner was there better than half an hour. She then went away. On Sunday, February 5, I saw the child at the prisoner’s. I got there about half-past seven; they were in bed. I knocked at the bed-room window. She said, ‘Is that Mary?’ I said, ‘Yes; I want to come in and see my child.’ She said, ‘My husband will let you in,’ and he let me in. I went into her bed-

room; the child was in bed with her. She said, 'I've made it all right with my husband; I sha'n't keep the child after the quarter.' She said if I would give her the 5*l*. she would do away with the child, and asked me if I would come over one day in the week and take away the child. I said she might if she liked. I asked her how she could do it. She said she could get something at the chemist's. On the 8th of February I asked leave to go out, but I went out on the 9th to the prisoner's, and got there at half-past three; the baby was tied in the chair, and the granddaughter playing with it. The prisoner was sitting on a stool. After talking a little time she sent the little girl out. After she was gone the prisoner said she did not do it before I came out, because if I told on her I must tell on myself, for one would be as bad as the other. I said I would never tell if we were never found out. She asked me if she should do it. I asked her how she would do it. She said put it between the bed-ticks. She then took the child into the girl Pratt's bed-room. I did not go. She stayed ten minutes; she then came back without the baby. She asked me to look in; she said it would soon die. I looked in, and saw the bed made, but no child. The child did not cry. The prisoner's husband came in, and asked, 'Where's the boy?' She said her aunt had been in and taken it away. He said, 'Oh!' She brought him a pail, and he fastened the handle. I asked him where he was going with the pail. He said up to the wood. He went away, and the prisoner said to me, 'Did you hear the child cry?' I said, 'No.' She said, 'I did, and I was afraid my husband would hear it.' The girl Pratt came back and stayed a short time, but was sent out again by the prisoner to fetch some buns. The girl went out, and the prisoner said she must make haste, as her girl would soon be back. She went out of the room and came back with the baby. It was dead. She undressed it, and we went into the bed-room and opened a box. I took out the things it contained. She wrapped the child up in newspapers, and then she put it into the box. I put down the lid, and she locked it and put the key into her pocket. Pratt came home, and the prisoner told her that Mary's aunt had been and taken away little Tommy, and put red socks on it. I had given her a piece of carpet, which is the one in which the child was found. I then made an engagement to meet the prisoner on the 14th at the Clarence Hotel, to go over around Paignton with the child. I did not meet her. I saw her on the 15th at Mrs. Wansey's. She came there with her little girl. She had a basket. She said, 'You did not come out last night.' I said, 'No.' She said, 'Never mind; let me have 4*s*. to take it up to Exeter.' I said I had not 4*s*. She said I might draw from my mistress. I went to Mrs. Wansey, who gave me 1*s*. 6*d*. I gave it to the prisoner, and said I could not get any more. The prisoner said she would send up the next day for the rest, and she did send, but I had not the 2*s*. 6*d*. On the next Sunday I went to Mrs. Gibson's and had some conversation



with her, and then I went to the prisoner's house. She said, 'Oh, it's you, Mary.' I said, 'Yes.' She said she had just come home. I said, 'There has been a child picked up, between three and four months old.' She said, 'Yes; they tell me Government will take it in hand.' I said, 'So they ought.' We went into her bed-room. She said, 'I've got you under the rabbit-box.' I said, 'Have you really?' She said, 'Yes, I have.' I said, 'Mrs. Gibson has dreamt it was mine, and that you have killed it and I am going to be hung for it.' She said, 'Oh, nonsense; don't let her get any thing out of you.' I asked her again if she had it, and she said, 'Yes, I have, upon my soul.' She said she was going away to-morrow, if I had not come, as she had received a letter from Plymouth enclosing an order for 3*l.* from a girl she had done it for before, asking her if she could take her in again for 4*l.*, as she was looking to be confined soon. She had sent back to say she would not, as, if she had been honest, she would have paid in the first place. She could not go in the train with my child, because there was such an air with it, but she should take it out on the moor. On the Wednesday I was apprehended. On the Friday she came to me at the station, and she made a sign round her throat. In the gaol I asked her if she had seen the child. She said, 'Yes.' I asked if it was my child; she said she could hardly tell, it had been dead so long, but I was not going to hang her. Coming up in the train I asked her if it was my child. She said, 'I rather think it is.' I said, 'Did you carry the child there?' She said, 'I did not.' I said, 'Who could have done it, then?' She said, 'That's a mystery.' I said, 'You know you were there; the little girl said you were.' She said, 'Yes, I was. I went to show her where you lived.' I saw her again in the gaol, and I asked her if she did carry my child there, and she said, 'I did.'"

In cross-examination the girl was pressed very severely on one point, respecting which she admitted that the conversation respecting the murdering of children took place as they were going to her house, and yet she left her child with her and wished it to live. "Farmer Nicholls, the father of the child," she added, "allowed me something for the child, but not after it went to the prisoner's. I had had a few words with Nicholls, and had had 3*s.* 6*d.* a week for a previous child. I had known Nicholls seven years. I never had but those two children. I never took any thing to procure abortion. The intercourse was carried on for six years and a half. Although the prisoner told me of so many murders, yet I trusted my child with her when the other refused to take it. I did not go into the bed-room to prevent its being killed, as she had filled my mind up, and I was led away by her. I used to go to church, but not after this had occurred. My conscience has induced me to speak the truth. I do not expect to be pardoned. I don't know what is to be done with me." The witness gave her evidence with great calmness, but her statement created the

greatest sensation in a very crowded court. The prisoner sobbed bitterly when Mr. Carter stated that he should call Harris, and was detailing some of the facts of the evidence she would give. It evidently took her by the greatest surprise.

The medical evidence went to show that the symptoms exhibited in the child picked up were consistent with death having been caused by either exposure to cold or suffocation. In either case the symptoms would be much alike.

Mr. Folkard addressed the jury in defence of the prisoner Winsor, contending that it had not been clearly proved that the child found was the child of the woman Harris. The body, if murdered when Harris said that it was, would have been decomposed when found, seven days after. The body found was not decomposed in the least. This he thought proved beyond doubt that the child found was not the child of Harris. He thought the evidence of Harris should not be taken as truth, uncorroborated as it was in any particular. He also commented upon the absence of motive on the part of Winsor, contending that she had a direct interest in keeping it alive, as she would then receive 3s. 6d. per week for its keep. It had not been proved that any amount of money, beyond 1s. 6d., had been given by Harris to the prisoner. He suggested whether Harris had not taken the child away from Winsor's, and whether she did not tell the prisoner that she was going to take it to her aunt's on the moor.

His lordship summed up the case very minutely. He said the jury should not believe the evidence of an accomplice, except that evidence was corroborated in some material particular. That the witness Harris stood in the light of an accomplice was beyond all doubt, and seldom had ears heard more hideous revelations than those made in the box by Harris yesterday. She had placed herself before them as the murderer of her child, and could the facts she stated have been proved by independent witnesses, undoubtedly she would have stood in the same position as the prisoner at the bar. Notwithstanding the taint that attached to Harris, if they thought her evidence was materially corroborated, they must find the prisoner guilty. His lordship then read over the evidence to the jury very minutely, drawing their attention to the parts which particularly bore against the prisoner. His summing up occupied two hours.

The jury retired, and after an hour and a half's absence found the prisoner *Guilty*.

His lordship then assumed the black cap, and passed sentence of death upon the prisoner, cautioning her not to hope for any mercy, but to prepare her soul for death. The prisoner cried convulsively during the passing of the sentence.

The execution of this sentence was afterwards respited by order of the Secretary of State, a doubt having been raised as to the validity of the trial, on the ground that the prisoner had been on a former occasion put on her trial for the same offence, but the

jury being unable to agree, were discharged, and the prisoner was remanded to custody. Upon this technical objection, which appears to have been regarded as of some importance in high quarters, the execution of the sentence was respited until the opinion of the judges could be taken upon the question.

— **GOODWOOD RACES.**—**THE CUP.**—This race, popularly regarded as the last great summer racing *fête* of the season, was this year decided as follows:—

The **GOODWOOD CUP**, value 300 sovs., added to a Sweepstakes of 20 sovs. each, h.-ft.; the owner of the second horse to receive 100 sovs. out of the stakes; two miles and a half; 28 subs.

Mr. W. S. Cartwright's Ely, by Kingston, out of	
The Bloomer, 4 yrs., 9st. 7lb. (Custance)	1
Lord Stamford's Cambuscan, 4 yrs., 9st. (Carroll)	2
Mr. Savile's Privateer, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (Loates)	3
Lord Glasgow's General Peel, 4 yrs., 9st. 7lb.	
(Aldcroft)	0
Mr. W. Morris's Union Jack, 4 yrs., 9st. (Fordham)	0
Baron Rothschild's Breeze, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb.	
(Wells)	0
Mr. Perry's Hollyfox, 4 yrs., 8st. 5lb. (W. Boyce)	0
Duke of Beaufort's Todleben, 3 yrs., 7st. 7lb.	
(Cannon)	0
Mr. W. Robinson's Eltham, 3 yrs., 7st. 7lb. (H.	
Grimshaw)	0

Betting.—100 to 30 agst. Eltham, 4 to 1 agst. Ely, 5 to 1 agst. General Peel, 6 to 1 agst. Cambuscan, 8 to 1 agst. Union Jack, 15 to 1 each agst. Breeze and Privateer, and 20 to 1 agst. Todleben.

— **THE EXECUTION OF DR. PRITCHARD.**—At ten minutes past eight this morning the extreme sentence of the law was executed at Edinburgh, in the presence of about 80,000 persons, upon Dr. Pritchard, of Glasgow, for the murder by poison of his wife and mother-in-law. The unhappy man retired to rest the night before shortly after eleven o'clock, slept soundly till five o'clock, when he rose and dressed himself in the suit of mourning which he wore when apprehended, on returning from conveying the body of his wife to Edinburgh. He was visited by the junior chaplain at six o'clock, and with him engaged in devotional exercises till half-past seven o'clock. He was then visited by the Rev. Dr. McLeod, the editor of *Good Words*, and the Rev. Mr. Oldham. The religious services conducted by these gentlemen were continued till eight o'clock. The executioner was then admitted, and pinioned the convict. The procession was then formed, and made its way to the Court-hall, where Bailie Brown, the presiding magistrate, asked the prisoner whether he had any thing to say. Dr. Pritchard, in a firm and clear, but sepulchral, tone of voice, said, "Simply to acknowledge the justice of my sentence." The procession once more set out on its way to the gibbet, during which time Dr.



Pritchard, his eyes turned upwards, seemed to be asking aid from on High. He walked firmly and unassisted up the stairs to the scaffold on to the drop. When every thing had been adjusted the fatal bolt was drawn, and he was launched into eternity. He died uneasily. The body was cut down half an hour afterwards.

29. GRAND VOLUNTEER REVIEW IN WINDSOR GREAT PARK.—A grand review and field day of the Berkshire volunteer battalions, as well as metropolitan volunteer regiments, took place in the Great Park at Windsor, under the sanction of Her Majesty the Queen. The metropolitan regiments which took part in the review were the Queen's (Westminster), the Victorias, and St. George's Rifles. The Queen's, under the command of Lord Gerald Fitz-Gerald, assisted by Major and Adjutant Charter, to the number of about 400; the St. George's, to the number of nearly 350, under Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Loyd Lindsay, Major Gordon Ives, and Captain and Adjutant Tate; and a detachment of the Victorias under command of Captains Dickenson and Hay, marched to the Waterloo station of the London and South-Western Railway, and were conveyed in a train composed of some forty carriages at 4 p.m., reaching the Windsor station of the South-Western Railway shortly after five. The battalions having been formed, then marched to the Long Walk, about the centre of which the Berkshire Administrative Battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Loyd Lindsay, M.P., and the other officers of the battalion, were in waiting to receive them. The whole force then marched into the Great Park, where an immense number of spectators, including the nobility and gentry of the district in their carriages, were assembled to witness the evolutions. The ground was admirably kept by a strong detachment of the 2nd Battalion of Coldstream Guards under Colonel Carleton.

Major-General Seymour, C.B., Deputy Ranger of Windsor Great Park, took the command, and acted as Inspecting General, whilst the members of the staff consisted of the Honourable Colonel Colville, Deputy Inspector of Volunteers; Major Lindsay, of the Mayo Militia Rifles; Lieutenant Seymour, of the Grenadier, and Lieutenant Farquharson, of the Coldstream Guards, &c.

On reaching the Great Park the battalions were formed up in contiguous columns facing towards the castle, where they awaited the arrival of the commanding general and his staff. Having presented arms, the march past took place, the whole of the battalions going by in admirable style. The Victorias were then detached from the main body to act as an enemy, and shortly after the cracking of the rifles from the eastern side of the Long Walk, sheltered by the trees, told that the enemy had sent out his skirmishers to feel his way. The Berks battalions, the Queen's, and the St. George's, which were the defending force, having taken up their position on the west, deployed into line, resting on that part of the park known as Queen Anne's Ride, and then

advanced into the noble plateau designated as Queen Anne's "Mead." The sham fight which took place was obstinately maintained and carried on with great spirit on both sides. After a great variety of evolutions had been gone through, the enemy were called in, and formed a part and parcel of the main body. The battalions were then formed up in close column of battalions, and the word having been given, "Officers to the front,"

General Seymour said he had had the greatest pleasure in witnessing the movements of the battalions of volunteers then before him that day. If they were not as efficient as they had a right to expect they ought to be, when compared with the Guards or regiments of the line, still they exhibited the fact that the volunteers had been most assiduous and attentive to their training, and to their drill. It could not be expected that those who had so comparatively few opportunities of meeting and drilling with each other could be as efficient as regular trained troops, who had nothing else to do, but still their movements had been most steady and praiseworthy. He should feel it to be his duty to make a most favourable report of the excellent drill and state of efficiency in which he had found these battalions both to the Horse Guards and to the War Office, and he (General Seymour) felt assured that the Commander-in-Chief would be well pleased to hear such an account as he should feel it his duty to present as to their efficiency. He wished them all a good evening.

The various corps then marched off the ground, the metropolitan volunteers to the railway station, by which they returned to town.

The review and field day were in every respect a great success.

31. DESTRUCTION OF THE SHIP "GLASGOW" BY FIRE.—This fine vessel was totally destroyed by conflagration, arising from an accident which ignited the cotton stowed in the fore part of the ship. The "Glasgow" was an iron screw steamer, built in 1851, of 400-horse power. Her gross tonnage was 1696, and her registered tonnage was 1153, and she was owned by Mr. William Inman, of Liverpool. She left New York on her homeward voyage to Liverpool at 4 a.m. on the 30th of July, under the command of Mr. Henry Manning, who holds a certificate of competency dated in 1851, and she had a crew of 69, all told. She carried 27 cabin and 198 steerage passengers, and a general cargo, consisting of cotton, grain, leather, &c. The ship was in good order and well equipped.

The holds being full, a portion of the cotton was carried in the fore steerage and berths, extending from the fore-castle bulkhead to three feet abaft the main hatchway. In stowing this cotton sufficient care had not been taken by the stevedore at New York to keep the bales clear of the sounding-well of the fire-compartment which was on the starboard side, and only accessible from the main deck, and instead of leaving the vacancy on that side of the vessel, the stevedore had left it on the port side, and

unfortunately the officers of the ship had omitted to discover the mistake. Soon after leaving New York the carpenter in the discharge of his duty ascertained that the foremost sounding-well was thus covered up, and reported it to the chief officer accordingly, who promised him that the obstruction should be removed at the first opportunity. On the following day the carpenter, on sounding the main well, found more water than usual, and became the more anxious, therefore, to sound the fore compartment, and on again reporting it to the chief officer he promised him that he would send the watch in the course of the day to clear away the cotton, so that he might get at the well. Accordingly, about 1.30 p.m., the carpenter went below with Whitehead, the boatswain's mate, to point out to him what he required to be done, and they took with them a bull's-eye lantern fastened by a sliding pin. The cotton extended to about 20 ft. abaft the sounding-well, and a passage had been left over the cotton to admit of one man crawling in at a time. The carpenter preceded Whitehead, who carried the lantern. On reaching the vacant space near the sounding-well, the carpenter got down into it, and presently called to Whitehead to hand him the lantern, in order that he might more clearly point out to him that which he wished to be done. Raising himself to take the lantern, he caught it with his head or shoulder, and knocked it out of Whitehead's hand. In falling, the lantern burst open, and the lamp fell out among the cotton, which immediately ignited, the fire rapidly spreading. Both men endeavoured to extinguish it with their hands, but were compelled shortly to scramble out, not before the carpenter had been considerably burnt in the face and hands.

The alarm was at once given, the fire-hoses were promptly applied, a service of buckets was organized, and every effort was judiciously made to subdue the fire, but in vain, and after several hours of unremitting exertion they were compelled to abandon the ship. Fortunately, the "Rosamond," an American bark, commanded by Captain F. S. Wallace, hove in sight, and he kindly received the passengers and crew at the sacrifice of some portion of his cargo, which he threw overboard to make room for them.

The ship's plate, some provisions, and a part of the passengers' luggage were saved. Two days afterwards they were transferred to the "Erin" steamer, which landed them safely at New York without loss of life. All the crew behaved well, and with the assistance of some of the passengers exerted themselves to the last.

An inquiry was instituted by the Board of Trade into the cause of the calamity, and the report stated that it was to be attributed to accident, caused by the improper stowage of cotton in the steerage of the vessel.



## AUGUST.

2. INAUGURATION OF THE WELSH MEMORIAL TO THE LATE PRINCE CONSORT.—This ceremony took place at Tenby in the presence of Prince Arthur, who arrived the previous evening, coming by road, and taking Crewe Castle in his route. He travelled in an open chariot drawn by four horses, and was accompanied by Sir Charles Phipps and two other gentlemen, one of whom was said to be the Prince of Leiningen. The Royal party entered Tenby by the Pembroke-road. A few minutes after the appointed time (six o'clock) a single gun fired from the battery of the 1st Pembrokeshire (Tenby) Volunteers, followed by a Royal salute, announced the arrival of the Royal visitor within the precincts of the town, and shortly afterwards the carriage containing His Royal Highness, with Colonel Phipps and the rest of his suite, was seen approaching the Gate House Hotel. There were at this time in waiting to receive His Royal Highness at the hotel, the Bishop of St. David's, Lord Llanover, Mr. Lord Phillips, M.P., Colonel Stepney, the Mayor of Tenby, other members of the corporation, magistrates, &c. As many people as the street could conveniently hold were also assembled round the hotel. As the carriage drove up to the hotel the cheers of the populace rent the air; hats and kerchiefs were waved; and the sun for a moment shone out a cheerful welcome. In the midst of these demonstrations, which the Prince very affably and graciously acknowledged, His Royal Highness alighted, and shook hands with Lord Llanover and several other gentlemen; and his worship the mayor, having been introduced to the Prince, conducted him through the hall to his apartments, the Prince graciously acknowledging the respectful salutations of the privileged few who had assembled here. His Royal Highness appeared much gratified with the cordial and respectful reception which he had met with, and, observing that the people still lingered in the street, he came forward to one of the front windows and showed himself. Another hearty cheer was raised, and the population then dispersed. His Royal Highness gave a dinner party late in the evening to a select few of the distinguished people of the district.

The memorial was commenced in December, 1864, when the first stone was laid—a massive block of Welsh marble—in which was a cavity enclosing an inscription on vellum, dedicating the memorial as a “mark of loyalty to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and of affectionate respect and gratitude to the memory of her Royal Consort, Prince Albert the Good.” The monument consists of a statue of the late Prince Consort, 8 ft. 9 in. high,

carved from a block of the finest Sicilian marble. It stands upon a pedestal 18 ft. high, which is formed of grey marble (the native limestone of the district), and has four engraved panels of Sicilian marble. The pedestal rests upon a platform, at the top of three ranges of steps, forming a square of  $23\frac{1}{2}$  ft. The blocks of the foundation are grafted into the solid rock, and a mound of earth neatly turfed slopes into unity with the Castle Hill, of which it forms the summit. The figure stands with the head uncovered and baton in hand, attired in a field-marshal's uniform, and wearing the mantle and collar of the Order of the Garter. The artist is Mr. John Evan Thomas, a native of South Wales. The pedestal was built by Mr. Thomas, of Pembroke, under the superintendence of Mr. H. Maule Finch, architect. The panel to the statue's right hand presents a shield, upon which are sculptured, in high relief, the arms of the earliest kings of Wales, borne by Llewellyn ab Gruffyd, the last native sovereign. The panel behind the statue is distinguished by originality of design. It represents the monogram of Her Majesty and Prince Albert within an escutcheon, which is supported on the one side by the rampant "Red Dragon of Cadwalader," and rests the other upon a partially recumbent but resilient leek, a scroll being interwoven, inscribed with the old motto, "Anvrchfygol Ddraig Cymru," which, being interpreted, means "The Dragon of Wales is invincible." The panel to the left hand of the statue bears a shield charged with the late Prince's hereditary arms, quartered with those of Her Majesty. The front panel forms a tablet, upon which the following inscription is engraved in large and ancient characters:—

"Albert Dda, Priod ein Gorhoffus Frenhines, Victoria (Albert the Good, Consort of our beloved Queen Victoria). This memorial of His Royal Highness Prince Albert was raised by the inhabitants of Wales, and inaugurated at Tenby by His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, his third son, on the 2nd day of August, 1865."

The statue is placed on an elevated position on Castle Hill, a peninsula jutting out into the sea from the town, and its elevated position brings it on a level with the top of the spire of the parish church of Tenby. It is therefore visible at a great distance at sea and from the land, and it is believed that it will be seen, with a good glass, from the opposite coast of Devon.

Before the inauguration had taken place, the Mayor of Tenby, as chairman of the memorial committee, read an address from the people of Wales, to which His Royal Highness made the following reply:—

"Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—I hardly know how to thank you as I could wish for your kind address. How deeply it would have touched and pleased my dear mother, could she have been here herself to witness, in the reception which I, as her son, have this day met with, the proof of the unshaken loyalty and affection of her Welsh subjects; and, above all, to trace in the noble work of art to be now uncovered such gratifying evidence of their reverence

for the great and noble qualities of my beloved father, and appreciation of his great public services! I shall never forget this day, nor your kind welcome; and I shall ever think, with pride and pleasure, of having been allowed, young as I am, to represent my dear mother on this most interesting occasion."

6. PRINCE ALFRED.—The formal recognition of Prince Alfred of England as heir to the Duchy of Saxé-Coburg took place at the capital of that state this day, being the twenty-first anniversary of His Royal Highness's birthday.

8. HER MAJESTY'S EMBARKATION FOR GERMANY.—The Queen, with Prince Leopold, the Princesses Helena, Louisa, Beatrice, and suite, embarked for Germany this evening at a quarter-past six o'clock at the Royal Arsenal Pier, in the presence of a large multitude of her loyal subjects, to whom every accommodation was afforded. The Royal train, consisting of seven carriages—Her Majesty's carriage being in the centre—was met at the Waterloo station by Mr. Teulon (the director), Mr. Eborall (general manager), Mr. Knight (traffic superintendent), and Mr. Ashcroft (engineer of the South-Eastern Railway Company), who accompanied the train to Woolwich, the time occupied in the transit from Waterloo to Plumstead station being exactly thirty minutes. The train entered the Royal Arsenal at five minutes past six o'clock, amidst Royal salutes from the guns of the "Fisgard" flag-ship, and a battery of artillery at the garrison. Her Majesty and the Royal family were accompanied by Viscount Sydney Lord Chamberlain, Lord Clarence Paget, the Duchess of Roxburghe, Lady Churchill, General Grey, Sir Thomas Biddulph, and Dr. Jenner; and on alighting from the carriages at the end of the pier, Her Majesty and suite were received by Commodore Dunlop (flag officer of the port), Major-General Ward (commandant), and a staff of field officers. The pier and its approaches presented a brilliant appearance from the number of elegantly attired ladies, military and naval officers, &c., who were stationed on either side in a double file behind railings, whilst every available spot commanding a view of the Royal party, and even the roofs of sheds and workshops, were crowded by the workmen employed at the establishment, and others who testified their loyalty by repeated cheers. The bands of the Royal Artillery and Royal Marines were stationed at the pier head, and the pier itself was fitted up and decorated in a very handsome manner. Her Majesty and the Royal family and suite were conducted to the place of embarkation by Commodore Dunlop and other officers, Her Majesty leading the Princess Beatrice, and followed by Prince Leopold, the Princesses Louisa and Helena, with Prince Arthur, who went on board the "Alberta," but did not accompany the Royal family down the river. Her Majesty, who was attired in deep mourning, appeared in good health and spirits, and repeatedly acknowledged in a most gracious manner the marks of loyalty received from those assembled



on the pier. On arriving at the pier head, Her Majesty and the Royal party walked on board the steam vessel "Alberta," and were received on board by his Serene Highness Prince Leiningen, commander of the Royal steam yacht, with whom Her Majesty shook hands in a cordial manner. During the embarkation the military bands performed the National Anthem, and the loyalty of the assembled multitude found vent in repeated cheering. After the baggage had been taken on board, Her Majesty took leave of Prince Arthur, who, accompanied by Major Elphinstone, returned to Greenwich, and the "Alberta" steamed down the river to Greenhithe, where Her Majesty embarked on board the Royal yacht, and proceeded to the Nore, where the Royal squadron remained during the night, and proceeded to Antwerp the next morning.

Her Majesty arrived at Coburg on the 11th, at 8 a.m., and immediately proceeded to Rosenau.

11. MURDER OF AN OFFICER.—This afternoon a determined attempt to murder Major Francis Horatio De Vere, of the Royal Engineers, was made by a sapper named Curry, belonging to the corps stationed at Brompton Barracks, near Chatham, by discharging a loaded rifle at that officer as he was on the barrack parade ground, in the discharge of his military duties. At the time of the occurrence the companies of Royal Engineers had just fallen in on the parade ground for their afternoon's duties, while the Sappers and Miners employed on the field-works—of which Major De Vere was the principal instructor—were being told off for their respective duties. At this time Major De Vere was in conversation with a group of officers, and had just moved away a few steps when the report of a rifle discharged from an upper window of No. 4 room, K block of houses, was heard, and at that instant Major De Vere, who was standing about thirty yards from the window, suddenly threw up his arms, exclaiming, "My God! my God! I'm shot!" and instantly sank into the arms of some of the officers, who ran to his assistance on hearing his exclamations. On being conveyed into the quarters of one of the officers, and medical assistance procured, it was discovered that the rifle bullet had entered just below the shoulder (Major De Vere standing at the time with his back towards his intended murderer), passing through the left lung, and making its exit just below the left breast. The direction the bullet took could be distinctly traced on the ground where Major De Vere was standing, the ground being torn up, while the ball rebounded, passing over the heads of the men on parade, not one of whom was touched, although there were several hundred in the barrack-square at the time of the occurrence. Curry was seen to give a smile of satisfaction on observing that he had shot his victim. On leaving the window he walked into an adjoining room, where he was arrested by Lieutenant Dunford and some of the Royal Engineers, when

a second rifle was found loaded in his room, leading to the inference that the accused had intended discharging that likewise at his victim if the first had failed in its effect. Curry was immediately conveyed to the orderly-room, without attempting the least resistance or uttering a word. At the time of the occurrence, Curry was acting as cook's mate for the day, and had previously been employed on the Royal Engineer field-works, in sapping and mining operations under Major De Vere, the instructor of the Royal Engineer establishment. For some military offence the accused had been confined by Major De Vere to the cells for six days, and he had also an additional term of duty to perform on the field-works by the same officer's orders, and it was this circumstance which fostered a feeling of revenge in his breast, and led him to the attempt on that officer's life. The accused is described as being a man of generally good character, and of a mild disposition. He has been in the Royal Engineers for about twelve months, having been transferred to that corps from a country regiment. His general character since he had been in the Royal Engineers was stated to have been good. Major De Vere had only filled the appointment of principal instructor in field fortifications at the Royal Engineer establishment during the past twelve months. He had seen very considerable service, having served throughout the whole of the campaign in the Crimea, and subsequently in India and China. The principal medical officers of the garrison were in attendance on Major De Vere from the time of the occurrence, and were unremitting in their attentions. For some time hopes were entertained that his life might be saved, but the case afterwards took an unfavourable turn, and on the 22nd he expired. Curry was brought before the magistrates of the county on the following day, on the charge of wilful murder. The prisoner, who appeared to be about twenty years of age, exhibited much unconcern. The following witnesses were examined:—

Lieutenant Arthur Dunford, of the Royal Engineers, was the first witness examined: He said he knew the deceased, Major Francis Horatio De Vere. On Friday, the 11th of August, the witness was standing on the parade ground at Brompton Barracks, Major De Vere being a short distance off, with Captain Hime between him and the witness. At that time there were about four hundred or five hundred men and several officers on the parade. Major De Vere was then on duty. Witness had his attention attracted by hearing the report of a rifle, which at the moment he thought was fired from the ranks. On looking round he saw Major De Vere falling into the arms of Captain Hime, and on hastening to his assistance he heard him exclaim twice, "O my God!" Witness saw blood running from the front part of his coat. With assistance, witness carried the deceased off the parade ground, and on the way to the officers' quarters met Dr. Seddall,

who told them to lay him down. The witness then heard that the shot had been fired from the window of one of the houses, when he at once ordered sentries to be posted at the front and rear of each of the houses on that side of the barracks, to prevent any person leaving. On proceeding into No. 4 room, the house from the window of which the shot had been fired, the witness saw the prisoner, who was the only person in the room. On asking him, "Did you do this?" the prisoner without hesitation answered, "Yes, sir." On being requested by the witness to point out his rifle he did so, the rifle being then in the arm band adjoining his bed. The ammunition pouch was also in its place near the bed. The witness took possession of the rifle and pouch, and on examining the latter, saw that one round of ball cartridge and two caps were missing. The rifle also had the appearance as if it had lately been discharged. The prisoner was afterwards taken to the guard room, and he had had no conversation with him since.

The prisoner declined asking the witness any questions.

William Mason, a private sapper in the Royal Engineers, said he had known the accused ever since he had joined the corps, about eleven months ago. On the 11th inst., the witness occupied a room close to that in which the prisoner was stopping, on the other side of the passage. On that day the witness and prisoner had both been serving as cook's mate. Witness heard the report of a rifle, and on going to the window to see what it was, he saw Major De Vere in the arms of some officers, and heard him say, "O my God!" The distance the major was at that time standing from the window, was about fifteen yards. After Major De Vere had been carried away, the witness went into the prisoner's room to direct his attention to what had occurred. The prisoner was there alone, and the witness, who spoke first, said to him, "My God, Curry, there's Major De Vere shot. Don't you see it?" Prisoner replied, "Yes, I did it." Witness said, "You did it?" when he answered, "Yes, why shouldn't I shoot the old b——?" Witness could not recollect whether he said, "Why shouldn't I?" or "Why couldn't I?" but believed it was the former. At the time he went into the prisoner's room, he was seated on his bed, which was folded up. The witness then left the room and saw Lieutenant Dunford, with whom he returned, and the prisoner was then marched away to the guard room. There were three windows to each of the barrack rooms. At the time the rifle was fired the window in No. 3 room was open; but he could not say whether the window was open in the prisoner's room.

No questions were put by the prisoner to this witness.

Corporal George Pring, Royal Engineers, said he accompanied Lieutenant Dunford to No. 4 room, K house, Brompton Barracks, on the afternoon of the 11th inst. The prisoner was then in the room, and witness heard Lieutenant Dunford ask him if



he was the man who had fired the rifle. Prisoner answered "Yes." On being asked for his rifle, he pointed out where it was, and it was taken away by Lieutenant Dunford. The prisoner was then taken to the guard room, but made no remark on his way there.

James Balfour Cockburn, M.D., surgeon of the Royal Engineers, said the deceased officer came under his care on the day he was shot. Witness first saw him at about nine o'clock in the evening, in the room to which he had been removed. He was then suffering from the effects of a gunshot wound. Early the following morning, shortly after daylight, the witness made a careful examination of the wound, and discovered that the bullet must have entered the posterior part of the body, close to the blade-bone, through an interspace between the ribs, penetrating portions of the left lung, and that it had escaped just at the inner side of the left nipple, breaking one of the ribs in its exit. The lung was injured seriously. There was very little internal hemorrhage, and scarcely any on the outside. The wound showed that the bullet passed through the body in a very sloping direction. The collapse was of several hours' duration: but after a few days a favourable reaction set in, and the patient continued in a fair way of recovery for a few days until fever made its appearance. This, however, was checked; but on the 20th inflammatory symptoms became apparent, so as to cause considerable alarm. These, nevertheless, were again checked, and on the next day Major De Vere rallied considerably. About noon on the 22nd another change for the worse took place, the exhaustion being too great to allow of his recovery; and he died shortly before ten o'clock in the evening. The immediate cause of death undoubtedly was inflammation of the lungs, arising from the gun-shot wound, and such as would have been caused by a bullet.

Superintendent Thomas Robert Everist, of the Chatham division of police, said he had had the prisoner in his custody ever since the day of the murder, and had told him from time to time of Major De Vere's condition. On one occasion after he had told the prisoner that Major De Vere was better, the prisoner said, "I am happy for what I have done. I think I have done right, and I hope God will forgive me." On telling him that morning that Major De Vere was dead, and that he would now be charged with murder, the prisoner asked what time he died, and on the witness telling him, he turned round on his bed and remarked, "All right."

Mr. Nicholson, having read the usual caution, asked the prisoner if he had any thing to say in answer to the charge, adding that whatever he said would be taken down in writing, and might be used in evidence against him at his trial.

The prisoner, in a mild tone of voice, and with a smile on his countenance, replied that he had nothing to say, and he was fully committed for trial. The trial took place at the Central Criminal

Court, where the prisoner was found guilty, received sentence of death, and suffered execution.

17. THE ATLANTIC CABLE.—Telegraphic information was this day received from Crookhaven of the arrival of the "Great Eastern," bringing the news of the failure of the fourth attempt that has been made of late years to establish telegraphic communication between Europe and America by means of a deep-sea cable. The enterprise was commenced in 1857, and, as on the last occasion, the paying out of the cable was commenced from the Irish coast. On the 7th of August in that year two men-of-war, the "Niagara" (American) and the "Agamemnon" (British), started from Valentia, the "Niagara" alone paying out; and all went on well, until, at 3.45 a.m. on the 11th, the cable parted, owing to some mistake on the part of the man in charge of the paying-out apparatus. At the time of the parting of the cable, the depth of water was 2000 fathoms, or about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles, and 380 statute miles of the telegraph had been paid out. The two ships returned to Keyham dock, where the cable was unshipped and stored until operations could be resumed in the next year.

On the 10th of June, 1858, the two ships, each with 1500 miles of cable on board, started from Plymouth for a second trial. This time they met mid-ocean, in lat.  $52^{\circ} 0.2'$ , and long.  $33^{\circ} 18'$ , and there the two ends of the cable were spliced together; the "Agamemnon" steaming towards the east, and the "Niagara" west, proceeded with their work of paying out. The splice was effected on the 26th of June. When six miles had been paid out, the cable became entangled and broke. The accident was discovered immediately, and the two ships retraced their course till they again met. A second splice was made, and again the ships started on their mission. On the 27th, when forty-two miles had been paid out, a break in the continuity was again observed, and for a second time the vessels returned to the rendezvous, and again a new splice was made.

A third time the ships proceeded to the task, and all went on well, until, when 140 miles had been submerged, the cable broke a third time, near the stern of the "Agamemnon," so that, in a distance of 140 miles, three failures, in each instance caused by fracture, had occurred. Returning once more to the rendezvous, the ships failed to meet each other, and both returned to Queens-town, and preparations were again made for a renewal of the attempt. A month later the ships met at the old rendezvous, and again a splice was made, and on the 29th of July the process of paying out was a fourth time resumed. This time the work was accomplished in spite of repeated interruptions in the signalling between the ships, but the cable did not part, and the stoppages in the signals proved only temporary. On the 5th of August, at 1h. 45m. a.m. the "Niagara" dropped anchor in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, having run a distance of 882 miles, and paid out 1016 miles of cable. On the same day, at 6 a.m., the "Agamemnon"

anchored off Valentia, having laid 1020 miles of cable, or only four miles more than that of the sister ship. The first messages conveyed were congratulatory ones between Her Majesty the Queen and the President of the United States (Mr. Buchanan), and it was believed that the project had been successfully carried out, but this soon proved to be an error; the indications became feeble before any commercial use had been made of the cable, and shortly after they ceased entirely.

From this time until the year 1864 the project seemed to be abandoned, but then a new company was formed, under whose direction a cable of much greater strength than the former ones was manufactured, which, being completed in the summer of 1865, was placed (the major part) on board the "Great Eastern" at Sheerness, and that vessel sailed for the coast of Ireland on the 15th of July. At the same time the shore end of the cable, which was of extra strength, was dispatched in another vessel for the same quarter. The shore end was landed, and the junction of the two portions having been effected, the "Great Eastern," accompanied by the "Sphynx" and the "Terrible," sailed on the 23rd of July, and continued on her voyage to lat.  $51^{\circ} 25'$ , long.  $39^{\circ} 6'$ , being 1062.4 miles from Valentia, and 601.6 miles from Heart's Content, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland. She had then paid out 1212 miles of cable, when it parted on the 2nd of August, at 12h. 35m. p.m., in soundings of 3900 yards, under the following circumstances:—A partial loss of insulation having been discovered, the "Great Eastern" was stopped to recover that portion of the cable in which the fault lay, two electrical tests placing it probably within six miles. The cable was passed from the stern to the bow of the ship for this purpose, and after getting in two miles of cable, the fault being still overboard, the cable broke about ten yards in board of the wheel at the bow, having been injured by the chafing on the stern of the ship. Two previous faults had been discovered—the first [July 24] in soundings of about 1000 yards, and the second [July 29] in about 4000 yards—and had been successfully recovered and made good; in the first case ten miles and a half, and in the second two miles and a quarter of cable were hauled in. After the cable parted, a grapnel with two nautical miles and a half of rope were lowered down, the ship being placed so as to drift over the line of cable. The cable was hooked on the 3rd, and when 2200 yards of the rope had been hauled in, a swivel in the latter gave way, and 2800 yards of rope were lost, the cable having been lifted 1200 yards from the bottom. On the 4th, a buoy, with a flag and ball, was moored with 500 yards of rope to mark the place. It is in lat.  $51^{\circ} 35'$ , long.  $38^{\circ} 42' 30''$ . From the 4th, fogs and adverse winds prevented a further attempt until the 7th, which was then made nearer the end of the cable, and was unsuccessful from the same cause when the cable had been lifted about 1000 yards. Another buoy was here placed in lat.  $51^{\circ} 28' 30''$ , long.  $38^{\circ} 56' 9''$ .

A third attempt was made on the 10th, which failed on



account of the grapnel chain having fouled the flukes of the grapnel. The grapnel and last 800 yards of rope came up covered with ooze.

A fourth attempt was made on the 11th at 3 p.m., which also failed through the breaking of the grapnel rope when the cable had been raised 600 yards from the bottom. The position of the "Great Eastern" was then lat.  $51^{\circ} 24' N.$ , long.  $38^{\circ} 59' W.$ , end of cable distant  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles, N. 50 W.

The stock of rope being exhausted, it became absolutely necessary to proceed to England for more and stronger tackle.

The "Sphynx" had parted company on the 27th of July, but the "Terrible" remained until the 11th of August, when she proceeded to Newfoundland. The "Great Eastern," after communicating with Crookhaven, as above stated, on the 17th, made her way to Sheerness, where she arrived on the 20th, all well.

In view of the resumption of the enterprise, the following were the "practical conclusions," unanimously arrived at by those engaged in various capacities in the expedition:—

"1st. That the steamship 'Great Eastern,' from her size and consequent steadiness, together with the better control obtained over her by having both the paddle and screw, render it possible and safe to lay an Atlantic telegraph cable in any weather.

"2nd. That the paying-out machinery constructed for the purpose by Messrs. S. Canning and Clifford worked perfectly, and can be confidently relied on.

"3rd. That the insulation of the gutta-percha-covered conductor improved when submerged to more than double what it had been before starting, and has proved itself to be the best insulated cable ever manufactured, and many times higher than the standard required by the contract. The cause of the two faults which were recovered was in each case a perforation of the gutta percha through to the proper conductor by a piece of iron wire found sticking in the cable. Electrically the third fault was analogous to the first. The difficulty may be provided against in future.

"4th. That nothing has occurred to create the least doubt in the minds of those engaged in the expedition of the practicability of a successful laying and working of an Atlantic cable, but, on the contrary, their confidence has been largely increased by the confidence obtained on this voyage.

"5th. That the 'Great Eastern' steamship being supplied with sufficiently strong tackle and hauling-in machinery for depths of 4000 or 5000 yards, there is little or no doubt of the possibility of recovering the lost end of the cable and completing the line already about two-thirds laid."

These views, it was understood, were accepted by the various companies concerned, and the manufacture of a new cable was determined on.

26. INAUGURATION OF THE COBURG STATUE TO PRINCE ALBERT.  
—This day the Queen inaugurated the memorial statue to her

late husband, set up in Coburg, the place of his nativity, to his honour.

The little town of Coburg had put on her best holiday dress, and every house was gay with garlands, festoons, and streamers, coats of arms, masses of flowers, and every variety of simple but tasteful devices. Every window-sill, mullion, and cornice, up to the topmost gable, was mantled with evergreens. The last finish had been given to the public buildings in the market-place. The Town Hall and the Government offices were hung with flags drooping down from the roofs to the basement, and the same vivid colours waved from lines and flagstuffs all across the square. These colours were chiefly the green and white of Coburg, the black and white of Prussia, the red and yellow of Baden, the red and black of Wurtemberg, and the red and white of Darmstadt. The Union Jack and the Royal Standard of England were not forgotten, nor yet the German tricolor.

The heavier wrappings had been removed from the statue of the Prince Consort, and it stood in the centre of the square with no other covering than a thin white linen cloth. Opposite to it was the Queen's pavilion, an elegant structure, all scarlet and gold, with a canopy supported by eleven columns, and above it, in two escutcheons surmounted by a royal crown, the arms of England and Coburg, and again over the crown the English standard. All round the square, right and left and opposite, were the tribunes, all walled with evergreens, some for distinguished strangers, others for the notabilities of the place.

The crowd, even the privileged many who had admission to the reserved galleries, began to fill their places soon after two in the afternoon. The day was intensely hot; the glare of the sun made eyes and heads ache, yet, together with the Duke's battalions mustering up in the square, and whole legions of students and schoolboys in their tiny saucer-like caps with invisible brims, there came upon the torrid pavement two fair bands of young damsels, all dressed in white, but distinguishable on one side by green, on the other by pink, ribands. All these girls had wreaths of flowers in their hands; all of them were bare-headed, bare-armed, bare-shouldered.

At a quarter to four arrived the court carriages bearing the suite of the Royal personages. Soon after them the Royal personages themselves made their appearance. In the first carriage, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Prince Alfred; in the second, the Princess of Wales, the Crown Princess of Prussia, and the Prince of Wales; in the third, the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg, the Princess Alice, and the Crown Prince of Prussia; in the fourth, the Princess Clementine, the Princess Amalia, and the Duke of Brabant; in the fifth, Prince Louis of Hesse, the Duke of Cambridge, and Prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg; in the sixth, Duke Ernest of Wurtemberg and Prince Leopold; in the seventh, Prince Hermann of Hohenlohe, Prince William Lobenstein, the Prince Here-

ditary of Reuss, and Count Alexander Mensdorff; in the eighth, Prince Philip and Count Alphonse Mensdorff.

In attendance upon the Queen were the Duchess of Roxburgh and Lady Churchill, General Grey, and Sir John Cowell, lately created a K.C.B. by Her Majesty at Rosenau. In the suite of the Prince of Wales, Colonel Teesdale and Mr. Holtzmann. Attached to the Duke of Cambridge, Colonel Clifton. In the suite of Prince Arthur, Captain Elphinstone, &c. The friends of the late Prince Consort assembled here from England and from all parts of Germany. Among them were Dr. Playfair, Professor Hoffmann, &c. Lord Granville and his secretary, the Hon. R. H. Meade, were in attendance, and also the Hon. C. A. Murray, Her Majesty's Minister at Dresden, and Mrs. Murray, &c.

The pavilion was soon filled with all the Royal personages, who took their seats and waited for the Queen's arrival from Rosenau. Soon after four the bells from all the steeples in Coburg set up their loud peals, the cannon thundered from the fortress on the hill, the bands struck up the solemn notes of the English National Anthem, and the Queen's carriage drove up amidst the loud shouts of the multitude. In the first carriage were Her Majesty, Prince Arthur, and Princess Beatrice; in the second, the ladies and gentlemen of the Queen's suite. Of the Royal family only the Duchess of Cambridge and the Princess Mary were absent. They had remained at Rumpenheim, the summer residence of the Landgrave of Hesse. The Queen was received at the carriage door by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg. She soon appeared in her place in front of the pavilion; she wore deep mourning; black dress and bonnet, with a black veil thrown back, and under her bonnet that cap *à la* Mary Stuart with which the English public have lately become familiar. The Royal ladies around her wore colours, and the variety of their lively costumes presented a striking contrast to the sable hues in which the principal personage was attired. Prince Leopold and Prince Arthur wore Highland costumes. Prince Alfred wore the Coburg uniform. All the other princes and their attendants displayed the English colours.

The Queen stood up in her place while anthems were sung by the chorus, with an accompaniment by the band. She stood up while the Burgomeister of Coburg, from a very low platform in the middle of the square before the statue, delivered a long address. Then there were more lofty strains from the band, more peals of the bells, more discharges of artillery, and at a given signal the linen wrappers of the statue fell, and the gilt bronze of the hero's effigy stood out all glittering in the sun.

Presently the bevvies of damsels in green and pink ribands, who had been so long waiting for the performance of the part assigned to them in the ceremony, stepped forward, and one by one laid before the pedestal their wreaths and garlands. There was a new anthem by the chorus, and as its last notes died away the Queen



withdrew, and all thought she had gone back to her carriage, when she was seen at the head of all her family, walking across the square up to the monument, where she handed to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg the bunch of flowers which had long lain before her on the balcony of the pavilion. Those flowers were laid by the Duke on the pedestal, and along with them all those of the Princesses and Princes, till the fragrant mass rose high up to the feet of the statue.

Her Majesty then walked back to the pavilion, and presently her carriage left the square amid the loud shouts of the deeply-moved people. The whole ceremony lasted hardly twenty minutes. When the last of the Royal carriages had disappeared, the multitude, which had long been pent up at the inlets of the market-place, broke in like a swelling tide upon the empty area, which was soon black with its swarming masses. Only a few minutes later, the Queen, who had been driving round the gaily variegated streets, re-appeared once more unexpectedly on the densely beset square, to obtain one more glimpse of the newly inaugurated monument. The crowd, among whom her carriage could with difficulty make its way, greeted her enthusiastically on her progress, and as she passed she had a smile and a kind word for the sculptor, Mr. Theed, who, together with Messrs. Thomas and Winterhalter, were standing on the steps of the pedestal.

There was many a moment in that short space of twenty minutes that sent a thrill through the veins of even the most unimpressionable spectator. The cannon announcing the Queen's arrival, her appearance in front of the platform, the falling of the drapery that enshrouded the "dead likeness," none of these was so overpowering, nothing took the spectators so much by surprise, as the simple act of the Queen walking up to the monument to pay her tribute of affection to the dear departed. That was the touch of nature that came home to every man's bosom. Her Majesty went through the whole ceremony with her wonted command over her feelings. The Princess of Prussia was visibly affected by the scene before her.

The execution of the statue in bronze by the Nuremberg founders is greatly to the satisfaction of the artist himself. The statue is ten feet high. The pedestal is of polished granite, and bears in front an inscription with the names and titles of the Prince—"Prinz Gemahl von Gross-Britannien und Irland," with the dates of his birth and death; at the back the date of the erection of the monument, with the following words:—"Das Gedächtniss der Gerechten bleibt in Segen" ("The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance").

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg gave a reception in the evening, at nine o'clock, in the handsome "Giant's Hall," a splendid room with immense caryatides, in the Ehrenburg, the town palace. Most of the Royal family of England were there, with their

relatives. The Queen was not present, and it was understood that she would not quit Rosenau for the evening. The assemblage was select, not large.

29. ROBBERY AND OUTRAGE IN IRELAND.—One of the most daring attempts at highway robbery and murder that has occurred for many years in Ireland was made at a place a couple of miles, or rather more, to the north of Dublin, beyond Finglas. The perpetrator of the outrage had, it appears, been trying his hand on a smaller scale at highway robbery the two preceding evenings with some little success. On the evening of the 29th, a man named Joseph Cummins and his son (a boy of fifteen) were returning from Dublin with two empty carts, having delivered some hay, when, after passing Finglas, a man came up from the side of a lonesome part of the road and seized the reins of the first horse. He called on Cummins to deliver up his money or take the consequences. Cummins, who is a powerfully-built man, refused, whereupon the man drew a revolver from his breast and repeated his demand. Cummins jumped off the cart and attempted to seize him, but the ruffian fired, and the bullet struck him in the left eye. Another bullet, the revolver being fired a second time, struck him in the thigh within a short distance of the femoral artery. They then closed, and a fierce struggle ensued, in which the efforts of Cummings to overpower his assailant were ably seconded by his son, who with the butt end of a whip inflicted severe chastisement on the head and face of the ruffian, and at length brought him to the ground. The ruffian fired at the boy, but the bullet went over his shoulder. The elder Cummins then held his assailant on the ground while his son ran for the police to the nearest barracks. Having procured four constables at Finglas, he returned with them to the spot, a car being pressed into their service, when they found the wounded man faint and bleeding, but still by a desperate effort overpowering his adversary. He was at once raised to the car, and conveyed to Finglas constabulary-barrack. The man was arrested, and taken to the same place. Mr. Fennelly, the dispensary medical attendant, attended to Cummins, whom he found in a most precarious condition, his life being in extreme peril. Whatever could be done under the circumstances, and at the late hour of the night—twenty minutes past twelve o'clock—was done. Mr. Fennelly then turned his attention to the prisoner, whom he found very seriously injured about the head and face. There was a large wound on the top of the head, and other wounds in the vicinity. A portion of the head was also beaten to softness. The right ear, the eyes, and the forehead presented a shocking spectacle, being covered with gore from the wounds inflicted on them. The entire head was swollen to an unnatural size. The wounds were dressed, and the prisoner was conveyed to Glasnevin police-barrack. On being questioned, he stated that his name was Owen Flynn, and he was a native of Spiddal, in the county of Galway, but had been taken to

America when an infant, and that he had resided there ever since. The occasion of his return to Ireland was the confiscation by the Northerns of his people's property. He was dressed in a black frock-coat, with velvet collar, and dark waistcoat and trousers. The coat was torn up the back in the struggle, and was covered with mud and filth. There were found on his person three silver sixpences, and a box containing fifty patent pistol ball cartridges. Twelve of a similar kind of cartridge were found loose in his waistcoat pocket, as if for immediate use. The boy Cummins handed the police a five-barrelled revolver which he found on the road, and which he said he saw the prisoner drop as soon as he had fired the third shot. The prisoner admitted that it was his, and said he had bought it for twenty-five dollars in America. Two of the chambers were found loaded with the patent cartridges. Each of these contained a charge of powder, a ball, and the requisite detonating mixture. On going to the scene of the occurrence, the constable picked up a knife with a spring and a dagger blade, the latter being open.

An investigation into the case was held by Captain Lindsay, D.L., J.P., at the Glasnevin police-barrack, at twelve o'clock. The prisoner O'Flynn, who was in an extremely weak state, was accommodated with a seat. Thomas Cummins, son of the injured man, gave the following account of the occurrence. He said:—

He and his father were engaged between ten and eleven on the night of the 29th driving home their carts from market, after delivering two loads of hay. They were both sitting on the first cart. On the road, about three-quarters of a mile or thereabouts beyond Finglas, the man now in custody came out from the side of the road and caught hold of the reins of the first horse, which witness held in his hand. He stopped the cart and asked his father to deliver up his money. His father said he had no money only a few shillings. The prisoner then put his hand into the left pocket of his father's waistcoat and tore away the lining. A few coppers which were in the pocket fell out upon the road. The prisoner then put his hand again into the pocket, when his father said, "Hold on; sure you are not going to rob us?" The prisoner took out a pistol and fired, the ball entering his father's left eye. He was about taking hold of him when the prisoner fired again and hit him in the left thigh. Witness and his father then caught him and overpowered him. During the struggle he fired again, and the shot went over witness's shoulder. Witness immediately ran away to the police-barrack and brought the police.

Captain Lindsay.—You have acted with a great deal of courage and propriety. I hope your father will get over it. I shall send him the best doctor in Dublin immediately, in addition to the dispensary doctor.

The prisoner stated that instead of attacking Cummins and his son, he was attacked by them, and added, "I tried to defend



myself as well as I could. They both got me down and kicked me until the policemen came up and brought me to the barracks." He stated that he had not been in the Confederate army, but the Union had confiscated his property, and he had to come home. He denied that the dagger-knife found was his. Evidence was then given as to the state of the elder Cummins, who was lying in a dangerous state in the hospital. The prisoner was committed for trial.

30. ACCIDENT TO AN EXCURSION TRAIN ON THE MIDLAND RAILWAY.—About 7.15 this evening an up coal train, consisting of twenty-nine coal-trucks besides the engine and breaks, and belonging to the Great Northern Company, arrived at Colney Hatch station, and was brought up there for the purpose of having a truck added to it. The authorities of the Colney Hatch station were fully aware of there being a Midland excursion train on its return journey from Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby, &c., nearly due, and for that purpose the coal train was hurried on, and had just started, when a "draw-bar" broke. This accident causing a delay, the station-master at Colney Hatch directed all the danger signals to be turned on. Every precaution appears to have been taken to stop any up-coming or down-going trains while the coal train was being shunted out of the way into the siding. This shunting process had scarcely commenced when the Midland excursion, consisting of twenty passenger carriages and three break vans, was heard approaching at very great speed. The driver of the excursion train, who had been fifteen years in the company's service, it is stated, admitted that he perceived the signals, and the moment he did so commenced to slacken speed; but either from miscalculating the distance or from the rails being more slippery than usual, he could not bring up in sufficient time, and the excursion train dashed into the coal train, going at this moment, it is calculated, at a speed of about ten miles an hour. The shock by the concussion of the trains was so great that not only were a large number of the coal trucks dashed over on to the down line, but the engine of the excursion train was thrown off the metals and fell over on its side, dragging several of the carriages after it, and turning them over on their sides also. Three or four of the coal-trucks were knocked to pieces. The consternation among the passengers was fearful. Screams and cries resounded in all directions. Passengers, lacerated and wounded, threw themselves from the carriages on to the line; and many who had received injuries lay crying and groaning for assistance. The confusion was very greatly increased by those who had escaped injury, but who, not knowing the limits of the accident, by their shouts and cries added to the terror of their less fortunate travellers, who could not move themselves, although they witnessed the desperate efforts of the uninjured to escape from the train. The first step taken by the station-master at Colney Hatch was to telegraph to Superintendent Williams, at King's Cross, what had happened,

and to stop all trains. Then the officials and those of the uninjured passengers who had overcome their first excitement set to work to remove from the smashed carriages and trucks those who were injured, and to convey them to the Colney Hatch and other hotels, while messengers were despatched to the Asylum and to all the medical men of the immediate neighbourhood. Drs. Brown, Hewet, and Marshall, and Messrs. Ward, Trevor, and Osbaldiston were at the scene of the accident in a very short time after it had occurred. Before 8 o'clock Dr. Kirkwood, of the Euston-road, medical officer of both the Midland and Great Northern Companies, Mr. Superintendent Williams, and a large body of officials and labourers, arrived at the spot. By Dr. Kirkwood's direction, those persons who were slightly injured were at once removed to London, where Dr. Burton, Mr. Luke, and other surgeons were also in readiness to afford assistance. The greater number of the injured were conveyed to their homes, but some were obliged to remain at the Great Northern and other hotels in the neighbourhood of the terminus. There were seven cases, however, in which the parties were so seriously injured that they were compelled to stop at the Colney Hatch Hotel, and Dr. Kirkwood remained in attendance upon them all night. Two cases of a serious nature were also brought to London. The guard of the excursion train received slight injuries. The engine-driver and stoker escaped by jumping off the engine. The medical gentlemen reported all the cases to be progressing favourably. The traffic of the line was entirely stopped for some hours.

The authorities of the Midland Railway Company, which has running powers over the Great Northern from Hitchin to London, and those of the latter company, held a joint investigation into the causes and results of the accident next morning. "Break-down" gangs of workmen were brought from London, Hatfield, and Hitchin. There were nineteen carriages in the Midland train, and there were three break vans. The train could have been stopped in 500 yards; the signals were visible two miles and a-half away.

31. VISIT OF THE FRENCH FLEET TO PORTSMOUTH.—This event, which excited a great deal of enthusiastic feeling, and which will be taken as an augury of continued peace and friendly relations between the two nations, was celebrated with much *éclat*, and terminated with complete success.

On the 25th, the British squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Colpoys Dacres, K.C.B., arrived at Spithead from Brest. It consisted of the "Edgar," 71, screw two-decker, Captain Geoffrey T. B. Hornby; the "Black Prince," 41, Captain Lord F. H. Kerr; the "Hector," 24, Captain G. W. Preedy, C.B.; the "Achilles," 26, Captain E. W. Vansittart; the "Prince Consort," 35, Captain G. O. Willes, C.B.; and the "Defence," 16, Captain Augustus Phillimore; the whole of the ships, with the exception of the "Edgar," being ironclads.

On the 28th, the Duke of Somerset left his official residence at Whitehall for Portsmouth, accompanied by the whole of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and Rear-Admiral Lord Clarence Paget, Secretary.

The "Osborne," Royal yacht, Captain D'Arcy, went out of the harbour on the following morning (with the Admiralty flag flying at the main), having on board the Duke of Somerset and the other Lords of the Admiralty, with Lord Clarence Paget and Captain Hall, private secretary to the First Lord, to await the arrival of the French fleet at Spithead.

The French fleet hove in sight at 11.45. It comprised the Emperor's yacht, "Reine Hortense," Captain Charlemagne, with M. Chasseloup-Laubat, the Minister of Marine, accompanied by his staff, Captain Charlemagne and Lieutenant de Wern; the "Solferino," Captain R. de Play, flagship of Vice-Admiral Count Bouët de Willaumez (in command of the fleet); the "Magenta," screw steam ship, Captain Le Bris, flagship of Rear-Admiral Baron de la Roncière de Noury; the "Normandie," screw steam-ship, flagship of Rear-Admiral Fabre de la Meurelle; the "Couronne," screw steam-ship, Captain Rosencouta, flagship of Rear-Admiral Saisset; the "Invincible," screw-frigate, Captain Chevalier; the "Gloire," screw-frigate, Captain Miguel de Riu; the "Provence," screw-frigate, Captain de Surville; the "Heroine," screw-frigate, Captain Sagot Duvamoux; the "Flandre," screw-frigate, Captain Bachme; the "Caton," screw-frigate, Captain Grivée; the "Ariel," screw-frigate, Captain Perier d'Hauterive; and the "Faon," screw steam-tender, Lieutenant Guys.

The "Pigmy," screw-tender, immediately proceeded towards the fleet, having on board the master attendant, Captain Mainprise, the second master attendant, Captain Sturdee, and a number of masters of Her Majesty's navy, one being especially appointed to take charge of each of the French ships and place her in the position appointed—Captain Mainprise taking the "Reine Hortense," and Captain Sturdee the "Solferino." On approaching Spithead, at 12.15, the French Admiral's ship, "Solferino," hoisted the British ensign at the main, and saluted the Admiralty flag flying on board the "Osborne," which was duly acknowledged from Admiral Sir C. Dacres's flagship "Edgar." The ships having anchored at 1.30 in two lines, within that of the English fleet, the "Solferino" hoisted the British flag at the main, and fired a Royal salute, which was returned from the garrison; after which the "Osborne" proceeded to the westward, to meet the "Reine Hortense," with the Minister of Marine, and accompanied her into the harbour, followed by the Admiralty yacht, "Enchantress," Staff-Commander Petley, the English ships having their rigging manned. On rounding the Spit, the "Reine Hortense" was saluted with nineteen guns from the "Victory," flagship of the Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Sir M. Seymour, the French flag being hoisted at the fore. The salute was re-



turned from the French Admiral's ship "*Solferino*," the English ensign being hoisted at the main.

After the "*Reine Hortense*" had anchored in the harbour, the Duke of Somerset and the Lords of the Admiralty, with Admiral Sir M. Seymour, naval commander-in-chief of the port; Lieutenant-General Sir G. Buller, commanding the south-western district; and Rear-Admiral Wellesley, admiral-superintendent of the dockyard, proceeded on board the yacht to pay their respects to the Minister of Marine. The Minister of Marine, attended by his Staff, and accompanied by Aumônier-en-Chef Monseigneur Coquereau, landed in the state barge at the King's stairs in the dockyard, where they were received by the Duke of Somerset, Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir F. W. Grey, Rear-Admiral Charles Eden, Rear-Admiral the Hon. J. R. Drummond—Lords of the Admiralty; Rear Admiral the Right Hon. Lord Clarence E. Paget, First Secretary; Captain Hall, private secretary to the First Lord; Rear-Admiral G. G. Wellesley, Admiral Superintendent. The whole of the officers, both French and English, were in full-dress uniform. A guard of honour was furnished from the 14th Regiment, under the command of Captain Maycock, with Lieutenant Laing, and Ensign G. Heytheusen bearing the colours. On passing the King's stairs the troops presented arms and the bands played "*Partant pour la Syrie*." Carriages were in attendance, into which the whole party entered, and left the yard amidst much cheering from the artisans assembled.

The Minister of Marine's first return visit was to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Garrison, Lieutenant-General Sir. G. Buller, at the Government House in the High-street, afterwards proceeding to inspect the new barracks and forts at Eastney, returning to the dockyard, whence the Minister of Marine and Staff embarked in the state barge to the "*Reine Hortense*," and the Lords of the Admiralty to the "*Osborne*."

Complimentary visits were also made during the day by Admiral Sir M. Seymour on board the "*Solferino*," and by Vice-Admiral Count Bouët de Willaumez on board the "*Victory*," each Admiral leaving his respective ship under a salute of seventeen guns.

Rear-Admiral Sir S. C. Dacres, in command of the English fleet, also exchanged visits with the officers in command of the French fleet, and the senior flag officers, but without any salutes.

The Minister of Marine and his Staff, with the flag officers and captains of the French squadron, were entertained at a dinner in the evening, given on board the "*Duke of Wellington*," by the First Lord of the Admiralty, to which fifty invitations were issued, including the Lords of the Admiralty, Admiral Sir M. Seymour, Lieutenant-General Sir G. Buller, Rear-Admiral Wellesley, Captain Superintendent Shadwell.

Many of the French officers landed during the day, which was

very fine. The town and neighbourhood were full of visitors. Great preparations had been made for the different banquets, and for various illuminations and decorations by flags and triumphal arches; and a week's gaiety was fully anticipated.

The Austrian screw-corvette "Friedrick," Captain Wipplinger, arrived and anchored at Spithead in the morning, exchanging salutes with the Admiral's flagship ("Victory") and garrison, and also with the French Admiral's ship "Solferino," on the latter reaching Spithead.

During the day his Worship the Mayor (Mr. R. W. Ford) proceeded on board the "Reine Hortense," and was introduced to the Minister of Marine by Chevalier Vandenburg, the French Vice-Consul of this port. The Chevalier afterwards went to Spithead to pay visits to the Admirals and Captains of the different ships.

The weather on the 30th was every thing that could be desired. The forenoon was passed by the French officers and our Admiralty in visiting the public establishments on shore, M. Chasseloup-Laubat, with the Admiral commanding and the chief officers of the French fleet, landing at the dockyard shortly before noon, accompanied by the Duke of Somerset and other members of the British Admiralty. After concluding their inspection ashore, and subsequently partaking of luncheon afloat, the French Minister of Marine, Admirals, and Staff, with the Duke of Somerset and several of the Lords of the British Board of Admiralty, embarking on board the English yacht "Enchantress," proceeded to Southampton Water to inspect the Royal Victoria Military Hospital at Netley, the "Enchantress" flying the French Minister of Marine's flag and the English Admiralty standard side by side at the main, and the fleets manning yards as the yacht steamed through them westward. In the evening the Lords of the Admiralty gave a full-dress dinner, at the Royal Naval College, to the Minister of Marine and the officers of the French squadron. The banquet was admirable, and sumptuously served; and when grace had been said, the Duke of Somerset rose and spoke as follows:—

"I am desirous, on behalf of the British Admiralty, to tender our sincere thanks to the Minister of Marine and the authorities in the harbours of Brest and Cherbourg for the kindness and hospitality with which they received us when we recently visited those ports. I may add that the pleasure which we derived from our visit to the French coast was greatly enhanced by the kind feeling which was shown towards us, not only by the inhabitants of those towns, but by the great numbers of the French people by whom they were crowded during our stay. I rejoice in these international visits, because I feel the great advantage of a meeting of the officers of the two services. Hereafter when they meet, in whatever part of the world it may be, they will be able to look back with satisfaction to their visits to the harbours of Cherbourg and Portsmouth, which I trust will tend to strengthen those

feelings of cordial friendship which subsist between the two Governments and the two nations. I am happy to avail myself of this opportunity to return our sincere thanks for the readiness with which the Admiral and officers of the French navy came to the aid of the sufferers on board the "Bombay" when that line-of-battle ship was destroyed by fire. The French officers and sailors supplied them with clothes, relieved their wants, and mitigated by every means in their power that great disaster. Such acts of charity and kindness must bind the two services together by the ties of friendship, and command the gratitude of the British nation. Animated by those feelings, I am confident that every Englishman is prepared to concur with me when I assure the officers of the French navy that we bid them a hearty welcome. Following the courteous example which was set us at Cherbourg, I beg to give you as the first toast, the "Healts of the Emperor, the Empress, and the Prince Imperial."

The toast was drunk with marked enthusiasm, the whole of the company rising, as were the others by which it was succeeded.

M. De Chasseloup Laubat, in proposing "The Health of Her Majesty the Queen," said,—

"Messieurs,—Ce sont d'heureux jours, que ceux dans lesquels les officiers des marines de la Grande Bretagne et de la France peuvent apprendre à se connaître, à s'apprécier. Si les visites que vous avez faites aux ports de Cherbourg et de Brest, où nous avons eu tant de bonheur à vous recevoir, si l'empressement que nous mettons à venir ici pour répondre à votre gracieuse invitation, témoignent des excellents rapports qui existent entre nos deux pays, —ces franches et amicales réunions sont aussi un sûr garant de leur durée, car elles feront naître, j'en suis certain, parmi tant de braves et illustres marins qui m'écoutent le désir de se revoir encore, et sur quelques points du globe, dans quelles que circonstances qu'ils soient placés, de se serrer la main qu'ils se seront si cordialement donnée dans ces jours de fête. Sans arrière-pensée, nous nous montrons tous les progrès que de part et d'autre nos marines ont faits ; nous ne nous cérons rien de ce qui peut servir à de nouveaux progrès. Ensemble nous avons pu étudier les admirables constructions bordées d'épaisses cuirasses, et qu'il y a quelques années à peine l'imagination la plus hardie n'aurait osé rêver ; ensemble nous avons vu ces formidables engins de guerre, ces terribles instruments de destruction, devant lesquels l'esprit s'arrête comme épouvanté, et dont il est presque tenté de demander compte au génie qui les crée. Mais, Messieurs, l'esprit se rassure en songeant que l'humanité a d'autant moins à craindre de la force que les moyens dont la force dispose sont plus puissants, parceque plus désastreux l'emploi en devient aussi de jour en jour plus rare. L'esprit se rassure surtout parce qu'il sait que pour les nations civilisées la force c'est la modération ; c'est le respect de droit. Je remercie le noble Duc de Somerset de ce qu'il vient de dire des soins que dans La Plata une de nos divisions a été assez heureuse



pour donner aux marins du "Bombay;" seulement ses paroles sont trop flatteuses. Ce que nous avons fait dans cette circonstance chacun de vous le fait tous les jours, chacun de vous est prêt à le faire sans cesse, car, permettez-moi de vous le dire, moi qui n'ai pas l'honneur de porter une épaulette, ce qu'il y a d'admirable chez l'homme de mer, ce qui le place si haut dans l'estime des peuples, c'est ce dévouement, cette abnégation qui, même au prix de sa vie, l'entraîne toujours à aider son semblable. Ah! c'est bien en cela que nos marines sont sœurs, et en sœurs aussi elles vont acclamer le toast que de bien grand cœur je porte à votre gracieuse souveraine—"The Queen Victoria!"

Just as the health of Her Majesty had been proposed by the French Minister a signal for the commencement of an illumination of the fleet was given by the discharge of a rocket from the "Victory" and the firing of one of her guns. One is liable to exaggerate the effect of scenes, however picturesque, made brilliant at night by a profusion of light, but no words could depict the surpassing brilliancy of the scene which followed instantaneously the last flicker of that rocket from the "Victory." As if by magic, every ship in the allied fleets was illuminated. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the fleets; and as the echo of the last shot died away, every ship in the two squadrons was so illuminated, by means of red, white, and blue lights placed in every port, at both broadsides, and both yardarms, that the object which only a few moments before looked, even at a short distance, so grim and shadowy became at once transformed into a ship of light, revealing to view the outline of her slenderest spar. Rockets were then sent up in clusters from the whole of the fleet, which, as they burst in the heavens, expanded into bouquets of red, white, and blue, and then gradually melted away in the still air, but only to be followed at short intervals by other clusters of rockets bursting and descending in an equally brilliant shower. As the long lights only burn for a couple of minutes, three were lighted in succession in each port, and as each set of lights died away, and the illumination seemed to be coming to an end, the full blaze of its splendour was again restored with the same magical rapidity with which it was first created. When the three sets of long lights were nearly burnt out, a bouquet of twenty-four signal rockets was fired from each ship, and immediately after the fleet faded from the view of the thousands of spectators who lined the ramparts at Portsmouth, and all was again comparative obscurity at Spithead. The illumination lasted for about twenty minutes, throughout the whole of which time the "St. Vincent," the "Duke of Wellington," and the other men-of-war in the harbour, displayed lights at every porthole, causing the gentle ripple on the waves to sparkle like diamonds. The town itself was also most extensively and brilliantly lit up during the night, the combination of the illumination of the houses near the dockyard gates with the magnificent illumination over the gateway itself shedding a radiance like that

of a bright summer sun at noon on the roadway and the pavement below. A very grand spectacle could scarcely have been witnessed on a fairer night.

Sir M. Seymour, in giving the next toast, said,—

“I have the honour and great pleasure, in using the privilege conferred by my official position, to propose to you to drink to the health of the French Navy, represented as it is at this port by officers of the highest distinction and of eminent professional services, as well as the magnificent fleet now floating in these waters, which is exciting our admiration and calling forth one voice of heartfelt welcome, not only from the officers of the British Navy, but from the nation at large. Few naval officers have had better opportunities than myself of seeing and appreciating the skill and gallantry displayed by the French in various climes, and under circumstances of no common danger and difficulty; and the result has invariably been to command my admiration, respect, and esteem. It is therefore with the authority derived from experience of their high qualities that I call upon you to join me in drinking, ‘The health of the French Navy.’”

Vice-Admiral Bouët de Willaumez followed, and said,—

“C’est avec un véritable bonheur que je me retrouve ici avec d’anciens et braves compagnons d’armes. Ils figurent aujourd’hui soit dans l’Amirauté, soit dans vos ports, soit à la tête de l’escadre de la Manche. Mais la mort, qui depuis que nous nous sommes connus, a éclairés nos rangs, a frappé de nobles amis dont le souvenir m’est cher comme à vous. Avec eux j’ai toujours marché en parfaite communauté de sentiments, et j’ose croire que cette franche cordialité n’a pas existé sans porter d’heureux fruits. Personne plus que moi n’a donc plus apprécié la valeur de votre noble marine, personne n’est plus heureux de l’amitié qui l’unit à la nôtre. Enfin, Monsieur, personne ne lui porte avec plus de sincérité ce toast, ‘A la Marine de la Grande Bretagne.’”

The company separated shortly after ten o’clock, the French and English officers to return to their ships, through what was literally a sea of light; and the Minister of Marine, with his Staff, and the Lords of the Admiralty to their respective quarters in the harbour on board the “Reine Hortense” and the “Osborne.”

On the 31st the French Minister and officers of the French Squadron were entertained with a *déjeuner*, promenade concert, and ball given by the town of Portsmouth, the Duke of Somerset being also present; and there was a grand display of fireworks on Southsea Common. On the 1st of September a ball was given by the Lords of the Admiralty at the Royal Naval College. The French Squadron left Portsmouth on the forenoon of the 2nd. The whole proceedings of the visit went off with marked success, and afforded great satisfaction to all parties.

## SEPTEMBER.

8. THE QUEEN'S RETURN FROM GERMANY.—Her Majesty left the castle at Rosenau with their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Helena and Louisa and Prince Leopold. Her Majesty stopped *en route* at Darmstadt, where she was met by the Grand Duke of Hesse, and their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse. Her Majesty stopped also at Ostend to visit King Leopold.

Their Royal Highnesses Prince Leopold and Princess Beatrice, with the remainder of the ladies and gentlemen and suite, went to Antwerp, and embarked in the Royal yacht "Victoria and Albert."

The Queen, after visiting the King, whom Her Majesty found in much improved health, left Ostend, and arrived by railway at Antwerp, and at once went on board.

The Royal yacht very soon afterwards got under weigh, and steamed down the Scheldt.

After a fine passage Her Majesty arrived off Greenhithe, where she left the Royal yacht, and, having embarked in the "Alberta," arrived at Woolwich at a quarter after ten o'clock on the 9th.

A special train from Woolwich Arsenal conveyed the Queen and Royal family to Windsor Castle at a quarter-past 12 p.m.

11. ROBBERY AT THE BANK OF LONDON.—Thomas Wood, a well-dressed man, residing at 12, Russell-villas, Lavender-grove, Dalston, cashier in the Bank of London, 52, Threadneedle-street, was brought before the Lord Mayor, on remand, in the custody of Sergeant Spital, a city detective officer, charged with stealing 3570*l.*, the moneys of his employers.

Mr. Mullens, solicitor to the London Banker's Association, conducted the prosecution, and Mr. Wontner the defence. Sir John Shelley, chairman of the bank, was present at the examination, with other of the directors.

The prisoner, a man of 38, had held the office of cashier in the Bank of London for some years, and had obtained the confidence of the directors. It is the duty of the cashiers of the bank at the close of the business of each day, as stated in evidence, to enter in a book the amount of the balance of cash then in their hands. A book was produced containing entries of that nature in the prisoner's handwriting, from which it appeared that the balance in his hands on the 1st of September inst. was 3304*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, and in order that the daily balance of the bank should be correct, the prisoner should have had that sum in his hands. There was a column in his book for petty deficiencies to be entered, and in that he had put himself down as short 3*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* On the morning of the 1st the prisoner was told by Mr. Massey, the deputy-manager of the bank, that it had become necessary to count the money in



his till. It was counted accordingly, and 1333*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* only was found in it. The prisoner was asked to produce the rest, but he did not, and was speechless. He was asked how much he was deficient and what he had done with the money, but he made no reply. He was eventually given into custody for stealing the difference, amounting to 1970*l.* odd. The prisoner's till had been last examined on the 15th of May last, and was then found correct.

Upon that evidence the prisoner had been remanded, and now Mr. Mullens, the solicitor for the prosecution, stated it would be his duty to charge him with stealing 1600*l.*, the moneys of his employers, in addition to the 1970*l.* He had hoped at one time that the 1600*l.* was part of the 1900*l.* which the prisoner was charged with stealing, but that was not so. It appeared that in November last a Mr. Martin had a sum of 2400*l.* on deposit at the bank, and also a current account. On the 8th of November last the prisoner made out a debit ticket requiring the clerk in the bank who kept the debit ledger to debit 1600*l.* to Mr. Martin's current account. That being a mere transfer, credit ought to have been given for that sum in the deposit account. The debit ticket passed through the usual channels in the bank, but not the credit ticket, which was found in the prisoner's desk after his apprehension. In order to carry out the fraud, the prisoner took possession of 1600*l.* in bank-notes, and then made entries in his day-book of having paid two checks amounting together to that sum, though in truth no such checks had ever been drawn or paid. The bank-notes so procured must have been traced to the prisoner; but to prevent that, he paid them back again into the bank in a fictitious name, and made a fictitious entry of the transaction, receiving in return 1600*l.* in gold.

Mr. John Daniel Massey, the deputy-manager of the bank, was called, and deposed that they had a customer named Richard Martin, who had constantly money in the bank on deposit as well as on current account. On the 8th of November last Mr. Martin had 2400*l.* on deposit at the bank. Witness produced a debit note and a credit note, both in the prisoner's handwriting. The debit note purported that on that day 1600*l.* was to be transferred from Mr. Martin's deposit account to his current account, and the credit note showed that 1600*l.* was to be placed to his current account as having been received from his deposit account. Mr. Martin's deposit account had been debited with 1600*l.*, and the debit note was found among the papers of the bank, but not so the credit note, as it ought to have been if the transaction had been a genuine one. It was found in the prisoner's desk after his apprehension, and had not gone through the books of the bank as it ought to have done. In the prisoner's day-book for the 8th of November last there was an entry of a check for 600*l.*, purporting to have been drawn by Richard Martin and paid. There had also been an entry of a payment by the prisoner of a check for 1000*l.* to Richard Martin, but that name had afterwards been erased, and that of

Roger Mortimer written over the erasure. The entry as to Roger Mortimer was the last on that particular day. On the preceding page of the same book, under the same date, there was a receipt in the prisoner's handwriting of 1600*l.* from a Mr. Taylor in notes in exchange for 1600*l.* in gold, and the prisoner had entered the payment in gold in the proper column for cash payments. That 1600*l.* was also cast in the total of his cash payments for that day.

Mr. Richard Martin, of 16, John-street, Crutchedfriars, cork merchant, said he kept both a deposit and a current account with the Bank of London, and that on the 8th of November last he had 2400*l.* on deposit there. He never gave the prisoner any directions for the transfer of 1600*l.* from his deposit to his current account, nor did he know of such a transaction having taken place until after the prisoner was in custody. Witness's current account had not been credited with that 1600*l.* He did not on the 8th of November draw on the bank a check for 600*l.*, nor did he receive bank-notes for 500*l.* and 100*l.* in exchange for any such check.

Mr. Alfred M'Nish, cashier to Mr. Roger Mortimer, of the Stock-Exchange, deposed that Mr. Mortimer kept an account with the Bank of London, and that witness was well acquainted with his cash transactions. Mr. Mortimer did not on the 8th of November draw a check on the bank for 1000*l.*, or for 600*l.*, nor did he receive bank-notes to the amount of 1600*l.*

Mr. White, a clerk in the Bank of London, said it was his duty to enter the particulars of bank-notes received there during the day, and that he had, on the 8th of November, entered the receipt of 1600*l.* in bank-notes in exchange for gold from a Mr. Taylor—namely, notes for 1000*l.*, 500*l.*, and 100*l.*

Mr. Lewis, a clerk in the same bank, who keeps the deposit ledger, proved that on the 8th of November, the day in question, he debited the account of Mr. Richard Martin with 1600*l.*, in pursuance of the debit note produced in the prisoner's handwriting.

That was the case for the prosecution, and Mr. Oke, the chief clerk, told the prisoner that he, being a servant of the Bank of London, would be charged with having stolen the sum of 1970*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* on the 2nd of September, inst., and 1600*l.* on the 8th of November last, the moneys of his masters.

The prisoner having been cautioned as to any thing he might say, replied that he would leave his defence to his solicitor.

The Lord Mayor then committed the prisoner for trial at the Central Criminal Court.

12. VISIT OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO THE CRYSTAL PALACE.—The Princess paid her first visit to this popular place of instruction and amusement. It was also the second occasion this season on which there were a large number of French excursionists present. By the arrangements of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company, the French visitors were enabled

to come in the company's steam-boats and trains, and have a day's enjoyment of the Crystal Palace for the small sum of five francs. At four o'clock in the morning the town of Calais was all bustle; the company's steamers were ready for departure, the voyagers thronging to the place of embarkation, and their wives, sisters, and friends taking leave of them, as if they were bound for the antipodes. It was a feat for the company to bring them to and fro 200 miles, including the sea passage, within a day. Nearly 2000 were thus conveyed altogether; and had not the sale of tickets been stopped in France, owing to an apprehension that there would be too many applicants, there would have been many more. The first batch of our neighbours arrived at half-past ten, the second at eleven o'clock a.m. There were many Frenchwomen of the working classes in their picturesque costume—white starched caps, bright shawls over the shoulders, ear-rings some inches long, and remarkable petticoats. These were chiefly fishwomen and lace girls, many of whom had never before been three miles from home. They appeared to enjoy the attractions of the Palace much more than ordinary English visitors do, and in a different manner. They seemed especially to criticize the statuary and other works of art.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, accompanied by the Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse, the Princess Hilda of Anhalt, Lieutenant-Colonel Keppel, who has succeeded Major Teasdale as Equerry-in-Waiting to the Prince of Wales, and a large suite of ladies and gentlemen, arrived at the Palace, and were shown privately through the various courts by Mr. Bowley, the manager. Owing to the larger number of visitors in the building at the time of the arrival of the Royal party being French, they were not recognized until they reached the great transept. Their Royal Highnesses and suite subsequently partook of luncheon in the new dining-room, from the windows of which they witnessed the display of the great fountains. The air being still, these were seen to great advantage, the water being thrown to a great height.

The French band, that of the Sapeurs Pompiers of St. Pierre, which had performed in the orchestra, and been warmly applauded after each piece, when they heard of the presence of the English Royal party, expressed a desire to serenade them under the windows of the dining-room. They played there for half an hour, ending with "God Save the Queen," which was splendidly performed. They afterwards gave "Vive la Reine," with regular British cheers. The Prince was much pleased with their demonstrations of amity, and deputed Mr. Bowley to express his thanks to the members of the band. The Royal party left as they had come, by a special train on the high level line to Victoria Station, at about half-past four o'clock.

The fine band of our own Royal Marine Light Infantry was also present, and performed alternately with that of the Sapeurs



Pompriers during the day, as did also Mr. Mann's Crystal Palace band.

At six o'clock the French visitors left the Palace, expecting to arrive at Calais between ten and eleven o'clock, p.m.

13. ROYAL VISIT TO THE TOWER OF LONDON.—This afternoon Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales made her first visit to the fortress of the Tower of London. The Princess was accompanied by Her Royal Highness the Princess Louis of Hesse and Princess Hilda of Anhalt, attended by the Hon. Mrs. W. Grey, Lady-in-Waiting, Baronness de Schenk, Lieutenant-Colonel Koppel, and Baron de Nordeck Rabenau. The authorities of the Tower had received intimation of the intended Royal visit in the earlier part of the day, but that it was to be considered perfectly private, and there was to be no guard of honour or saluting, as upon previous Royal visits. Their Royal Highnesses arrived at the Tower shortly after four o'clock, and were received on alighting by Major-General Sir George Bowles, K.C.B., the Lieutenant-Governor of the fortress; Colonel Wemper, Resident-Governor; and Colonel Wyndham, keeper of Her Majesty's jewels and regalia. The Yeoman Warder was also in attendance. The Royal visitors were first conducted to the horse armoury and small arms repository, and then ascended into the White Tower, which has recently been converted into a grand hall for the store of arms of every description, arranged in the style adopted in the old Armoury when it was burned down some years back. The Princesses minutely inspected the Royal Chapel in the White Tower, the scene of coronations and imposing state ceremonies in former days. This part of the Tower has only recently been thrown open for public inspection. For upwards of a century it was used as a military store, and was filled with cases of firearms and accoutrements. The chapel is now fitted up for Divine Service for the use of the residents in the Tower. The Princesses then proceeded to the Jewel House, and remained some time examining the Crown jewels and the Royal regalia. From these they walked across the green to Beauchamp Tower, and ascended to the various prison-like chambers, and closely inspected the carvings and inscriptions in the stone walls. One of the chambers is said to be the place where Lady Jane Grey was confined up to the period of her execution. The Royal party, on quitting Beauchamp Tower, were conducted to the Resident-Governor's house in the Bell Tower, containing the Council Chamber wherein the commission on Guy Fawkes held its inquiries. The chambers contain some curious carvings on the walls, which are adorned with a portrait of James I. Their Royal Highnesses remained in the Tower upwards of an hour, and on their departure thanked Major-General Sir George Bowles and the Resident-Governor for the attention shown them.

17. DONCASTER RACES—THE ST. LEGER.—The great racing contest at Doncaster came off this day with the following result:—

The St. Leger Stakes of 25 sovs. each, for three-year-olds; colts

8 st. 10 lb., fillies 8 st. 5 lb.; the owner of the second to receive 100 sovs. out of the stakes, and the winner to pay 100 sovs. towards expenses, 25 sovs. to the judge, and 25 sovs. to the starter; St. Leger Course (1 mile 6 furlongs 132 yards); 243 subs.

Count F. de Lagrange's Gladiateur, by Monarque out of Miss Gladiator, 8st. 10lb. (H. Grimshaw)	1
Mr. J. Graham's Regalia, 8st. 5lb. (J. Osborne)	2
Lord Stamford's Archimedes, 8st. 10lb. (Carroll)	3
Marquis of Hastings's The Duke, 8st. 10lb. (G. Fordham)	4
Mr. Blacoe's Barbarossa, 8st. 10lb. (Metcalf)	0
Mr. Bowes's Klarinska, 8st. 5lb. (Challoner)	0
Capt. Machell's Heir-at-Law, 8st. 10lb. (J. Grim- shaw)	0
Mr. Haig's Dux, 8st. 10lb. (G. Noble)	0
Mr. H. Chaplin's Breadalbane, 8st. 10lb. (Custance)	0
Mr. Merry's Zambesi, 8st. 10lb. (Edwards)	0
Mr. W. Sadler's Walcot, 8st. 10lb. (Goater)	0
Major Stapylton's Red Earl, 8st. 10lb. (Snowden)	0
Mr. Cameron's Peeress, 8st. 5lb. (Clement)	0
Lord Glasgow's Sister to Ascham, 8st. 5lb. (Ash- mall)	0

Betting :—13 to 8 on Gladiateur, 5 to 1 agst. The Duke, 10 to 1 agst. Regalia, 100 to 7 agst. Klarinska, 25 to 1 agst. Breadalbane, 100 to 3 agst. Archimedes, 50 to 1 agst. Zambesi, 1000 to 15 agst. Peeress, and 100 to 1 agst. any other.

The preliminary canter and the march in Indian file in front of the Stand were watched with intense interest, and the excitement was at its greatest height when Mr. M'George conducted the field of horses to the starting point. So accustomed have the public been to delays, that the spectators were surprised when the signal was given directly the competitors had got into their places, and the flag was lowered to an excellent start. After going a few strides, Klarinska, with The Duke and Walcot, at once took up the running, Zambesi, Breadalbane, and Peeress heading the ruck, Gladiateur and Dux bringing up the rear. They ran thus along the stretch; but the Whitewall mare was fully two lengths in advance when they disappeared behind the hill. Upon reappearing in sight, Klarinska was still in front, The Duke going on second, Zambesi (who had taken the third place upon Walcot's retirement) following, Peeress in close attendance upon Mr. Merry's colt, the rose jacket of Mr. Chaplin being distinguishable next, heading the ruck, conspicuous among which were Archimedes and Regalia, four of the lot—Heir-at-Law, Barbarossa, Dux, and Red Earl—dropping far astern. Approaching the mile-post, The Duke drew up to Klarinska, and held a slight lead upon crossing the road, the remainder, headed by Peeress and Breadal-

bane, following in Indian file to the rifle butts, where Gladiateur improved his position; and, amidst a shout from the spectators of "The Frenchman's coming," he continued to draw forward, stride by stride, as they approached the Red House, where Peeress took second place, and at the half-mile post was in close attendance upon The Duke; and from this point Klarinska gradually dropped back, and Gladiateur became third, followed round the bend by Breadalbane, Zambesi, Regalia, and Archimedes. Before fairly reaching the straight, Peeress retired beaten, and The Duke, amidst great excitement, was joined by the Frenchman, Regalia taking the third place; Archimedes and Breadalbane next the rails, going on fourth and fifth. The Duke seemed beaten without an effort before reaching the distance, and Archimedes made a rush; but directly Harry Grimshaw set the Frenchman going in earnest, Archimedes was in trouble, and Regalia, therefore, became second, and raced to overhaul Gladiateur, who, however, came on and won with the greatest ease by three lengths, the Oaks winner beating Archimedes; three lengths between second and third. The Duke, three lengths in rear of Lord Stamford's horse, was fourth, Breadalbane fifth, Sister to Ascham (who ran through a beaten lot at the finish), was sixth, Peeress seventh, Klarinska and Zambesi next, at wide intervals, followed by Heir-at-Law, Barbarossa, and Walcot, who finished in a cluster; the last two who came in with the crowd being Dux and Red Earl.

After the race, Mr. Graham, the owner of Regalia, lodged a protest against the stakes being paid over to Gladiateur until his mouth had undergone examination. Upon this the stewards of the meeting conferred with the stewards of the Jockey Club, and the latter authorities confirmed the decision which had already been published, adverse to the owner of Regalia.

#### 20. COLLISION ON THE LONDON AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

—A collision took place late this night on the London and North-Western Railway at Wolverhampton. The train which is started out of Liverpool at 6h. 30m. p.m. is timed to reach Wolverhampton on its way to Birmingham at 10h. 5m. On this night it was fifteen minutes late; but later still was a train due over the Grand Junction from Walsall to Wolverhampton. At about 10h. 25m. the Liverpool train, consisting of some eight or ten carriages, was at the platform at the north end of the Queen-street Station in Wolverhampton, and the tickets were being collected, when the Walsall train came up at a rapid pace and ran into the Liverpool train with a terrible crash. To the passengers it seemed as if the train, after striking the first time, rebounded, and that there was a series of collisions. The passengers were impelled against one another and against the framework of the carriages with painful violence; and what appeared to be the repeated concussions had the effect of greatly increasing their fears. The engine of the Walsall train dashed into an empty horsebox which formed the tail of the Liverpool train, destroyed it, and forced the ruins into



the guard's van, which was next. The guard escaped with some shocks. The passengers were not, however, so fortunate, and eight of them received surgical assistance on the spot, and were taken to hotels in the town. So great was the force with which the horsebox was shattered, that the upper framework was almost entirely separated from the bottom and wheels. The buffers at one end were doubled up, and at the other broken off; while the buffers at the end of the guard's van nearest to the horsebox were similarly destroyed, one end of the van broken in by the horsebox having been thrown up and forced in. The accident would seem to be unaccountable from any cause other than negligence on the part of the driver of the Walsall train, who had been a long while in the service of the company. The signals, it was stated, were on at "full danger." Moreover, the signals at that point are always on at "caution." The line is on an ascent of 1 in 100; and the driver would himself have had to stop at the platform at which the accident happened.

## OCTOBER.

2. A NIGHT BALLOON ASCENT.—The following account was given by the eminent aeronaut, Mr. Glaisher, of an ascent made by him at night in a balloon, with a view to scientific observations:—

"Some of the experiments which have been made about sunset not having shown any change of temperature to the height of 2000 ft., it seemed probable that the laws holding good by day might be very different, and even reversed, at night. At the recent meeting of the British Association at Birmingham the balloon committee was re-appointed, and charged, if possible, to carry out night experiments up to a moderate elevation. The balloon at present at my command for these experiments is that belonging to Mr. R. Orton, of Blackwall, and it is with his balloon and under his management this ascent was made. The instruments were read by means of a well-constructed Davy miner's lamp, made by Mr. Watson of Newcastle-on-Tyne, with which careful experiments had previously been made to satisfy the committee of its safety in the balloon.

"On Monday, Oct. 2, when the sun had set for nearly three-quarters of an hour, and night had fairly closed in, the moon shining and the wind passing from E.S.E., we left Woolwich Arsenal at about 6h. 20m. Within three or four minutes a height of 900 ft. was reached; and here the scene which suddenly burst on me, having been previously occupied in adjusting my instruments, far exceeds description. Almost immediately under us was Woolwich, north was Blackwall and the Commercial-road;

south, Woolwich and Deptford; and west, as far and farther than the eye could reach, was London; the whole forming a starry spectacle of such brilliancy as far to exceed any thing I ever saw. When I have been at this elevation in the evening at a distance from London, it has had the appearance of a vast conflagration; but now the air was so clear and free from mist, that each and every light was distinct, and apparently all but touching each other. The whole of Woolwich, Blackwall, Deptford, and Greenwich could be traced as a perfect model, by the boundary-lines of lights of their streets, squares, &c. In nine minutes we were crossing Blackwall-reach and opposite to Brunswick Pier, then passed across the Isle of Dogs, Greenwich-reach, and thence up the River Thames. As we advanced towards London, the mass of illumination increased in intensity. At 6h. 42m. the South-Eastern Railway terminus, at London Bridge, was directly under us. Looking southwards at this time we saw the Borough stretching far away, and the many streets shooting from it, particularly Southwark-street with its graceful curve of lamps. In one minute afterwards we were over Southwark Bridge, passed Blackfriars Bridge at 6h. 42m., Charing Cross at 6h. 46m. On leaving Charing Cross I looked east over London. The whole of London could be seen and traced; its squares were distinguished by their lights; the river, which looked dark and dull, by the double row of curved lights on every bridge spanning it. Looking round, two of the illuminated dials of the Westminster clock were like two dull moons. Again, looking eastward, the whole lines of the Commercial and Whitechapel roads, with their continuation through Holborn to Oxford-street, were visible, and were most brilliant and remarkable. We were at such a distance that they appeared like lines of brilliant fire, assuming a more imposing appearance where the lines separated in two, about Holborn, and most imposing just under us in Oxford-street. Here the two thickly studded rows of brilliant lights were seen on each side of the street, with a dark space between them, but which dark space was framed, as it were, on both sides by a bright fringe of frosted silver. I at first could not account for this appearance; but presently, at one point more brilliant than the rest, persons were seen passing to and fro, with their shadows on the pavements, and at once all the principal streets assumed this appearance.

“I feel it impossible to convey any adequate idea of the brilliant effect of London viewed at an elevation of 1000 ft., on a clear night, with the air free from mist. It seems to me to realize a wish I have often felt when looking through a telescope directed to the milky way, when the whole field of view appeared covered with gold dust, to be possessed of the power to see those many spots of light as brilliant stars; for certainly the intense brilliancy of London this night would have rivalled the brilliancy of such a telescopic view of brilliant clusters of stars.

"We were over the Marble Arch at 6h. 51m., about eleven miles in a straight line from Woolwich, which distance had been passed in about half an hour; we therefore were travelling at the rate of more than twenty miles per hour. On passing onwards, we left the Edgware-road on our right, and the Great Western Railway on the left, and passed nearly down the Harrow-road.

"In six or seven minutes we left the suburbs of London, passing over Middlesex, in the direction of Uxbridge. Here the contrast was great indeed: not a single object could any where be seen, not a sound reached the ear, the roar of London was lost. The moon was shining, but seemed to give no light, and the earth seemed a black obscurity. After a time the moon seemed to shine with increased brilliancy, the fields gradually came into view, then the shadow of the balloon was seen distinctly pointing out our path in reference to the polestar and the moon. After this, occasional masses of lights appeared as we passed over towns and villages, from all of which cries came up, urging us to come down. At 7h. 18m., whilst passing a town, we came down to inquire where we were; but our voices were drowned by the beating of drums; thus we passed out of Middlesex over parts of Buckinghamshire and Berkshire to High Moor, in Oxfordshire, where we descended on the farm of a Mr. Reeves, at 8h. 10m., a place distant about forty-five miles from Woolwich. The horizontal movement of the air at Greenwich in the same time was registered as sixteen miles. The temperature of the air at Woolwich at 5h. 25m. was 61 deg. 2m.; and 56 deg. at 6h. 20m.; it immediately rose above 56 deg. on leaving. The difficulty I experienced in reading was so great that several minutes were lost in vain attempts to do so. At 1100 ft. the temperature was 58 deg. 2m., and it increased with increase of elevation, till, at the height of about 2000 ft., it was about 60 deg., or about 4 deg. higher than when the earth was left. On descending, the temperature declined, and when about 600 ft. was about 57 deg.; two or three times the balloon rose and fell through the space of from 600 ft. to 500 ft., and on every occasion the highest temperature was at the highest point, and the lowest at the lowest point. At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the temperature of the air was 59 deg. 9m. at 6h. 20m., and decreased gradually to 55 $\frac{3}{4}$  deg. by 8h. 30m. From this it would seem that, at 6h. 20m., the air was no less than 3.9 deg. warmer at Greenwich than at Woolwich, and, if its readings in the balloon be compared with those at Greenwich, the increase with elevation is much lessened.

Two self-registering minimum thermometers were tied down, the one with its bulb resting on cotton wool, fully exposed to the sky, the other with its bulb projecting beyond the supporting frame; their indexes were at the end of the column of spirit on starting, or at 56 deg., and at every examination of each of these instruments a space was found between its index (which remained unmoved) and the end of the column of spirit, indicating a tempera-



ture closely approximate at all times to the temperature of the air. Finding this, I removed the silver caps from the dry and wet bulb thermometers, but could not find that their presence or absence influenced the readings at all. At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the thermometer for terrestrial radiation read from 6 deg. to 7 deg. below that of the temperature of the air during the whole time the balloon was in the air. The temperature at which dew was deposited, at about the height of 1000 ft., in the early part of the ascent, was from 2 to 3 deg. below that of the air; and at about the same elevation was from 3 to 4 deg. at the latter part of the ascent. At Greenwich, the depression below that of the air, at 6.30, was  $2\frac{1}{4}$  deg., and at 8.30 was no less than half a degree. The degree of humidity of the air, considering air completely saturated to be represented by 100, at the beginning of the ascent, in the balloon, was 95, at Greenwich was 84; towards the latter part of the ascent was, in the balloon, 85, and at Greenwich, 97.

"The state of things was completely reversed, and would indicate that the water in the air had descended. The amount at the beginning of the ascent was  $5\frac{1}{4}$  grains in a cubic foot of air; and at the same elevation, towards the end of the ascent, was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  grains in the same mass of air.

"No ozone was shown at the Royal Observatory; but, in the balloon, paper tests were coloured to 4, on a scale of greatest intensity being considered 10. The readings of the instruments were taken very slowly; owing to the smallness of the car, the difficulty of directing the light properly, and the constrained position, I failed entirely in my attempts at magnetical experiments, and, indeed, in all but those relating to temperature and humidity.

"My best thanks are due to the officers of the arsenal for their courteous assistance, and particularly to Mr. Wallace, the gas engineer, for the gas prepared under his superintendence, and which was so well adapted for my purpose.

"J. GLAISHER."

12. LOSS OF THE EMIGRANT SHIP "EAGLE SPEED."—Intelligence was received from Calcutta of a terrible catastrophe which had befallen the "Eagle Speed," Captain Brinsden. It appeared that on board this vessel on Sunday morning, the 19th of August, 425 statute adult coolies, or 300 men, 93 women, and 65 children under ten, and 39 infants in arms, making 497 human beings, sailed from Port Canning for Demerara. The ship was American originally, and pine built; she was not classed high at Lloyd's, but she seems to have been an average vessel. All the formalities and inspection necessary in shipping coolies seem to have been attended to by the Protector of Emigrants and the agent for the colony, except one—the crew were not mustered by the pilot. Had this been done, it would have been found that, though it was of sufficient strength in numbers, only six were able for work. The

captain was, or had been, ailing, but was on duty, and he was anxious to get out to sea, that there his men might get well after a debauch on land. The chief officer was ill, and off duty. Even the coolie doctor was ill, but the port doctor took his place until the ship should get to sea. The port master, Captain Hoskins, accompanied the ship down the estuary. The ship was towed by the "Lady Elgin" steamer, Captain Heath, on board of which, as a passenger, was Captain W. G. Maitland, of the 29th Punjabees. At four o'clock on the subsequent day, when wind and weather were both bad, the rope connecting the steamer and the ship broke, and during the two hours occupied in passing another rope, the ship drifted on to the Roy Mutlah sands, and sprang a leak. Professional men assert that if she had been a new or an iron ship this would not have happened; and a correspondent of a Calcutta paper asserts that 75 per cent of all the vessels engaged in the coolie trade are not classed at Lloyd's at all. With a bad leak and heavy weather the ship ought at once to have been towed back to Halliday Island, the nearest good anchorage. Instead of this, the steamer took her out towards sea, till, at ten o'clock at night, the steamer also broke down, and both anchored. All this time, from four to ten, the coolies had been at the pumps, and continued there till three next (Tuesday) morning, when the steamer was signalled for help, as the "Eagle Speed" was sinking. The steamer, however, neither towed the ship with her living freight back to Halliday Island, nor passed lines by which the coolies might have boarded her, nor sent off her own three boats to help in transshipping them. The sea was high, but all the witnesses assert that any one of these plans might have been adopted, and would have saved every soul on board. Instead of this, only three of the ship's boats were lowered. The shrieking coolies clung to the gangways and bulwarks, eager to save themselves, and a few threw themselves into the water on hencoops, and were picked up. One boat, manned by the pilot and crew, made one trip, and never returned. A second, manned by the second officer and others of the crew, was stove in after the first trip. Captain Hoskins made five trips, till sunstroke disabled him. Then the steamer put down one of its three boats, and it was long till the offer of money and shame would induce the now saved ship's crew to man it. They positively refused to save their captain, who was still on the wreck. At last they made two trips, bringing him and the coolie doctor and others off. The scene on board that forenoon must have been terrible. The interpreter had disappeared; the compounder and others had broken open the brandy-chest; the pilot had not returned; no one could speak a word of the language; no orders could be given. The captain left at half-past twelve, and, though the ship did not sink for eighteen hours after, the steamer returned to Port Canning with only 169 coolies saved, leaving the rest without advice or encouragement to their horrible fate. The excuse given is that there was only one day's coal on board. But, even at this stage

of mismanagement and barbarity, there was enough of coal to have enabled it to go to Halliday Island, deposit the coolies, and return for the larger number still abandoned. A fine boat had been left on the wreck unlaunched, and, as if to condemn the ignorant inhumanity of those on board the steamer, it was launched by the coolies with the aid of one sick European and four negroes. That boat actually passed the steamer, and found its way up to port. Imagination refuses to picture the horrors of the 300 human beings when steamer and boat had left, all through that Tuesday afternoon and night, with the ship sinking, the water coming ever nearer, the breakers sweeping off the weak and despairing, and the strong clinging and climbing ever higher on the masts. Wednesday morning dawned, and still no hope, till about seven she went down, and when the two steamers sent from Calcutta arrived at the scene, they found only the top of the mizenmast with three boys clinging to it, and covered with the rags of the poor wretches who had been washed off or had thrown themselves into the sea unencumbered, in the hope of safety. When the "Lady Elgin" returned, she saved fifty who had found their way on pieces of the wreck to Halliday Island; and the Oudh steamer, which afterwards searched the creek, picked up ten more. No less than 265 of the 497 coolies were lost. As if to add to the horrors of the story, several of the poor wretches who escaped drowning, when they landed on the mud islets near, were carried off by tigers. A story was told of two children who floated to shore. One had left his companion for a moment, and returned to see him in a tiger's jaws. He again threw himself into the sea and was picked up at the last extremity.

This lamentable catastrophe shocked public opinion in Calcutta no less severely than it did in England. There appeared to have been something wrong at almost every point. There was a chorus of indignation and censure at the conduct of almost every person concerned. Captain Hoskins, who did his duty better than any man there, declared that the ship might have been saved with every soul on board. As to the crew, their conduct seems to have been what might have been expected from their character and condition. It was only by bribery that they were at last induced to go and bring off their own captain from the sinking vessel.

Thus, in the light of day, in weather not dangerous, in a mere river channel, within four hours' sail of a good anchorage, and with a steam-tug actually on the spot and in company, nearly 300 miserable creatures were left to drown. The wonder is, indeed, that even so many were rescued, for the steamer herself, when she abandoned the wreck took away but 169, and the rest were picked up floating on the water, or stranded among the tigers in the jungle. More lives have been occasionally sacrificed by overwhelming and insurmountable calamities, but never before, we suppose, was there a loss at once so heavy and so inexcusable.



18. DEATH OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN.—At a quarter before eleven o'clock this morning, Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, First Minister of the Crown of these realms, died at Brockett Hall, Herts, the residence of Lady Palmerston, after an illness of only a few days' duration.

Although Lord Palmerston's health had long been failing, it was not until about a week previously that his condition became so serious as to excite any immediate anxiety in the minds of his friends. He was then confined to his bed, suffering severely from a bad cold that had recently affected him, as well as from some of the most painful consequences of the gout, including paralysis of the bladder. It was judged necessary to telegraph to London for medical assistance, and on the 13th the physicians arrived at Brockett Hall. Only on the 16th was it known in certain London circles that he was dangerously ill; and the following bulletin was issued to re-assure his friends on the evening of the 17th.

"In consequence of having taken cold, Lord Palmerston has been seriously ill; but he has steadily improved during the last three days, and is now much better.

"THOS. WATSON, M.D.

"PROTHEROE SMITH, M.D.

"Brockett Hall, Oct. 17."

At a late hour the same night the following was the bulletin:—

"Lord Palmerston's illness has become worse since the morning."

On the following morning the statement was still more discouraging:—

"Oct. 18, 9 a.m.

"Lord Palmerston's condition altered suddenly for the worse in the evening of yesterday, and he is now gradually sinking.

"THOS. WATSON, M.D.

"PROTHEROE SMITH, M.D.

"Brockett Hall."

"CHAS. DRAGE, M.D.

Later in the day the melancholy tidings of the noble viscount's decease was conveyed in the following terms:—

"After the last report Lord Palmerston's strength continued to fail, and at a quarter before eleven o'clock this morning he expired without suffering.

"THOS. WATSON, M.D.

"PROTHEROE SMITH, M.D.

"CHAS. DRAGE, M.D.

"Brockett Hall, Oct. 18<sup>1</sup>."

21. THE EGLINTON MONUMENT AT AYR.—A statue, by Mr. Noble, of the late Earl of Eglinton, who died in October, 1861, was unveiled to the public view in Wellington-square, in the town of

<sup>1</sup> A notice of Lord Palmerston's public career appears in another part of this volume. See Obituary, *post*.

Ayr, with Masonic and other ceremonies of an imposing kind, and with speeches delivered by Lord Colville, chairman of the Eglinton Memorial Committee; the Marquis of Ailsa, Lord Lieutenant of Ayrshire, the Provost of the town of Ayr, and other persons of local distinction—a very numerous assemblage, including most of the principal persons of the neighbourhood, having been brought together on the platform. The statue and pedestal have a fine effect; the figure being of colossal size, and displaying a good likeness of his lordship, wearing his uniform as Lord Lieutenant, with the Peer's robe thrown gracefully over his shoulders, and with the insignia of the orders of the Thistle and St. Patrick. The subscriptions to the Eglinton memorial having amounted to 7600*l.*, the surplus, amounting to 4500*l.*, was directed to be invested to provide Eglinton fellowships in the University of Glasgow, Lord Eglinton having been Lord Rector of that University.

24. THE COMBERMERE MONUMENT AT CHESTER.—The equestrian statue erected in front of the castle gate at Chester in honour of the late Field Marshal Lord Combermere was publicly uncovered; and on the same day, immediately afterwards, the foundation-stone of the new Town-hall of Chester was laid by the Mayor, Mr. R. Frost, so that it was a day of much festive ceremony in the good old town. The weather was, unfortunately, very wet. A procession, formed at the savings' bank, had conducted the managers of the monument and their distinguished guests—Earl and Countess Grosvenor, Lord Combermere, Sir Watkin W. Wynne, the Mayor, the Bishop of Chester, and Major-General Sir Edward Cust—to the castle-square, which was guarded by several military detachments and militia corps. Sir Edward Cust, introduced by Earl Grosvenor, made a speech concerning the gallant services and character of the late Field Marshal, by whose side he had fought his earliest battles in Spain. The statue was then uncovered, the troops presented arms, the bands played, and the bells in every church tower of the city rang a merry peal, indicating that the ceremony was concluded. The statue is equestrian, and of bronze. The likeness was considered correct, and the monument, as a whole, was much admired. The gallant Field Marshal is seated on a horse of fine proportions, his head is bared, and he is in the act of giving a salute. The height of the statue is 12 ft.; the pedestal is the same. The cost of the erection, subscribed by the inhabitants of Cheshire, was upwards of 6000*l.*, and of this sum 3000*l.* was paid to the artist, Baron Marochetti. The pedestal bears the following inscriptions:—On the front, "Erected in honour of Stapleton Cotton, Viscount Combermere, Field Marshal. Born 1773; died 1865." On the reverse side, "Flanders, Cape of Good Hope, Mallavelly, Seringapatam, the Douro, Talavera, Torres Vedras, Busaco, Villa Garcia, Castrajon, Fuentes d'Onor, Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, El Bodon, the Pyrenees, Orthes, Toulouse, West Indies, and Bhurtpore," places where the deceased had distinguished himself as a soldier.

27. FUNERAL OF LORD PALMERSTON.—The burial of Lord Palmerston took place in Westminster Abbey, instead of in the quiet rural churchyard of Romsey Abbey as had been originally intended in pursuance of the wish expressed by the late Premier himself.

A large concourse of persons had assembled in front of Cambridge House at an early hour to pay a last tribute of respect to the honoured remains of the deceased nobleman. All around presented an aspect befitting the obsequies of one so generally deplored. In all the neighbouring houses the close-drawn blinds testified the regard of the occupants for the late Minister. But it was chiefly in the extent, character, and demeanour of the crowd that was seen the due appreciation of the importance and solemnity of the occasion. Since the burial of the Duke of Wellington, no funeral has brought into the streets of the metropolis so large and respectable a portion of sympathizing spectators, and yet, as far as mere trappings and outward show were concerned, the melancholy procession differed very slightly from those frequently witnessed in the city. It was like the man in honour of whose memory it was arranged and carried out—he who, of all in high places, was freest from ostentation, and in the chief arena of his life was always remarkable for the manly tone of his speeches, and the bold and unaffected style of his utterance. And of the crowds who lined the whole route of the procession from Cambridge House to the Abbey at Westminster, the coveted shrine for the ashes of the most distinguished of our countrymen, it may be truly said that a more quiet, orderly congregation of people was never seen at any ceremonial in the public thoroughfares; and that, by far the larger portion appeared in mourning.

Under the direction of the Commissioners of Metropolitan Police all the ordinary traffic in the line selected for the funeral *cortège* was stopped at eleven o'clock. The task of keeping the roadway clear was allotted to the police, mounted and on foot, and, being aided by the ready obedience of the people, they found no difficulty in effectually performing it. At the West End of the town business was almost entirely suspended out of respect for the memory of Lord Palmerston. Most of the shops were closed, and all the rest had shutters up. This was also the case in the city, and for the most part in the suburbs, while the whole shipping in the river and the docks had their flags half-mast high. In front of Cambridge House, the crowd, of which a large part consisted of ladies, extended far into the Green Park. Before them, and facing the house, a detachment of the London Irish Volunteers, to whose corps the deceased lord belonged in an honorary capacity, took up their station in line, wearing only their side-arms. A body of the Hants Volunteers from Romsey, near which is Broadlands, the birthplace and country seat of the lamented viscount, was drawn up in the courtyard, in company with about



forty sailors connected with the Trinity House, of which he held the position of Master.

The Earl of Clarendon, Sir Charles Wood, Mr. Brand, Lord Shaftesbury, the Right Hon. W. Cowper, M.P., the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Cardwell, M.P., and Earl Russell were among the first mourners to arrive. At half-past eleven the Duke of Cambridge came in his state carriage, and alighted before it had entered the courtyard. He was attired in deep mourning, and wore the star and ribbon of the Order of the Garter. The Speaker of the late House of Commons, the Right Hon. E. Denison, next arrived, and he was speedily followed by several of Her Majesty's Ministers. Previously the carriages containing the representatives of provincial corporations, the Trinity House, the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the City of London, had approached along Piccadilly from the west, and been marshalled in a line which terminated at a short distance from Cambridge House.

Precisely at twelve o'clock, the hearse, drawn by six horses, entered the courtyard. It differed in no respect from that which is usually employed at funerals, with the exception of being emblazoned with the arms of the noble viscount. Upon the velvet side-pieces those arms appeared, combined with the arms of the Order of the Garter; the hammercloths bore the arms of the Trinity House, with the crest of the deceased; and on the back of the hearse were the crest and coronet. The combined arms, surmounted by the coronet, and with the well-known motto of the deceased, "*Flecti, non frangi*," below, were also displayed on the large black velvet horse-covers. These "achievements," which were painted in bright colours, which seemed brighter by contrast with the sombre hue of the background, afforded the only indications in the procession of the rank and dignities of the eminent statesman who was being carried to his grave. The coffin, covered with rich crimson velvet, studded with gilt nails, and bearing a plate with the name, titles, and age of the deceased, was borne from the house to the hearse on the shoulders of eight men. This operation, which occupied only a few minutes, was looked upon with evident signs of grief and emotion by the mourners.

The Romsey Company of Hants Volunteers, the seamen of the Naval Reserve, and the Trinity House seamen were allowed to see the coffin, which was placed in the dining-room. The inscription on the coffin was as follows:—

"The Right Honourable

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, K.G. G.C.B.

Born Oct. 20, 1784. Died Oct. 18, 1865."

At five minutes after twelve, the hearse containing the coffin left the courtyard, and moved slowly on in the direction of St. James's-street. Immediately afterwards the mourners, who had assembled in a room adjoining the dining-room, were conducted to their coaches. These carriages, ten in number, were followed by

the private carriage of Lord Palmerston, which was unoccupied, and had its blinds drawn. Next in succession were the carriages of the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Duchess of Cambridge, the bright scarlet liveries of the servants contrasting strongly with the ample black scarfs which they wore, and the prevailing sombre character of the rest of the funeral *cortége*. These again were followed by a long line of private carriages, of which those belonging to the ambassadors and representatives from foreign courts had precedence. Subjoined is the order of the procession :—

The Corporation of Bolton.

The Corporation of Salford.

The Corporation of Newport, Monmouthshire.

The Corporation of Dunstable.

The Dover Harbour Board.

The Corporation of Stirling.

The Corporation of Oxford.

The Corporation of Sunderland.

The Corporation of Birmingham.

The Corporation of Wolverhampton.

The Corporation of Bradford.

The Corporation of Macclesfield.

The Corporation of Liverpool.

The Corporation of Portsmouth.

The Corporation of Southampton.

The Corporation of Glasgow.

The Corporation of Manchester.

The Corporation of Preston.

The Corporation of Edinburgh.

The Corporation of Tiverton.

The Corporation of Romsey.

The Corporation of Sandwich.

The Corporation of Hastings.

The Metropolitan Board of Works.

The Trinity House Corporation.

Four Commoners of the Corporation of London.

Four Commoners of the Corporation of London.

Four Commoners of the Corporation of London.

One Sheriff and his Chaplain.

The Lord Mayor, his Chaplain, Sword, and Mace Bearers.

Officers of the Naval Reserve.

Seamen of the Trinity House Corporation.

The London Irish Volunteers, commanded by Major Leech.

The Romsey Volunteers, commanded by Ensign E. E. Fluder.

#### THE BODY,

In hearse drawn by six horses with escutcheons.

A Mourning Coach drawn by four horses, containing

Right Hon. Wm. Cowper.

Rev. H. Sullivan.

Sir Wm. Bowles, K.C.B.

Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.

A Mourning Coach drawn by four horses, containing	
Mr. Henry Hippisley.	Mr. Lawrence Hippisley.
Rev. R. G. Baker.	Mr. William Hippisley.

A Mourning Coach drawn by four horses, containing	
Hon. Spencer Cowper.	Hon. Henry Cowper.
Earl Cowper.	Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

A Mourning Coach drawn by four horses, containing	
Lord Ashley.	Hon. Cecil Ashley.
Hon. Lionel Ashley.	Viscount Jocelyn.

A Mourning Coach drawn by four horses, containing	
Hon. Frederick Jocelyn.	Sir G. Shee.
Viscount Sudley.	Mr. Charles Barrington.

A Mourning Coach drawn by four horses, containing  
The Treasurer of the Household (Viscount Bury), by command  
of Her Majesty.

A Mourning Coach drawn by four horses, containing	
H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge.	Viscount Sydney (the Lord Chamberlain).

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.	The Right Hon. E. J. Denison (the late Speaker).
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A Mourning Coach drawn by two horses, containing	
The Lord Chancellor.	Earl Granville, K.G.
Earl Russell, K.G.	Duke of Argyll, K.T.

A Mourning Coach drawn by two horses, containing	
Duke of Somerset, K.G.	Right Hon. Sir G. Grey.
Right Hon. W. Gladstone.	Right Hon. Sir C. Wood.

A Mourning Coach drawn by two horses, containing	
Earl of Clarendon, K.G.	Earl de Grey.
Lord Stanley of Alderley.	Right Hon. E. Cardwell.

A Mourning Coach drawn by two horses, containing	
Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson.	Hon. H. Brand.
Right Hon. C. P. Villiers.	

A Mourning Coach drawn by two horses, containing	
Dr. Watson.	Mr. Paget.
Dr. Protheroe Smith.	Dr. Charles Drage.

A Mourning Coach drawn by two horses, containing  
Dr. Dursten, house steward, and bearer of the coronet, and  
members of the household of Viscount Palmerston; after which  
came the long procession of the Royal and private carriages.

The progress of the funeral from its starting point to the reception of the body in the old Abbey was attended with tokens of marked respect for the departed statesman.

30. FIRE AT BEAL'S WHARF.—A destructive fire occurred at Beal's Wharf, Tooley-street, near the scene of the great fire of 1861. A boy and a porter were on the premises belonging to the Messrs. Beal, about five o'clock, for the purpose of lighting the engine fire, when they noticed a smell of something burning, and concluded a fire had broken out. The boy at once went for the engine and gave the alarm to the police. A constable who



was on duty sent immediately to Watling-street and to the stations on the Surrey side of the river. In a short time two steam-engines arrived on the spot. The flames had by this time reached the first-floors of the warehouse, in which were stored tea, Spanish liquorice, cane, seed, and pepper, and from the nature of the goods and mode in which they were packed the fire spread rapidly. Other engines arrived in quick succession, and there were present in a short time no less than eight land steam-engines, two manual-power engines, and the floating steam-engine, all in full play. The flames spread to several floors, but at last, between eleven and twelve o'clock, they were brought under control, and soon after extinguished. There were destroyed 1,500,000lb. of tea, worth 100,000*l*. Hay's Wharf, adjoining, escaped without damage.

31. **TERRIBLE EXPLOSION OF A GASOMETER.**—A terrible accident, causing a lamentable loss of life and great destruction of property, happened on the works of the London Gaslight Company, at Nine Elms, in the explosion of a gasometer fully charged with gas. The explosion occurred soon after two o'clock p.m. when the workmen had returned from dinner, and a large and massively-constructed building called the "meter-house," near to the gasometer was completely blown down, killing several on the spot, and fearfully injuring many others. Not only the works themselves suffered, but houses in the neighbourhood were shattered.—windows being blown out and doors shaken off the hinges, and, in many instances, the furniture in them completely wrecked, making in all a shocking scene of destruction.

At the works of the London Gaslight Company at Nine Elms there were two gasometers, each capable of holding, it is said, a million cubic feet of gas; the one gasometer, called No. 1, being about 400 ft. or 500 ft. nearer to the river than the other, which is called No. 2. Both gasometers were filled with gas, when No. 1 suddenly exploded with the sound of a park of artillery, shattering the massive iron roof of the gasometer, and filling the air all around with flames. The second gasometer quickly caught fire, and burnt with great fury, but no greater calamity arose from this, than the loss of gas. The men about the works were panic-stricken for a short time, and many endeavoured to make their escape as for their lives; but seeing others in danger, they returned and did their best to rescue their comrades. The work of destruction in the vicinity of No. 1 gasometer was indeed complete, the whole of a building, which before the explosion was there, being so completely destroyed, that scarcely one brick was left upon another; yet the fact that the building was a solid one was shown in large masses of masonry-like brick-work which had been heaved bodily from their places.

Within a very short time some thirty men were got out of the ruins, six of whom were quite dead, and so disfigured that they could not for some time be identified, and the others were taken at once to St. Thomas's Hospital, where they were at once seen by

the surgeons, Mr. Le Gros Clark and Mr. Sidney Jones. Some were only slightly injured, and were able to leave after having their wounds or bruises dressed; but with about a dozen the case was different, and these were taken in. Two of these died soon after admittance. Towards the dusk of evening another body was found, making in all nine that it was known by that time had perished. Besides those of the injured who were taken to the hospital, a great many were seen on the spot by three medical gentlemen who very kindly attended.

There were many eye-witnesses of the calamity, for the works were close to the river, on which, at this time of the year, there are always plenty of passenger boats. Those who saw the explosion describe it as one vast upheaving of flame, shooting high in the air, with a burst which shook every thing around. People nearly a mile off were thrown violently down, and persons who were in houses in streets adjacent to the works received some severe burns from the heat of the flames. The flames, indeed, mounted so high, that even though it was the middle of the day, they guided firemen to the scene from very long distances, but there was little need for their services beyond cooling No. 2 gasometer. The Horseferry-road engine was first on the spot, and was quickly followed by many others. The steam fire-engine "Torrent" attended, from Merryweather and Sons' Lambeth Factory, and their brigade assisted in clearing away the rubbish. Captain Shaw was present on the spot from the first, as was Captain Harris, the Deputy-commissioner of police. The explosion also brought police from all parts, and superintendents attended with parties of men, whose services were necessarily required.

Within a very short time after the calamity, the place was thronged with people in the utmost state of excitement, who waded about the sea of black mud with which this district is covered with the utmost indifference. By the aid of the police all who had no business in the works were kept from crowding about the spot, and so were saved from accident.

At night the districts supplied by these gasometers, were, so far as gas is concerned, in total darkness. Where there was a communication, the Vauxhall gas works of the company gave a supply, but of course a very limited one.

Labourers were employed all night in removing the fallen material, and their work was carried on by the light of huge fires lighted over the ground.

An inquest was subsequently held on the bodies of ten men who lost their lives by the explosion, and a thorough inquiry into the cause of the disaster took place. The following was the substance of the evidence as it bore upon the point in question.

Richard Harvey, foreman of the company's station and in their employ for thirty years, said he was in the No. 4 retort-house on the 31st, and saw several persons there, some of whom he did not know. A man named Smith said that gas was escaping in the meter-house.

Witness went there and saw Donnell, Thomsett, and five or six others, who appeared to be labourers or plasterers, pressing down the "governor," which was on the side nearest the wall. Witness had only time to get to the governor when the explosion occurred. Gas and water were escaping in large quantities from the governor, which was unsealed. Had the men not pressed the governor so much, the escape would not have been so large. This governor had been up for some weeks, and had acted very well. Opposite the meter-house there was a close lamp, called the test lamp; a flash of light came from the meter-makers' shops, where there was a window, and it ignited the gas which was escaping from the governor, and the explosion followed. Witness was thrown down, but retained his senses. He heard but one explosion. He believed that some plasterer must have inadvertently trodden on the governor, which tilting on one side, by the men pressing it down to rectify it, the escape of gas increased.

John K. Bartlett, chief valveman of the company, said there were two governors in use at the meter-house, one being smaller than the other. When witness left the works on the day of the accident, the water was quite right, and the governor sealed by the water. The holder No. 1 would hold, when full, 1,000,000 cubic feet of gas, and No. 2 the same quantity. There was no escape of gas when he left the works. He concurred with Harvey in thinking that some plasterer inadvertently displaced the governor, and in trying to set it right again caused a greater escape of gas. Gasometer No. 2 did not explode, but simply exhausted itself by fire, because there was not so great a pressure of gas, the fracture not being so large as that of No. 1.

Dr. H. Letheby, of Sussex-place, Regent's Park, professor of chemistry, produced the report of his investigation of the matter, which described the nature of the injuries produced by the explosion, and the probable cause. As to the cause, he said that the explanation of the witness Harvey was perfectly satisfactory to his mind. He was of opinion that the explosion took place from the meter-house, and the explosive force radiated in all directions, and acted on the nearest gas-holder instantaneously. There was clearly no explosion of the contents of the gas-holders, but only of the mixed gas in the meter-house. He considered the explosion to have been an entire accident, and that there had been no want of care on the part of the company. Had the explosion been from the contents of the gas-holders, the neighbouring buildings would have been all destroyed.

Michael Dwolan, assistant valveman, deposed that some plasterers had been at work, and he told O'Donnell, their master, to caution the men not to tread on the governor. He gave him this caution because he (witness) had seen one of the men put his foot on the governor one day.

Other witnesses deposed to the governor having been in perfect order up to the day of the accident.



The jury returned a verdict "That the explosion was the result of accident, and at the same time they considered it was advisable that the governor should be covered up, or so protected that persons unacquainted with its nature should not get access to it."

## NOVEMBER.

**COLLISION IN THE MERSEY—LOSS OF NINE LIVES.**—A strange accident, unhappily involving the foundering of two vessels and the loss of nine lives, occurred early this morning in the Mersey. The ship "Culloden," Captain Hutchinson, which sailed from the Mersey on the 21st ult., put back to Liverpool a few days since in a leaky condition, having encountered the full force of the recent gales on the passage down the Channel *en route* for Portland (Maine). On arrival in the Mersey she anchored near New Ferry, preparatory to entering the Graving-dock. The schooner "Rover," bound from Whitehaven with a cargo of iron ore for Garston, was anchored near the "Culloden." During the night and early this morning a stiff breeze was blowing, accompanied with rain and sleet, and about 5 a.m. the schooner, borne upon by a heavier gust than usual, dragged her anchors (both of which were down) and drifted on to the "Culloden." The "Culloden" had only one anchor down, the other being peaked. This peaked anchor penetrated the bows of the schooner, which filled in about three minutes, and went down, dragging the "Culloden" with her. Three of the crew of the latter vessel were on deck, and they shouted to their comrades below to come up immediately and save their lives. Some of the men were asleep, others rushed into the forecastle to try to save their clothes; but the "Culloden" settled so fast that the whole of the nine men went down. The three on deck climbed the shrouds of the sinking ship, and were picked up, together with the men of the "Rover," by the steam-tug "Wonder," and a boat from her Majesty's ship "Donegal." The "Culloden" belonged to Messrs. Bannerman and Maney, of Liverpool. The captain of the "Culloden" was on shore at the time of the accident. The "Culloden" was a vessel of about 900, and the "Rover" one of about 200 tons.

**7. OPENING OF THE PNEUMATIC DESPATCH TUBE.**—A ceremony of much scientific and public interest took place at the offices of the Pneumatic Despatch Company, 245, Holborn. This consisted in the opening publicly of the first portion of the tube formed to connect the General Post-office with the terminus of the London and North-Western Railway, and eventually to open up a new system of communication throughout the metropolis. The Pneumatic despatch system had been to a limited extent in operation already. A short line was laid down experimentally at Battersea

two or three years ago, and afterwards transferred to Seymour-street, where it was used in the conveyance of mails between Euston-square station and the north-western district post-office in Eversholt-street. A short passenger line on the same principle was also constructed at the Crystal Palace. The present, however, is the first practical application of the process on any thing like a large scale, and the results are certainly encouraging. The distance from Euston-square to Holborn is exactly one mile and three-quarters; the second portion of the line, running off at right angles to the General Post-office, is an additional mile in length, and of this further portion one-half has been laid. The opportunity afforded of seeing the line in actual working order naturally drew together a number of gentlemen whose names are familiar in the scientific and commercial world. There were present, among others, the Duke of Buckingham, chairman of the company; Messrs. W. H. Smith and J. H. Lloyd, directors; Sir C. Bright, M.P., Sir C. Roney, Mr. Sheriff Gibbons, Mr. Horne (of the firm of Chaplin and Horne), Sir C. Fox, Mr. Scott Russell, Major-General Margary, R.E., Colonel Creed, Mr. Baker, engineer to the London and North-Western Railway; Mr. Fowler, engineer to the Metropolitan Railway; Mr. Samuda, Mr. W. T. Rammell, and Mr. Latimer Clark, joint engineers of the company, &c. Entering from the level of Holborn, the visitor passes along a corridor through a doorway, and emerges upon a gallery of considerable size, from which he looks down on a brick floor, supporting lines of rails, much as he might do from a railway platform down on to the line, but from a greater elevation. Underneath the corridor by which he has just entered, he sees some mechanical appliances, suggestive partly of an engine-room, and partly of a pointsman's gallery outside a railway station; and below the level, again, on which the white-jacketed engineer in charge is standing, and supporting the platform on which both he and these mechanical appliances rest, are a couple of openings, looking like black polished modern chimney-pieces with the grates withdrawn. These are the mouths of the pneumatic tubes, of which one communicates with the North-Western Railway; the other is destined for drawing in and delivering supplies from and to the postal head-quarters in London. The hour appointed yesterday for the experiment to begin was half-past one, and shortly after that hour a sudden snap, and a sighing, rushing sound, like that which often heralds the beginning of a storm, announced that the machinery was set in motion. The snapping noise proved, on examination, to have proceeded from the closing of iron doors a little way within the shadow of what has been compared to a fireplace, and these doors met, not evenly, but at an angle like that of a broad arrow, the point projecting outward, so as to resist the atmospheric pressure. Some minutes passed before any thing further was visible or audible; for, though with a moderate amount of pressure the pneumatic train is propelled at a speed of

twenty-five miles an hour, from seven to eight minutes are required for the transit from Euston-square to Holborn. At last the close attention bestowed by the engineer upon his various signals and gauges was rewarded by a telegraphic tinkling indicative of the fact that the greater portion of the journey had been accomplished. A second and third signal followed at no great intervals; and almost immediately upon the last of these the doors flew open, and in rolled four dwarfish iron waggons, weighing, with their contents, some ten tons in the aggregate. The manner in which these doors open, as if by magic, to admit the string of carriages coming apparently from the bowels of the earth, is one of the most interesting features in the entire process. To render it intelligible, it must be premised that the air in the tube is alternately exhausted and condensed, according to the direction in which the train is going, and that the shaft communicating with the stationary engine which generates the blast, or causes the suction, enters the tube about 100 ft. from its mouth. There is, therefore, a body—technically speaking, a “cushion,”—of air, 100 ft. in length, behind the draught pipe, which renders material service in arresting the progress of the advancing train, and which would, in fact, bring it to a dead stop within the tube if the doors were suffered to remain closed. A spring lever, however, underlies the rails at a short distance up the tube, and this, when pressed by the weight of the train, withdraws the bolt that keeps the doors in their places, and suffers them to be blown open. Although, however, they fly apart with a violence that is really alarming, they create no sound, and sustain no injury themselves, owing to the fact that when fully open they are received into air-chambers. Air, therefore, in one and the same movement, is made to exhibit the force of a giant and the softness of a glove. As regards the carriages, in shape they are like a capital D turned over on its straight side and mounted upon wheels; either end of the carriage has a raised hood or flange, shaped so as to correspond with the interior of the tube, the dimensions of which are 4 ft. in height by 4 ft. 6 in. in width. On this occasion they were laden or ballasted with shingle filled into sacks, but their ordinary freight is expected to be in the first instance letter bags, then probably railway parcels, certain descriptions of market produce, and ultimately, it may be, general merchandise. After the train had made some successful passages to and fro, several of the party expressed a strong desire to pass through the tube themselves. They were warned that the line was “not constructed with a view to passenger traffic.” Nevertheless each of the waggons had soon as many occupants as it could comfortably accommodate in the recumbent posture enforced by circumstances. Tarpaulin coverings were obtained for one or two of the carriages, but the greater number of the excursionists had to fit themselves in as best they could among the bags of shingle. The first sensation at starting, and still more so upon arriving, was certainly not agreeable. For about a quarter of a



minute, in each case, there was a pressure upon the ears suggestive of diving-bell experience, a suction like that with which one is drawn under a wave, and a cold draught of wind upon the eyes, having almost the effect of falling water; but once fairly within the tube these sensations were got rid of, or left behind, and the motion had little more positive discomfort about it than would be attended by riding on a "lorry" over the worst ballasted line in England. It was a curious sensation, to be flying along through the earth, feet foremost, in utter darkness, for the best part of ten minutes, which, in such a place, seemed half an hour, knowing that to the right and left of you there were gas-pipes, water-pipes, drains, cellars, roots of trees, and all the intricate fibres of the London subsoil-way; that nearer again to you was an arch which you might touch at your peril, and that of all these you could see nothing. The air within the tube was by no means foul or disagreeable; here and there a strong flavour of rust was encountered, but this was explained by the fact that as the tube had to be laid in lengths through various soils, and encountered in the process a large share of unfavourable weather, the corrosion on the surface of the iron could not be expected wholly to disappear until cleared away by the friction of constantly passing and repassing trains. On the arrival of the excursionists at the upper or Euston-square extremity of the line, they quitted their places for a few moments, to inspect the smaller tube which communicates with the Eversholt-street district post-office, and then returned by the way that they had come to Holborn.

No doubt remained on the mind of any person who made the double transit as to the facilities which the system, if a sufficient number of stations can be incorporated with it, is calculated to afford, not only to the postal service, but to the requirements of the general public.

9. THE LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET.—This day the new Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman Phillips, was escorted, according to annual custom, from the Guildhall to Westminster Hall, to be presented to the Barons of the Exchequer. The ceremony was marked by the absence of some of its usual pageantry; Mr. Phillips having determined that much of the ceremony hitherto observed should be abandoned. There were no men in armour, and much of what in past times was considered necessary to a successful Lord Mayor's Day was wanting, greatly to the credit of the City and to the advantage of the thoroughfares along which the civic procession passed. At half-past eleven "the pageant" started from the Guildhall for Westminster. The Lord Mayor took the oath before the Lord Chief Baron in the Court of Exchequer. The procession, on its return, was joined by the Ambassadors, Her Majesty's Ministers, the nobility, judges, members of Parliament, and other persons of distinction invited to the banquet at Guildhall. There were upwards of 1000 guests present on that occasion, among whom were Earl Russell, First Lord of the Treasury, the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor

of the Exchequer, and other distinguished persons in Church and State.

After the usual toasts, viz., "The Queen," "The Prince of Wales, &c.," "The Army, Navy, and Volunteers," "The Foreign Ministers," "The Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.," and "The Lord Chancellor," "The Health of Her Majesty's Ministers" was proposed.

Earl Russell, who was received with loud cheers, then rose and said:—"My Lord Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, I beg to return thanks, in the name of my colleagues and myself, for the honour which you have done us in drinking our healths. I expected, my Lord Mayor, that in proposing the toast of Her Majesty's Ministers, your lordship would recall to mind the great loss which the country has suffered by the death of Lord Palmerston. He was a man qualified to conduct the business of the country successfully through the vicissitudes of war and peace. He attained the office of Prime Minister while the country was involved in war, but he conducted its affairs for a long time during peace. He had the resolution, the resource, the promptitude, the vigour which befitted war; and, when peace arrived, he showed that he could maintain internal tranquillity, and, by extending our commercial relations, could give to the country the fruits of the blessings of peace. The reason why he was able to do this is plain. It is that his heart always beat for the honour of England. His mind, strengthened by experience, comprehended the whole field of the interests of this country, and he was therefore capable of applying that knowledge to the consideration of those interests, whatever emergency might arise. But, if that loss has been one of the gravest to the country, it has been still graver to those for whom I speak—my colleagues and myself—who were accustomed day by day to consult him upon the affairs of the country, and to be guided by the light which he could throw upon every subject in which its interests were engaged. My Lord Mayor, upon the melancholy intelligence of the decease of Lord Palmerston, Her Majesty was pleased to call upon me to fulfil the functions of First Lord of the Treasury, and to carry on the Government of the country. It was Her Majesty's undoubted prerogative to call upon me, and, in my opinion, I should have been a craven and a coward if I had not answered to that call. What was necessary was in the first place that I should obtain the assurance of the support and confidence of my colleagues. That, I am proud to say, I at once obtained, and accompanied with circumstances which I cannot mention at this time; but which, if I could venture, would show you the disinterested spirit in which men in their high station looked at their duties to the country. It is a fortunate circumstance that in taking the guidance of public affairs we do so during a period of peace. It is this very month fifty years since the treaty of peace was signed with France. That peace has been fruitful in benefits, but never more than

within the last few years, when our relations with France have been extended and strengthened to such a degree that we may hope that the two nations, having learnt to esteem one another's great qualities in war, will proceed together in peace, and that for fifty years to come they will be more friendly and more united than they have hitherto been. For the last few years, on the occasion of these meetings, we have had to lament the civil war which desolated the United States of America. That war is happily now at an end, and I trust that that great Republic, having freed itself from the guilt and the stain of slavery, will continue in a state of peace and prosperity for centuries to come. Such, at least, is the wish of Englishmen, for I believe there are none but friendly feelings entertained towards that mighty Republic. But, my Lord Mayor and gentlemen, reverting to the situation of the present Government, I may say that while it is far from my wish to ask for premature expressions of confidence, I trust I may appeal against premature declarations of want of confidence. It is but consistent with the justice and generosity of Englishmen, that we should not be embarrassed by such declarations. We are placed in an arduous situation, with the loss of a great statesman to deplore, and we ought at least to be allowed to consider the course we shall take, and the measures we should pursue before any opinion is expressed upon our conduct. With regard to principles generally, gentlemen, I can only say that for myself I cannot abandon those principles which for twenty years, come weal come woe, recommended me to the confidence of this great city. I shall always reflect with pride on the connexion which existed between us. I shall not, for my part, forget the acquaintances that I then formed, nor shall I forget the principles which I then declared to the people of this great city, and which they ratified with their approbation. There is, however, another part of practical politics besides the principles which are to be adopted. There is the application of those principles, which is a question always of events, of circumstances, of time, and of opportunity. It would be rash and unwarrantable in me were I now to enter upon any consideration of the measures that the Government may think proper to introduce. I will only say this, that they must be measures not of yesterday but of to-day—that each year has its own wants. The country has, from time to time, its own wants, and it is the duty of the Government of this country to consider those wants and those wishes in the measures which they may bring forward for the confidence of Parliament. With these observations, I have only to say that we shall be content in the course we may think proper to pursue to abide by the verdict of the country. If our measures are wise, and calculated for the interests of the country, we shall be proud to receive its confidence; but if those measures are not so calculated, we shall bow to the judgment of the country with respect.” The noble



lord concluded by proposing "The Health of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledged the toast of the "House of Commons." He made a feeling allusion to the death of the late Premier. "At the present moment, indeed, it is not under the most favourable circumstances that any one can speak for what the Lord Mayor has justly called that august assembly; for, recently chosen to the exercise of their duties, the Members of that House have as yet had no opportunity of proving how far they are disposed, or how far they are able, to serve their country. And more than this, the losses that have been spoken of have fallen heavily upon the House of Commons. The archer Death, I may truly say, has stricken down the foremost deer of all the herd. If Lord Palmerston is lamented in every corner of the land, in no place probably will his loss be so severely felt, in no place will it be so difficult, in no place must so long a time elapse before any one can be found to emulate his remarkable qualities, as within the walls of the House of Commons."

With respect to the assembly which had recently been elected, the right hon. gentleman said—"The House of Commons which has to meet, I have no doubt will, like those that preceded it, be inspired by what I might almost call the sacred genius of the place itself. It will be guided by the long-established traditions of Parliament. It will be influenced by the enlightened opinion of the country. It will proceed in a spirit of cheerfulness and in a spirit of justice to the discharge of its elevated duties; and well, my Lord Mayor, do I feel assured that when in future years your successors in that chair—and there will be none more worthy than yourself—shall again propose to the acceptance of the citizens of London the health of the present House of Commons, you will then be able to accord as a tribute of gratitude what to-day you have generously accorded as a tribute of hope; for that House will surely, like those that preceded it, have contributed to carry forward the work of public progress and improvement, and establish itself in the affections by promoting the welfare of the country."

Several other toasts followed, among which were "The House of Peers," and "Her Majesty's Judges;" and the Lord Chancellor completed the list by proposing "The Ladies."

—ARRIVAL OF THE "SHENANDOAH" IN THE MERSEY.—The famous Confederate cruiser, the "Shenandoah" which inflicted such serious damage upon the merchant shipping of the Federal States of America during the civil war, arrived in the Mersey, and was surrendered by Captain Waddell to the commander of H.M. ship "Donegal," Captain Paynton; by whom, in obedience to the orders of H.M. Government, she was given up to the consular agents of the United States' Government. Captain Waddell, who addressed a letter to Lord Russell to explain his conduct, stated that the last vessel he spoke was the "Barracouta," from Liverpool for San

Francisco, from which he learnt that the South was really and truly defeated. On this he at once stowed away his guns and ammunition in the hold, and steered for Liverpool, stopping at no other port.

The "Shenandoah," formerly named the "Sea King," was built at Glasgow, in 1863, by Messrs. Alexander Stephens and Sons, on the composite principle introduced by them, which consists of an iron frame planked with rock elm below the water-line and with teak above. Her dimensions are 220 ft. in length, 32 ft. 5 in. in breadth, and 20 ft. 5 in. in depth; her tonnage is 1018 tons register, 1130 tons builders' measurement. She was rigged as a full clipper ship, and fitted with engines of 200-horse power, by Messrs. A. and J. Inglis, of Glasgow. She was first chartered by the British Government to take out troops and a battery to New Zealand; thence she proceeded to Hankow and Shanghai, loaded a full cargo of teas, and made the passage home to London in seventy-nine days, inclusive of five days' coaling on the voyage. On her arrival at London she was chosen by Confederate agents, bought by a Liverpool man, and cleared ostensibly for Bombay. She was met off Madeira by the Clyde-built screw-steamer "Laurel," which had also been purchased by a Liverpool man, and had been sent from that port with the armament of the future "Shenandoah." After taking on board her stores and guns, the "Shenandoah" hoisted the Confederate flag; the master, Corbett, who took her out to Madeira, having a bill of sale made out in his favour, returned and said he had sold his ship. The "Shenandoah," having started on her destructive mission, did vast damage to the commerce of the Northern States, as long as the war lasted. About the beginning of this year, she suddenly turned up at Melbourne, and, after receiving a fresh stock of supplies, sailed for the North Pacific, where, notwithstanding that the commander was repeatedly told by the masters of neutral vessels whom he met on the high seas that the war between the North and South had terminated, he refused to believe them. Long after Lee's surrender and Davis's capture, Captain Waddell sunk, burned, and otherwise destroyed whole fleets of whalers in the Ochotzk Sea and Behring's Strait. Nothing more was heard of the "Shenandoah" until her arrival in the Mersey. She had no guns on deck, all her armament being stowed away below in boxes. The crew of the "Shenandoah" numbered 133 men; and as soon as she was surrendered, Captain Waddell and some of the officers separated. Since setting out on her work of destruction, the "Shenandoah" had destroyed thirty-seven vessels, the majority of which were whalers, and these were destroyed after the cessation of hostilities. Her depredations amongst the whaling fleets caused sperm oil to run up from 70*l.* to 120*l.* per ton; and until the news of the surrender reached the port whence whalers depart, the Arctic seas would certainly be bare of the customary amount of whaling vessels.

18. LAUNCH OF H.M.S. "VIXEN," AT DEPTFORD GREEN DOCKYARD.—This afternoon there was launched, by Mr. Charles Lungley, from Deptford Green Dockyard an iron-cased gun-boat, for Her Majesty's navy, and which is one of the last vessels built by Mr. Lungley on his own account. This vessel, which is named the "Vixen," is built on the combination principle, and her armour plates, which are  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, are sheathed with wood, thereby giving the vessel an outward appearance of being timber built, while she really has the strength and safety of an iron ship, with the advantages which an iron ship does not possess, of being coppered, so that the vessel can be kept clean and maintain her speed in any water. The dimensions of the "Vixen" are:—Length 160 ft., breadth  $32\frac{1}{2}$  ft., depth 13 7-12ths ft. The builders' measurement is 740 tons. She is propelled by twin screw engines of 160 nominal horse power, and the armament consists of two 300-pounder howitzer shunt guns, and two 24-pounder howitzers. The launch, which was highly successful, and attended by a large and influential company, took place at two o'clock, after which an adjournment was made to the Ship Hotel at Greenwich, where a sumptuous dinner was provided by Mr. Lungley for his guests.

22. EXTRAORDINARY GALES AND STORMS.—A gale of great violence raged over the metropolis, and extended to various parts of the coast of England, doing much damage. In London and the suburbs many chimney stacks were blown down, and various accidents caused by portions of buildings falling in the streets. Upwards of 300 square feet of the zinc roofing covering the labour-shed attached to the Marylebone Workhouse was blown off in one sheet, and, after whirling round high in the air, fell with a heavy crash into the middle of the Marylebone-road. In its descent it struck the wheels of a waggon which was passing, and the driver from fright fell into a fit, and remained insensible for several minutes. A workman was blown from a scaffolding, in the district of Holborn, and falling some fifty feet, his skull was fractured. At the entrance of the station near Cannon-street, where the new City Hotel was being built by Messrs. Lucas, a labourer lost his life. The wind had loosened many of the boards which had been used for roofing the station, and at about a quarter to eleven one of these boards was blown off the roof by a fearful gust, and struck a labourer named Longnine, who was on the scaffolding on the Dowgate-hill side of the new hotel. He was killed instantly. In New Southwark-street a large building in the course of erection was blown down. In the docks, and generally below bridge, considerable damage was done by vessels breaking from their moorings and coming into collision with others. Off Blackwall a boat containing three men was swamped, but fortunately a steam-tug was near the spot, and rendered assistance. Above London-bridge several collisions occurred, but no serious results were recorded. Two barges came in collision between Vauxhall and Chelsea, and such was the force



of the concussion, that one of them had a hole knocked in its side, and immediately sank. The man in charge of it jumped on the other barge just in time to save his life.

Along the western and south-western coasts the tempest raged with great violence. At Plymouth, Bridport, Swansea, and other places several vessels were driven ashore, and in some instances there were wrecks attended with loss of life. The South Wales Railway below Swansea to Milford was torn away, and all traffic along that part of the line was stopped. The up and down lines were torn up and wrapped over one another, and the telegraph line was also washed away. At Bristol and its neighbourhood the violence of the gale was extraordinary. The passage-pier of the Bristol and South Wales Union Railway was seriously injured. About half-past 9 a.m., Mr. Adey, superintendent of the line, visited the passage, and found it impossible to take the passengers across as usual, as the sea was sweeping over the entire length of the pier, which extends into the channel for a distance of a quarter of a mile. Mr. Adey succeeded, not without imminent risk, in crossing the surf, and found that the centre of the pier was passable, but on reaching the end it was found that a portion had been carried away. The "skirting-board," a ponderous piece of the structure, having first yielded to the fury of the waves, taking with it a considerable portion of the ballast of the line, had thus displaced the rails, rendering it impossible for an engine to traverse them. As the tide receded it was further discovered that a portion of the stairway used at low water had been demolished, and this part of the pier, together with the skirting-boards, was found floating in the sea. Packers and other workmen were immediately brought to the spot, the ballast and skirting-board were replaced, and traffic was resumed in the course of the afternoon, the company running special trains to accommodate the passengers who had been delayed on the Portskillock side. After the receipt of the usual telegrams in advance of the London morning papers, all electric communication was suspended, the wires of the various companies having been blown down, or otherwise rendered useless. The steam-packets and other vessels leaving the port had hardly quitted the river before the fury of the gale warned them to proceed no further, and they returned and sought safety by anchoring in the Avon.

27. THE CONFEDERATE CRUISER "SHENANDOAH".—In the Court of Queen's Bench, was tried the Queen *v.* Corbett, an indictment under the Foreign Enlistment Act, for engaging Her Majesty's subjects to serve in arms against a foreign power not at war with England. The Solicitor-General for the Crown said the facts were these:—On the 8th of October the ship "Sea King" (commanded by defendant) left London. She was a screw-steamer of great speed, and was registered as 790 tons. She had previously been owned by Mr. Wright, who, on the 7th of October, empowered the defendant to sell her for not less than 45,000*l.* at any

port out of the United Kingdom. She had ostensibly sailed for Bombay, and a great number of seamen had been engaged for the voyage. On reaching Madeira the "Laurel" steamer, from Liverpool, joined her, and guns, ammunition, &c., were transhipped into her from the "Laurel," and several Confederate officers, including Captain Waddell, came on board, took possession, and changed the name of the ship to the "Shenandoah." After the warlike stores were transhipped, the defendant informed the crew that he had sold the ship to these Confederate gentlemen, and that she would henceforth be a privateer in the Confederate service. He added that the men would do well to join her, as the wages would be high, and the bounty liberal; and he told Captain Waddell that he had engaged as many unmarried men as he could. A cask of sovereigns was placed near the cabin to induce the men to join. Some of the men entered the Confederate service, others refused, and the latter sailed with Captain Corbett in the "Laurel" to Teneriffe, where the British Consul, on hearing of the facts, had Captain Corbett taken into custody. This indictment contained fifty-five counts, in which the offence was variously charged.

Several witnesses were called to prove the above facts.

Mr. James, Q.C., for the defendants, asked the Solicitor-General to state on which of the fifty-five counts he intended to rely.

The Solicitor-General said he relied on three sets of counts. First, on those which charged Captain Corbett with having in this country incited certain persons to enter and serve on board a vessel intended for warlike purposes; secondly, he would rely on the counts charging a similar offence as having been committed upon the high seas; and, thirdly, on those which described the offence as having been committed in a certain place abroad, namely, on board a British vessel at a certain place.

The Chief Justice said the questions would be whether the case fell within the Act of Parliament, either generally or having reference to the place where the offence charged was committed. The question for the jury would be, whether, in fact, Captain Corbett did procure or attempt to procure any person to enlist in a foreign service.

The evidence for the prosecution, as given by John Elliot, John Allen, John Hawkins (seamen), James Webster (fireman), and other witnesses, who had sailed in the "Sea King," corroborated the statement of the Solicitor-General.

Mr. Edward James, Q.C., addressed the jury for the defence. Witnesses were then called.

The Court was about to rise, when the foreman of the jury asked what questions they would have to decide.

The Chief Justice.—The first question will be, whether you believe the statement of the witnesses for the Crown, that Captain Corbett, having informed his crew that he had sold the vessel, then advised them and urged them to join and serve on board her as a Confederate cruiser, telling them it would be a good thing

for them, and so on. There is a direct conflict of evidence as to it.

The Foreman.—My lord, we are all agreed as to that. If we find that he did not, is there any other point?

The Solicitor-General said it would be his duty to address the jury before they found their verdict.

The Chief Justice.—Assuming, gentlemen, that you find he did not so advise or urge the crew, or any of them—that is, if you do not believe the Crown witnesses—then there will be no further question for you. But if, on the other hand, you do not so find, then, in order to raise the questions of law which are involved in the case, I shall have to ask you whether, at the time, the ship was a British ship, or whether it had changed hands. If it were a British ship, it was part of the British dominions. As I said, however, that question will not come before you in the event of your finding for the defendant on the first point.

Mr. Edward James, Q.C. having addressed the jury for the defence, the Lord Chief Justice commented on the conflicting evidence as to the question of whether the defendant had or had not endeavoured to induce some of the crew to enter into the Confederate service, and left the questions of fact to the jury.

The jury retired to consider their verdict, and in about five minutes returned a verdict of “Not Guilty,” which was received with a slight attempt at applause.

## DECEMBER.

2. PRESENTATION OF PRIZES TO THE LONDON VOLUNTEER RIFLE BRIGADE.—The interesting ceremony of the presentation of prizes to the successful competitors in rifle shooting attached to the London Rifle Brigade, took place in the Central Transept of the Crystal Palace, in the presence of a large number of the civic dignitaries of the city of London, and some five or six thousand spectators.

Lady Harriet Warde, the wife of Lieutenant Colonel Warde, the commandant of the brigade, undertook the ceremony of distribution, and was supported by Colonel Erskine, Inspector-General of Volunteers, Viscount Ranelagh, Major Chartres, Adjutant, Queen's (Westminsters); Serjeant Harris, 1st Devon Horse Volunteers, and Aide-de-Camp to Lord Ranelagh, with a great number of officers of various metropolitan volunteer regiments.

The regiment, which had previously paraded on the Upper Terrace, marched at five o'clock to the Central Transept, to the number of some 300 or 400, and formed three sides of a square in front of the Great Handel Orchestra, where the dais was constructed. On either side of the chairs of state, to the centre of which Lady Harriet Warde was conducted, were ranged tables,



on which were displayed the magnificent array of plate and other valuables, articles awarded as prizes, reaching in money value to an aggregate of over 1000*l.*; and the Central Transept was otherwise handsomely decorated with the standard and other flags of the brigade, the whole of these arrangements (which were carried out in a most effective manner) being entrusted to Lieutenant Clearson, the Secretary and Quartermaster of the regiment. The brigade having been called to "Attention," Lieutenant-Colonel Warde addressed them in an animated speech, in which he congratulated them on the fact that the brigade, by maintaining its high character in the volunteer service, and by downright hard work and efficiency in drill, had gained the good opinion of the citizens of London. This was exhibited by the fact that the wards of the city of London were not only now coming forward to give prizes, but adopting the companies of the regiment as the companies of the respective wards, and conferring on such companies their ward titles. This was a step in the right direction, and he hoped the time would speedily come when every company in the London Rifle Brigade would represent and show the designation of each of the wards of the city of London. One ward (the ward of Cripplegate) had presented them with a very valuable trophy to be shot for annually—ay, to be shot for every year for ever, for he believed the brigade would last as long. That trophy was on the table now before them, and represented in silver a model of the old gate that stood at Cripplegate many hundreds of years ago. In reference to the numerical strength of the regiment, the gallant Colonel observed that they were in numbers 100 members better than they were last year; but, still, it was the duty of a commanding officer never to be satisfied. He desired still to have more men. Although there could be little to complain of with regard to their general efficiency, for in that respect they continued to maintain their proverbial high character in the volunteer service, still, he could have wished that their shooting had kept pace with their drill, as, in that respect, there was a slight falling off as compared with previous years. Their meeting, on the whole, was one of the highest gratification.

Lady Harriet Warde, with the assistance of her gallant husband, Lieutenant Clearson, and other officers, then proceeded to distribute the prizes, amongst the principal of which were the following:—

The Gold Medal, for the best shot in the brigade, with first prize for aggregate score; Diamond Ring, value 15*l.* 15*s.*, and the Company Medal; Major Rous's second prize, value 5*l.* 5*s.*; prize of 5*l.*, presented by Lieutenant-General Sir George Bowles, K.C.B.; and prize of 5*l.*, in memory of the late Ensign Banister, presented by his father, won by Colour-Serjeant Churchill, A Company, who was received, on presenting himself, by the band playing the "Conquering Hero," and with great applause.

Prize Trophy, presented by the Ward of Cripplegate, consisting of a silver model of "Cripplegate," value 100 guineas, to be com-

peted for annually, with the Ward prize of 10*l.* 10*s.*, five rounds at 200, 500, and 600 yards, won by Assistant-Surgeon Stormont, with forty-four marks.

Lieutenant-Colonel Warde's prize, Silver Cup, value 15*l.* 15*s.*, to Serjeant Towers, C Company.

The prizes of the various city companies and wards were very valuable, and prizes were also presented to the Cadet Corps; Serjeant Jewsbury's prize for efficiency in drill, an Electro Silver Cup, being carried off by Cadet Corporal Scholes; and prizes by Mr. J. B. Walker, for good attendance, by cadets G. Biddeford, E. Izod, D. Stewart, and A. Pill, who, on presenting themselves, were loudly cheered.

There were more than one hundred other prizes; and eighty members who received the marksmen's badges for the years 1865 and 1866.

Thanks were then given to Colonel Erskine, and to Lady Harriet Warde for distributing the prizes.

9. DEATH OF LEOPOLD I., KING OF THE BELGIANS.—Her Majesty received at Windsor Castle, this afternoon, with profound sorrow, the announcement of the loss which had fallen on Her Majesty and the Royal Family by the death of the King of the Belgians—Her Majesty's last surviving uncle, and the last of his generation of the House of Saxe-Coburg. The loss, though not unexpected, was not less felt by the Queen, who, in the King of the Belgians, lost a most affectionate relative and a most sagacious adviser, a friend and counsellor of the Prince Consort, to whom he was warmly attached, and whom from childhood the Queen had looked upon in the light of a father; whose interest in the Queen's welfare was unceasing, and whose kindness she could never forget.

— THE YELVERTON CASE.—The case of Mrs. Longworth Yelverton against the "Saturday Review" for libel was brought to a close at Edinburgh. The jury, after three hours' deliberation, were equally divided in opinion. After five hours more, they returned a verdict for the defendants by a majority of nine to three. The verdict was received with some hisses.

11. THE SMITHFIELD CLUB CATTLE SHOW.—This Exhibition commenced to-day, being a week later than usual, and was continued during the three following days. The first was the day of the private view. The peculiar feature of the year's show was that for the first time in its annals the grand prize was carried off by a long-horned Scot, the post of honour having been during the last twenty years confined either to a Devon, Hereford, or short-horn. The Duke of Sutherland was the fortunate winner of the first prize of 30*l.*, the cup (value 40*l.*), and the gold medal, for his five years and eight months old Scotch horned steer, as the best animal in any of the classes. For sheep, the first prize of 20*l.*, silver cup and silver medal, were gained by Lord Berners for his Leicester wethers. The Earl of Radnor, the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Sondes, Lord Walsingham, and Mr. Bennett of Salisbury, were

also winners of prizes. The show generally was considered above the average of excellence; and, notwithstanding the prevailing epidemic amongst cattle, the highest veterinary authorities and practical breeders pronounced it as one of the best in point of soundness of the animals which has been known for many years. The Leicester and South Devon sheep were considered remarkably fine, but the Cotswolds are rapidly gaining popularity, especially amongst the butchers, for the quantity as well as quality of the meat they produce. Of the pigs there was little to be said, except that they presented their usual qualifications in respect to obesity, and were improved in a sanitary point of view, by means of increased ventilation, and the powerful properties of M'Dougall's disinfecting powder. There were many more visitors than usual on the private view day.

The second day the show was opened to the public, and the number of those who paid the admission-fee of one shilling was variously estimated at between 30,000 and 50,000. The Annual Meeting of the Smithfield Club took place on this day in their committee room, Earl Spencer in the chair, and a number of noblemen and gentlemen being present. A long discussion ensued on the subject of the cattle plague, the general tenor of which was, to express dissatisfaction at the want of uniform, as well as more energetic, measures on the part of the Government; and resolutions to that effect were adopted.

On the third day the numbers were stated to have far exceeded those of the preceding day, and certainly, with here and there slight exceptions, nothing could exceed the respectability of the company. The Smithfield Club dinner took place in the evening, and was somewhat better attended than usual. Earl Spencer presided, and was supported by the Duke of Richmond (president-elect), Lord Walsingham, Lord Feversham, Mr. Reade, M.P., Sir J. Heron Maxwell, Sir Walter Stirling, Mr. Claydon, chairman of the Agricultural Hall Company, &c. In proposing "Success to the Smithfield Club," after speaking of the advantages which had resulted to the farmers of England and cattle-dealers generally by its operation, the noble president drew a melancholy picture of the state of the agricultural interest from the effects of the cattle plague. He said 30,000 animals had already perished, and during the last three weeks it had increased in so great a ratio, that over 1700 new seats of the disease had been reported, making altogether over 5000 places in England where the epidemic raged. It had also increased in Holland, from which country we received our largest importations of cattle. He hoped to meet them another year under more prosperous circumstances. Other routine toasts followed, and the proceedings were prolonged till a late hour.

On the last day, during the morning, the show was not so fully attended as on the two preceding days, but towards the evening, notwithstanding its extraordinary dimensions, the hall was completely crowded. Through the excellence of the arrangements of



the directors, carried out by their daily rotas, and by Mr. Sidney, their secretary, with the powerful aid of the police, any thing like serious inconvenience was avoided. There were one or two attempts at robbery reported on the last day, but the thieves were detected. No accident of any kind occurred. We are unable to state the actual numbers that passed through the show, but judging from appearances, there were nearly, if not quite as many during the three public days this year, as during the four days of last year.

The implement galleries were more than ordinarily attractive from the large increase of the show of agricultural produce; and much interest was excited at Messrs. Sutton's stand, at the solid and stupendous character of the Globe mangold, produced by the new manure, "Bell's ammonia-fixed Peruvian guano," the average weight of which were over 40 lb., and some over 50 lb. Messrs. Gibbs (of Half-moon-street), George Gibbs, Skirving, Carter, Peter Lawson, and other seedsmen had very fine stands. In the arcade, or annexe, "Perkins's Patent Portable Steam Bakery," in full operation, baking loaves seven feet long, was a source of great attraction, as was also the improved "Middlesex cart" of Mr. Ayshford, of the Britannia Works, Fulham; Messrs. Glover's patent axle waggons, as well as the sausage machines, the gymnasium, and other novelties.

The sales of the cattle were not very brisk the first two days, but on the last Messrs. Giblett and Son and Mr. W. G. Guerrier, the principal cattle and sheep salesmen, did a great trade, and by the close of the show a very large proportion of the prize cattle were disposed of.

13. FATAL COLLISION IN THE CHANNEL.—The mail packet "Sapphire," on her night voyage from Dover to Calais, with the mails, and about seventy passengers with their baggage, at about half-past 11 p.m. came into collision with an American bark, and was struck in her fore compartment, which immediately filled and disabled her from proceeding on her voyage.

The "Sapphire" is one of the fine fleet of mail steamers belonging to the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company. At the time when she left for Calais, the sea was comparatively calm, but the atmosphere was thick and cloudy. She had performed four-and-a-half miles of her passage when the American bark struck her. The bark turned out to be the "Fanny Buck," of Boston, bound from Rotterdam for Cardiff. She is of about 500 tons burden, and was laden with ballast. The violence of the collision was such, that the total wreck of the steamer appeared inevitable, and a rush was made to the small boats, the bark not having stopped to save the lives on board the steamer. At this juncture a most melancholy accident occurred. A foreign nobleman, in attempting to get into the small boat, fell into the sea. As he rose to the surface a life-line was thrown to him for his rescue. He grasped it, but in consequence of his wearing a large heavy

cloak, he lost his hold, and sank. On his rising again, Captain Bennett, the commander of the mail steamer, jumped overboard, and secured a line round the body of the count. Unhappily, however, as he was being raised into the boat the line slipped from his waist, and he sank to rise no more. When the shock of the collision was felt, the passengers rushed from the cabins to the deck. The fore cabin immediately filled with water; but in consequence of the construction of the steamer with water-tight compartments, the fore part can be completely shut off from the compartments aft of the engines; otherwise the steamer would have immediately sunk. As it was, however, the vessel was able to keep afloat, though her bow was under water. It was in consequence of a communication made with the shore that the Belgian mail boat, just arrived at Dover from Ostend, was sent out. The "Samphire" arrived at the mouth of Dover harbour by seven o'clock the next morning, the passengers having been landed in small boats. The steamer had her lights burning brilliantly, and those on board deny that the bark exhibited any lights. On the other hand, two of the crew of the bark, who scrambled on board the steamer and were landed and received at the Dover Sailors' Home, declared that the bark had her proper lights up, and that they saw the steamer crossing her bows. The collision must have been terrific. The steamer, which is iron-plated, was stove in right down to the keel, every timber in her appearing to have been loosened. The bark, which was obliged to enter Dover harbour for repairs, was also much damaged. The iron plates of the steamer pierced to a depth of nearly a foot into the bark's solid timbers at her bow. Her stem and cutwater were broken away, and she was stove in several places both below and above water. On counting up the passengers, two ladies were missed, and the last that was seen of them was that they were seated in the fore cabin shortly before the collision. As the water left the vessel, the bodies of the two ladies were seen floating about in the fore cabin, and that of a gentleman sitting upon the bunk. They were removed to the dead-house by the police, and the ladies were identified.

The next day Mr. W. H. Payne, borough coroner, held an inquest at the Town Hall, Dover, on the persons who lost their lives by the accident. The bodies identified were those of Miss Beta Baines, aged twenty years, the daughter of the Rev. Edward Baines, vicar of Yalding; and Georgiana Kœning, aged twenty-three years, her governess; also M. Duclercq, a merchant, of Gravelines. Two other persons were lost, but their bodies were not recovered.

Wm. Richards, mate of the "Samphire," said the "Samphire" left the Admiralty Pier at 10h. 58m. on Wednesday night (the 13th), with the mail, and seventy-eight passengers for Calais, and a crew of eighteen. The weather was then very hazy, the wind being N.N.W. to N. The "Samphire" had a white light

on the fore masthead, a green light on the starboard paddle, and a red light on the port side, all according to the Admiralty regulations. He set one look-out on the bridge, and one on the topgallant forecastle, and he himself was at the wheel when the steamer left. After clearing the pier he went forward, and saw that the man who had the watch kept a good look out. He was then descending the stairs to make up his log, when he felt a heavy shock from the collision. He had just previously heard Captain Bennett call out, "Port! port!" and, "Turn astern!" The vessels were in contact for two minutes, and then drove clear. Captain Bennett ordered out the lifeboat. Witness entered it with five of the crew and three passengers; one of these in jumping in fell overboard, but was rescued and rowed back to Dover, where he saw the Belgian boat landing her passengers and mails. As soon as she landed them she steamed back with witness to the "Samphire," and found her fore compartment under water. The Belgian steamer took the whole of the passengers and baggage, and returned to the pier and landed them; she then returned to the "Samphire" and towed her back to Dover. Before witness had gone below, he saw no lights seaward. The lifeboat was afloat in six minutes after the collision, and the steamer had four small boats on board also. About forty minutes were taken by the steamer in going from the pier to the "Samphire."

George H. Suters, marine mail guard in the "Samphire," corroborated, and said that when the collision occurred, he heard two females screaming in the fore cabin, but there were no means of saving them.

M. Frederique Butler, captain of the "Vigilant," identified the body of M. Duclercq, who had left a wife and three children at Gravelines.

Thomas J. Northover, a seaman on board the "Samphire," kept the watch on the topgallant forecastle. The night was dark and heavy. Before they left the pier, Captain Bennett shouted out, "Keep a good look-out forward!" About twenty minutes after leaving the pier he espied a sail on the port bow, and reported it to the captain. The vessel appeared then to be about forty yards off. The captain called out, "Port! hard a-port!" Witness ran to save his life, but before reaching the midship he was knocked down by the shock. The light in the bark was very small and dull.

Robert Malpas, a seamen of the "Samphire," was on the bridge keeping a sharp look-out. He saw a light on the port bow, about a quarter of an hour after leaving the pier, but before he could cross the bridge to inform the captain, the vessel was upon them. The captain was at the time looking through his opera glass at the light. The helm was ordered to be put a-port and the engine stopped. Witness got the starboard boat clear, but in lowering it into the water it went down by the run. It did not, however, upset. He got into the boat with some of the crew and passengers,



and not being able to find the bark, he took the passengers ashore and returned. The light on the bark was a small, dull one, or he should have seen it sooner. All the precautions used by captains were adopted on this occasion.

Thomas Northover, who was recalled, said the passengers were pitched out of the boats into the water, and Captain Bennett jumped from the bulwarks into the water, and fixed a rope round the arm of one of the passengers. The gentleman, however, could not render any assistance himself, and he was lost. The steamer's lights were burning brightly, and might have been seen about two or three miles off.

Henry Bower, another seamen, was at the wheel when the captain called out "Port! hard a-port!" and he immediately put the helm a-port. They lowered the boats, and the captain ordered one to be kept for the ladies; but the passengers kept jumping in until they were filled. It was calm when the boats were lowered.

J. Nordwhere, a German pilot, said he shipped on board the bark "Fanny Buck" on the 10th inst. to pilot her to Cardiff. On Wednesday last, about ten o'clock, the wind was blowing a pleasant breeze. The bark was under full sail, and had her side lights, green and red. They were burning middling bright, and could be seen about a mile off. There was a man on the look-out on the forecastle and one at the wheel. The watch reported a light on the starboard bow, and he saw the lights; but they kept on their course. The steamer ran into them on the starboard bow. Their vessel heeled over with the force of the blow, swung round, and in a few moments was clear again. They did not heave to, or both vessels would have gone down. Their starboard bow was stove in close to the water's edge, therefore he hauled the bark close in and anchored to the west of Folkestone. From the time they saw the steamer's lights till the collision, was about five minutes. A sailing vessel never alters her course. The bark's lights had been trimmed about twenty minutes before. They were common, small lanterns. Witness had been at sea fifty-one years, but was not a certified pilot. He was in charge of the bark, and the captain was below sick. They had two small boats on board, but did not lower them; they kept the boats for themselves in case they should be required. After the collision they could have brought the ship to, but he did not want to do so. He thought the steamer was sinking, but did not heave to because he thought they were going down themselves. Believing a collision inevitable, and knowing that he was on the right tack, he did nothing to avoid the collision.

The jury returned the following verdict:—"The jury find that the deaths of the persons in question was accidental; but that the accident in question might have been avoided if the bark had shown a better light. In recording this verdict, the jury cannot separate without expressing their admiration of the conduct of Captain Bennett and the crew of the 'Samphire' for the coolness

and intrepidity displayed by them in their trying position, which, under God's providence, was the means of rescuing so many lives; also that great praise was due to Captain Hoet, of the Belgian steamer, for his ready assistance."

The proceedings at the inquest were not, however, considered to have been altogether satisfactory in elucidating the causes of the accident, or in the judgment expressed as to the conduct of some of the parties concerned, and a further and much more searching inquiry took place under the direction of the Board of Trade. This investigation was conducted by the Mayor of Dover, assisted by another magistrate, Dr. Astley; and after many days spent in the examination of witnesses, the inquiry terminated with the following judgment:—"After a most careful and anxious consideration of the voluminous and contradictory evidence taken in this inquiry, we have come to the conclusion that the captain of the 'Samphire,' who is solely responsible for the conduct and management of his vessel, is culpable for having driven his vessel at so great a speed across one of the most frequented narrow seas in the world, on so dark and hazy a night as that of the 13th of December. The attendant circumstances, however, are such, and the default of the bark in not properly exhibiting a sufficient light from her lamps having to some extent contributed to the damage and loss of life, we do not think we should be justified in awarding so severe a sentence as either the deprivation or suspension of his certificate. The circumstances to which we allude, and which we think it right now to mention, without waiting for the publication of our report, are—first, the provisions of the contract for carrying the mails, which hold out a direct premium for quick passages in all weathers, and the natural desire of the captain to gain the premium and avoid the penalty on behalf of his employers; secondly, the great moral pressure put upon both the owners and commanders of the vessels by the public, who require the utmost despatch to be used in the transmission of the mails, and the desire of the passengers frequenting the route for quick passages, a desire which can only be gratified in cases like the present by a neglect of some of those precautions which we think indispensable for safety. The great interest evinced by the public in these proceedings has induced us in thus announcing our decision to go further into detail than we should otherwise have considered incumbent on us. The various other questions arising on this inquiry as to the conduct of the captain and crew of the 'Samphire' after the collision, and other matters, will be more fully entered into in our detailed report to the Board of Trade. The Court has great pleasure in handing back to Captain Bennett his certificate, and at the same time testifying to his laudable exertions in endeavouring to save life after the collision."

16. THE FUNERAL OF THE KING OF THE BELGIANS.—The funeral obsequies of the late King of the Belgians were celebrated to-day, at Brussels, and were most imposing.

The *façade* of the palace was draped with black tapestry, studded with golden lions, and was illuminated by numerous funereal lamps.

At 10.30 a.m. the Duke of Brabant entered the room where the body of the deceased King lay in state, having on his right the King of Portugal, and followed by the Count of Flanders and the Prince of Wales, the latter of whom wore the scarlet uniform of an English Field-Marshal, the Crown Prince of Prussia, and the Archduke Joseph of Austria, Prince Louis of Hesse, and Prince Arthur, who was dressed in the Highland costume. Other high personages followed, among whom were the Prince de Joinville, the Duke d'Aumale, and the Duke de Nemours. After the Royal Princes came the Envoys extraordinary from the different courts of Europe, including Lord Sydney and General Grey.

At eleven o'clock precisely the funeral *cortège* started. The hearse, drawn by eight horses caparisoned in black, presented a very imposing appearance.

Crowds, silent and collected, thronged the streets, windows, and the roofs of the houses.

All the shops and offices in Brussels were closed.

The *cortège* arrived at Laeken at 2.30 p.m. The Duke of Brabant, with the King of Portugal on his right and the Prince of Wales and Prince Arthur on his left, took his place in the temporary church in front of the sarcophagus, followed by the other Princes and representatives of foreign Powers.

The funeral service having been performed, the coffin was lowered into the family vault and placed to the right of the Queen of the deceased Monarch.

17. INAUGURATION OF KING LEOPOLD II.—King Leopold II. took the oath to the Constitution before both Houses of the Belgian Parliament.

Upon leaving the Palace at Laeken the Queen, in deep mourning, preceded the King in a carriage drawn by six horses. The King followed a few minutes afterwards. His Majesty received the congratulations of the Burgomaster of Laeken, and, after replying in gracious terms, mounted on horseback, accompanied by the Duke of Flanders and the Archduke Joseph of Austria. The King and Queen were received with enthusiastic cheers along the entire route, and arrived at the House of Parliament at mid-day, where a similar reception awaited them. The King wore the uniform of a Lieutenant-General of the Belgian army, and the Grand Cordon of the Order of Leopold. Bareheaded and with outstretched hands, His Majesty pronounced the words of the Constitutional oath in a firm voice. The taking of the oath to the Constitution created great enthusiasm.

His Majesty then made a speech, in which he stated that Belgium, as well as himself, had lost a father. He was moved by the homage of the nation and the sympathy of foreign Sovereigns and Princes, and thanked them in his own name and in the name of his country. His Majesty continued:—"I shall reli-



giously follow the example and the precepts of my father, and will never forget the duties imposed upon me by this precious inheritance. I will be a Belgian King from my heart and soul. I love those great institutions which guarantee order and liberty, and which are the most solid bases of the Throne. My Constitutional position keeps me aloof from the conflict of opinions, leaving the country to decide between them. I desire to give those who devote themselves to the crowning of the national edifice the assurance of my co-operation. By activity and progress Belgium will retain the support of foreign Powers."

His Majesty repeated the words uttered by his late father upon ascending the throne, "My heart knows no other ambition than to see you happy," and concluded by imploring the Divine assistance and protection for himself and Belgium.

His Majesty's speech was received with great enthusiasm.

The Queen then presented her son to the Chambers, and their Majesties took their departure amid shouts of "*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive le Comte de Hainault!*"

20. WRECK OF THE CORK STEAMSHIP COMPANY'S STEAMER "IBIS."—The "Ibis," one of the finest vessels belonging to Cork, was on her passage from London to Cork, when close to the harbour, part of her machinery broke down, and the vessel became disabled. Immediately that the news reached that city, two of the Steamship Company's boats—the "Sabrina" and the "Cormorant"—were despatched to render assistance. Measures were taken at once to tow the "Ibis" into the harbour. The stout cable brought by the "Sabrina" was secured to her bows, the chains holding to the anchors were slipped, and in a few moments more the "Sabrina" had her in tow, drawing her in apparent safety out of her dangerous position. This looked a happy termination of a disaster which might have been most calamitous, but the "Sabrina" had not gone far on her way when the cable snapped asunder, and the "Ibis," beaten by the wind and waves, began to drift upon the rocks within. The sea was still running high, and once upon these rocks there would be little hope of saving the ship. With courage almost heroic, Captain Holland got into a boat with two men, and taking the broken end of the cable, attempted to reach the "Sabrina," which stood in as close as she could be brought with any regard to her safety. But the boat was driven into the surf, upset by the waves, and of its three occupants, two were dragged ashore insensible—the third perished. Of the two saved, Captain Holland was one. The vessel continued all this while to drift towards the shore, and struck heavily upon the Julien Rock. Her funnel came down with a crash, her masts were shaken, and the next moment the sea was making a clean wash over her. Shortly after, she parted in two; and when the tug-boat "Lord Clyde" arrived on the scene, each half was about half a mile distant from the other. The "Lord Clyde" saved twenty-one passengers, but it is reported that as many met a watery

grave. Fourteen of the passengers managed to get on a raft, but a sea swept all off except three.

20. DREADFUL EXPLOSION OF FIRE DAMP IN A COAL PIT AT MERTHYR TYDVIL.—A terrible accident occurred at Merthyr Tydvil in the Upper Gethin Coal-pit, belonging to Mr. William Crawshay, proprietor of the Cyfarthfa Ironworks. It will be in the recollection of many readers that about four years ago a similar catastrophe, but still more frightful in extent, happened in this place, by which forty-seven men and boys were killed. The scene of that calamity was also the Gethin pit; but, in order to make it clear to persons unacquainted with the place, it will be necessary to state that the Gethin pit comprises two systems of coal workings connected by two drifts or headings, and to a certain extent they have one system of ventilation common to both. They are situated one above the other on the side of the mountain, the shafts being about 600 yards apart, and thus go by the names Upper and Lower Gethin, being worked as two distinct pits. In the lower pit, which was the scene of the former accident, two seams of coal are worked, respectively 4 ft. and 3 ft. in thickness; while in the Upper Gethin, which is about 200 yards deep, 70 yards deeper than the Lower Gethin, the nine-feet coal is worked. The Upper Gethin, the scene of the present deplorable disaster, is a much newer pit than the Lower Gethin—in fact, it was sunk for the purpose of securing a more efficient and perfect ventilation for the Lower Gethin—and the workings have not been very far extended yet. There is only one up-cast for the two pits. The present explosion took place in a heading on the east level, in which there were about forty men at the time, and out of that number no less than thirty were killed. All the rest, with two exceptions, were burnt and bruised frightfully; and the force of the blast was so great that it extended to the whole level, and injured many other men, so that no fewer than twenty-two were more or less seriously injured. The accident happened about eight o'clock, about an hour after the “day turn” hands had gone in. Out of the thirty men and boys killed, only three met their death by the fire; but these were scorched almost to a cinder, and their features were so obliterated that they could hardly be recognized. David Beddoe, the overman, who was not the regular overman of this pit, was killed; he was fearfully charred, but his brother, who happened to be on the spot when he was brought to the pit’s mouth, and had no idea of his being in the mine, recognized him by his watch. Out of the whole number working in this heading at the time only two escaped unhurt. These were John Hall and Thomas Hall, his brother. The former stated that he worked at the furthest end of the east level, and was made aware of the fact that something serious had happened by hearing a loud “puff.” He immediately left his work, and went to warn his brother; but he had hardly time to do that before he heard another “puff,” and then the air became all at once so oppressively hot and dense with

dust that he fell down in a state of stupor. However, he, along with his brother, roused himself, and by a happy circumstance they were saved. The elder, John, had his can of tea with him, and he had the presence of mind to dash their faces continually with this, which kept them fresh. By this means they retained consciousness and strength enough to find their way out of the heading to the bottom of the shaft. As they came along they stumbled over their fallen and helpless comrades, and although they repeatedly called to them, in no solitary instance did they obtain an answer. The force of the blast reached even to the bottom of the shaft, for there two workmen were blown violently into the sump, and sustained severe injury. This circumstance, connected with the fact that the fire did not reach John Hall, at the end of the east level, which does not run more than about 400 yards from the shaft, would tend to show that the focus of the explosion could not have been more than a couple of hundred yards from the bottom of the shaft. The excitement in Merthyr when the news came up was intense, and people ran down to the pit in large numbers; but it was a remarkable feature of the multitude of men, women, and children assembled at the mouth, that there was no manifestation of that vehement grief which so frequently characterizes such scenes. The crowd was quiet and orderly, and the quiet was broken only now and then by the sob of a woman or a child. On the roadway in front of the shaft a space was cleared, and a lot of straw spread out, upon which the poor fellows were laid as they were brought up, and the system of Dr. Marshall Hall for the restoration of asphyxiated persons was practised upon them by Dr. Thomas, chief of the medical staff at Cyfarthfa, Drs. Wills, Dyke, Probert, and Miles. At the same time powerful restoratives were applied, but all to no purpose—the fatal choke damp, as the colliers call it, had done its work only too well, and the lifeless bodies were then removed one after another and placed upon trucks, upon which they were afterwards conveyed by the engine to Cyfarthfa, where their friends, who were most demonstrative in their grief here, awaited them. When the intelligence was communicated to Mr. R. J. Crawshay, of Cyfarthfa Castle, the resident proprietor of the works, he, accompanied by Mr. Jones, the manager, and many of the agents, repaired promptly to the spot and rendered such aid as they could. Mr. Moody, the viewer of the pits; Mr. Kirkhouse, mine agent; Mr. Carnew, the viewer of Plymouth Collieries, and the relays of workmen, exerted themselves heroically for the recovery of the bodies, and by eleven o'clock, three hours after the sad occurrence, the whole of the men had been brought up. The total number of cases which terminated fatally was thirty-four.

28. CELEBRATION OF THE EIGHT HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—The earliest foundation of Westminster Abbey is enveloped in obscurity, but it is attributed by the early chroniclers to the British King Lucius,



A.D. 184, or to King Sebert, A.D. 616, its site being then called "Thorney Island." It was in a decayed and almost expiring condition when King Edward the Confessor, in fulfilment of a vow he had made during his exile from the kingdom, erected a church and abbey, in a style hitherto unparalleled in English architecture, at Westminster, dedicated to God and St. Peter. He lived just long enough to see his intention fulfilled. On the Festival of the Holy Innocents, Dec. 28, 1065, the new abbey was dedicated, and the King, who died eight days afterwards, was buried, by his own desire, in front of the high altar in the abbey, of which he had just witnessed the completion. The abbey as it now exists, was for the most part rebuilt by Henry II. (A.D. 1220 to 1269), out of regard to the memory of the Confessor; but it covers the same ground, and there are vestiges of the original building to be seen. The remains of the founder were removed from before the high altar to the present shrine in 1269 by Henry III.

The 28th being the Feast of the Holy Innocents, and just 800 years since the dedication of the abbey by Edward the Confessor, it was determined by the Dean and Chapter to commemorate the event by special services and the celebration of the Holy Communion. A very large congregation assembled to assist at the commemoration, and every available seat was occupied. The numerous choir of the abbey was assisted by the members of the Special Sunday evening choir, and the magnificent organ was played most admirably by Mr. Turle, the eminent organist and composer. The choir numbered about sixty men and twenty-four boys.

The whole of the music was selected from composers who either in the past or present were connected with the abbey—namely, Thomas Tallis, who died in 1585, organist to Henry VIII.; Henry Purcell, organist of Westminster Abbey, who died in 1695, and was buried in the north aisle; William Croft, organist of Westminster Abbey, who died in 1727, and was also buried in the north aisle; George Frederick Handel, who died in 1759, and was buried in the south transept; Benjamin Cooke, organist of Westminster Abbey, who died in 1793, and was buried in the west cloisters; J. L. Brownsmith, John Foster, and Montem Smith, vicars choral; and James Turle, organist, all of Westminster Abbey. The words of the hymn for the introit, commencing "Hark, the sound of holy voices," were written by Dr. Wordsworth, Canon and Archdeacon of Westminster, and the tune for it, entitled "All Saints," was composed by Mrs. Frere, niece of the late Rev. Temple Frere, Canon of Westminster.

The sermon was preached by the Dean (Dr. Stanley), from John x. 21, 22, "And it was at Jerusalem, the Feast of the Dedication, and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the Temple, in Solomon's porch." The Dean, in the course of his sermon, gave a graphic description of the history of the abbey, which was originally built in Anglo-Saxon times, although as it now appeared

it was doubtless the work of the reign of Henry III. To Edward the Confessor the abbey was principally indebted for its celebrity and splendour; but in the reign of Henry III. the greater part of the present edifice was rebuilt in the lofty and elegant style by which it is chiefly characterized. In 1540 the abbey church was, by letters patent of Henry VIII., constituted a cathedral, and thus Westminster was first raised to the dignity of a city. The dean made eloquent reference to the many distinguished men—poets, orators, statesmen, warriors—whose remains were lying around, and at the close of his sermon a collection was made on behalf of Westminster Hospital.

— THE ORDER OF ST. PATRICK.—The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Grand Master of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, invested the Earl of Charlemont as a Knight Companion. The ceremony, which took place in St. Patrick's Hall, was carried out in strict accordance with the ancient regulations of the Order, and was of a very impressive character.

# OBITUARY

OF

## EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1865.

### PROFESSOR AYTOUN.

WILLIAM EDMONDSTOUNE AYTOUN, D.C.L., Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the University of Edinburgh, the son of Mr. Roger Aytoun, of an old Fifeshire family, was born at Edinburgh in 1813, and was educated at the Academy and University there, where he was distinguished among his class-fellows by the elegance and excellence of his English and Latin compositions. In 1840 Mr. Aytoun, whose studies had taken the direction of the law, was admitted as an advocate. At the bar he did not make any marked figure, though he had some little reputation in criminal business. His geniality and ready wit, however, made him a favourite among his fellows of the robe. In 1845 he was appointed to the Chair of Literature and Belles Lettres in the University of Edinburgh; and in 1852 the Government further advanced him by making him Sheriff of Orkney and Shetland. Shortly after his appointment to his Chair, he married the youngest daughter of Professor Wilson. The frequency of his contributions to "Blackwood's Magazine," and their generally brilliant and always genial character, for some years rendered Aytoun's the best known name, after Wilson's, in connexion with the Conservative monthly. From Oxford University he received, a year or two later, the degree of D.C.L.

The true history of Professor Aytoun, however, is the record of his literary labours. These, for well-nigh thirty years, were constant, if not arduous. In his earlier career—of the same school of politics with his father—he worked hard,

but in vain, to secure the return of his cousin, the Radical James Aytoun, for Edinburgh in 1834, when Mr. Jeffrey was raised to the bench. He held a prominent place among the contributors to "Tait's Magazine;" Theodore Martin, his partner in more than one subsequent literary undertaking, being at this time also on the staff of "Tait." Between 1834 and 1839, however, his political convictions underwent a change; and in 1839 he formed his connexion with "Blackwood's Magazine." Between 1840—when he published a "Life and Times of Richard I."—and 1848, he remained anonymous; but during this period appeared in the pages of "Blackwood" many of the poems and *jeux d'esprit* by which he has become most favourably known. Some of the best of the "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers"—which were only published in a collected form, with the author's name, in 1848, were the fruits of Mr. Aytoun's pen before his name became known to the public. This was Mr. Aytoun's most ambitious and has been his most successful work; it has run through seventeen editions, and from its subject and spirit it bids fair to hold a good place in popular favour. Many of the best of the "Bon Gautier" ballads, too, we owe to Mr. Aytoun's fancy and humour. "Firmilian, a Spasmodic Tragedy," which he published in 1854, under the pseudonym of "T. Percy Jones," was another of Mr. Aytoun's works. "Bothwell, a Poem," the plot of which was taken from the tangled history of Mary Queen of Scots, was published in 1856, and passed through three editions; but though the author spent considerable



pains on it both before and after it saw the light, it was not throughout of the same merit as the "Lays." In 1858 Mr. Aytoun edited a collection of the "Ballads of Scotland;" and in the same year appeared the graceful and classical translations of the "Poems and Ballads of Goethe," executed in common by Mr. Aytoun and Theodore Martin. In 1861 was republished from "Blackwood" the novel of "Norman Sinclair," which was the least successful of the literary efforts of Mr. Aytoun. Since then, excepting a "nuptial ode" on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, he published nothing with his name; but his contributions to "Blackwood"—principally in the way of criticism and of political discussion—continued, as during his whole connexion with the magazine, to be frequent. Up to within a very short period of his death he remained in harness; although illness prevented him labouring with all the zest and promptitude of his better days.

Mr. Aytoun was twice married: first to Miss Wilson, who died in 1861, and secondly to Miss Kinnear, who survived him. He had long been in indifferent health, and had more than once sought relief at the German baths, but in vain. His death took place on the 4th of August, in the 53rd year of his age.

#### LEOPOLD I. KING OF THE BELGIANS.

His Majesty Leopold George Christian Frederick, King of the Belgians, uncle to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, died at his palace of Laeken, near Brussels, on the 9th of December, within a few days of completing his 75th year.

The deceased king, who in early life was known as Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, was born on the 16th of December, 1790, the eighth of a family of nine children, of whom two died in infancy, so that he was the youngest survivor. Among his elder brothers and sisters were, Prince Ernest, of Saxe-Coburg, the father of our Prince Albert; Prince Ferdinand, grandfather of the present King of Portugal; and the Princess Victoria, afterwards Duchess of Kent, and mother of our Queen. The kingdom which the wisdom and prudence of Ernest the Pious had made a power in Germany had not only become insignificant by repeated divisions, but that portion of it which remained in the Coburg-Saalfeld branch of the family had also suffered severely from the injudicious administra-

tion of Leopold's grandfather, Duke Ernest Frederic, during whose reign a considerable debt had been accumulated, to add to other misfortunes. Leopold's father, Duke Francis, did not much improve the state of affairs, and before his death war had come to aggravate domestic miseries. We get our first glimpse of the future monarch while his country was suffering the most terrible of calamities, and he himself one of the bitterest of domestic bereavements. When, in 1806, the French army crossed the Rhine and entered the territory of Saxe-Coburg, Leopold was watching alone by his dying father's side, his two elder brothers being then engaged—the one in the Austrian, the other in the Prussian army. Saalfeld was attacked, taken, and pillaged in October, and two months afterwards the unfortunate Duke Francis died, having lived only to see the fatal battle of Jena place Germany at the mercy of the Conqueror. Leopold obstinately adhered to the old system of dividing his forces, and covering an immense tract of country with his communications. He utterly failed; the name of Coburg lapsed into obscurity, and no one anticipated that it would again become more powerful than ever, and would be associated in jest or in earnest with the salvation of Europe. And yet, in our own days we have seen King Leopold repeatedly acting as the arbiter of European destinies, so that M. de Lagueronnière has not scrupled to call him *le Juge de Paix de l'Europe*. He displayed in a very marked manner the judicial character; and his grave, serious, reserved temperament, his reflective and balanced intellect—above all, his devotion to Liberal ideas, and to the cause of human progress, are hereditary gifts which may be said to belong less to himself than to his family. He was not the man to make events; he was the man to whom events offer, and to whom they are not offered in vain.

Duke Francis's eldest son was recognized as his heir by the Treaty of Posen, but his dominions were seized by Napoleon. Prince Leopold was thus driven from his native land, and entered the service of Russia, where he soon attained the rank of General in the army, a favour which doubtless he owed to the marriage of his third sister, Julienne, with the Grand Duke Constantine. The Peace of Tilsit in 1807 effected a favourable change in the fortunes of the Saxe-Coburg family, for by the arrangements concluded between France and Russia, Duke Ernest was restored to his hereditary possessions. Prince Leopold then paid a short visit to his native place, and in 1808, during the

absence of his elder brother in Russia, undertook the government of the principality, though he was but a boy of 18. Returning again to Russia, he appeared by the side of the Emperor Alexander during that monarch's interview with Napoleon at Erfurt. He was not, however, permitted to remain long at rest. Napoleon having quarrelled with the Czar, required, as Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, that Duke Ernest should resign his Austrian, and that Prince Leopold should resign his Russian Command. Bowing to necessity, Leopold went to Paris, and, if Napoleon's statement to O'Meara be correct, applied to become one of his Aides-de-camp. The fact, however, seems doubtful. Napoleon's accuracy in his late years was open to question; and from what we know of the foresight and astuteness of Prince Leopold, not to say his patriotism, it does not seem likely that he would have been willing to change sides thus suddenly, and, above all, to side with the bitter foe of his family, of his country, and of his most powerful friend. Certain it is, however, that he spent some time in Paris and in Imperial Society, where, according to Napoleon, he was accounted "one of the handsomest and finest young men of his time." He formed intimate friendships with many of the most illustrious personages of the Empire, among whom Queen Hortense is especially mentioned.

The next two years of his life were uneventful. In 1811 we find him at Munich concluding a treaty with the King of Bavaria as to the boundaries of that kingdom and the Duchy of Coburg. In 1812, when Napoleon's Russian designs became apparent, he offered his services to the Emperor Alexander, but they were declined. This refusal may be explained in two different ways. Either the Czar generously wished to prevent the young Prince from placing himself in a position of difficulty with Napoleon; or, what is more likely, he was offended with him for having too easily abandoned the Russian service, and for having formed French connexions. Whatever the cause may have been, Prince Leopold remained in comparative retirement, travelling in Austria, Switzerland, and Italy till the eventful year 1813, when Germany rose as one man against Napoleon. Leopold was then selected as the fit person to communicate the state of German feeling to the Emperor Alexander. He accordingly joined the Czar in Poland, and whatever temporary estrangement existed seems to have entirely disappeared. He returned to active service, and commanded a Russian corps at the battles of Lutzen, Bautzen,

and Leipsic. He entered Paris with the Allied Sovereigns, and he accompanied them to England. There he met the Princess Charlotte for the first time, and was so fortunate as to attract her regards. Returning once more to the Continent, he was present at the Congress of Vienna, where he managed to obtain an increase of territory for his brother. The unexpected return of Napoleon recalled him to the Army of the Rhine, and with it subsequently he re-entered Paris. It was during his stay there that he received an invitation to revisit England, and to revisit it as the accepted suitor of the heiress to the throne. Sudden as the lightning the most splendid destiny flashed upon the obscure prince of a petty German province. Prince Leopold won without an effort the bride who seemed destined to the Prince of Orange, as some years later he obtained without seeking half the kingdom of the Netherlands. It was a strange fortune which thus fell to him, that he should supplant the Prince of Orange in the affections of the most coveted princess in Europe, and that, again, he should supplant both him and his father in the possession of half their kingdom.

On the 16th of March, 1816, the Prince Regent sent a message to Parliament, announcing the intended marriage of his daughter to Prince Leopold. On the 27th of the same month the fortunate prince was naturalized; he received the title of Duke of Kendal in the English peerage, and the rank of general in the army, and on the 2nd of May the marriage was celebrated at Carlton House. A year and a half of domestic happiness and repose followed, which must have been peculiarly grateful to one whose whole youth had been exposed to continual vicissitudes. He took no active part in public affairs, devoting himself entirely to study and domestic enjoyment, and foreshadowing in miniature that policy of reserve which his nephew, in the more prominent position of Prince Consort, most successfully adopted. We need not dwell on the sudden blighting of his hopes. His calamity was no less sudden than his good fortune. The Princess Charlotte died in November, 1817; but the Prince had so identified himself with the nation, and had so won their confidence, that even after the bond which attached him personally to England had been severed, he continued to be regarded by the nation as one of themselves. He resided at Claremont in the closest retirement, and before long it happened that a new object of interest arose for him. His sister had married the Duke of Kent, and in 1819 a daughter was born to

her, who, under certain not improbable contingencies, would succeed to the British throne. He gave his sister the benefit of his advice and experience. The Duchess of Kent came to England comparatively ignorant of its language and its manners, and her position here, left as she soon was a widow, with the responsibility of training up the heiress of the Crown, might have been insupportable had her brother not been at hand to assist her. For him it is difficult to imagine a history more strange, or more full of vicissitude. In one day he is master of the most splendid position in the world. In one day he is removed from his pride of place, and falls back into his original obscurity. In one day, again, there gleams upon him the hope that his sister is to be the mother of an English Sovereign, and that through her his family may rise to the first place in the eyes of Europe.

Prince Leopold did not remain many years in obscurity. In February, 1830, he was offered the kingdom of Greece. He accepted it on certain conditions which we need not recapitulate, as it was impossible to comply with them. The result of non-compliance was, that he remained in retirement at Claremont. It has been asserted that when he thus declined the Crown of Greece, he had some knowledge of the better fortune which was awaiting him. This, however, is quite impossible. The Greek Crown was declined on the 21st of May, and the revolution at Brussels did not take place till the following September. When that revolution broke forth, it was not until after the claims of the Duke of Leuchtenburg and of the Duke of Nemours were interdicted—the former by France and the latter by England—that the Belgian people turned towards Prince Leopold. In June, 1831, he was elected their King, and in July he solemnly swore to observe the constitution, and to preserve the independence and integrity of the country. He had first, however, to fight for his crown, for the Dutch had not yet consented to the severance of Belgium. King Leopold had to fight the Dutch. He was beaten at Louvain, and he was compelled to seek the assistance of the French. An army of 50,000 men came to his relief, and the King of the Netherlands withdrew his troops. In September, 1831, King Leopold opened for the first time the Legislative Chambers, and then commenced the most arduous of tasks, the organization of a new kingdom. In less than a year the nation was constituted, an army of 80,000 men was ready for the field, credit was established, and a national loan of 80,000,000 florins was negotiated. In

order still further to consolidate his position, the King married, in August, 1832, the Princess Louise, eldest daughter of King Louis Philippe. In the same year, the Dutch being still reluctant to acknowledge the independence of Belgium, active measures were taken to enforce a recognition, and Leopold, with the assistance of a French army, laid siege to and recovered Antwerp. The result was, that in May, 1833, a provisional treaty with Holland was signed, though it was not made final and definite till some years afterwards. Henceforward the King devoted himself unceasingly to the development of the internal resources of the country; and with what success those who know the high position Belgium now holds in manufactures and in commerce can testify. In 1834 the vast network of railways now covering Flanders was projected, and in 1837 the National Bank was established. The birth of two sons—one in 1835, and the other in 1837 (and a daughter in 1840),—gave assurance of the stability of the dynasty; and the good government of the country is proved by the tranquillity which it has enjoyed.

When, in 1848, revolution broke out in Paris, it was feared that the sympathy which existed between France and some of the Belgian provinces might lead to an outbreak; but all fears were quickly dispelled by the conduct of the King. As soon as the news reached Brussels of what had occurred in Paris to his father-in-law, King Leopold assembled the leaders of the different parties, reminded them of the circumstances under which he had accepted the Crown, and declared himself ready to resign it again into the hands of the nation, if the people really thought they could be more happy under a republican form of government. He added that violence was unnecessary, as he himself would like nothing better than to live in retirement at Claremont. This declaration put an end to all revolutionary ideas, if any such had ever been entertained. All parties agreed in rallying round the King, and when some insurrectionary bands crossed the French frontiers and threatened to raise disturbances, a very few troops were sufficient to put them to flight. The only question which of late years has disturbed the tranquil progress of Belgium arose in 1857, in connexion with the laws of charitable institutions. The difficulty which occurred in that year, and the temporary separation which it produced between the King and the dominant majority in the Chambers, arose solely from the desperate struggles made by the Ultramontane party to acquire



supreme power in the State. The King's prudence and energy enabled him to foil their attempts, and to curb the reactionary, as he had formerly curbed the revolutionary, party.

Leopold's position as King of the Belgians, however, sank into insignificance when compared with the part he played in the State affairs of Europe. He occupied a position in Europe which the most powerful monarch might envy. With singular unanimity he was chosen the umpire in international disputes; the grievances of hostile Governments were confidentially submitted to him; and the secrets of most Royal Houses were in his keeping. We have already quoted the title which he received of "Juge de Paix de l'Europe." The peculiar qualities of his mind, his calm, judicial intellect, his habit of close and accurate reasoning, gave him this position. England and France are deeply indebted to him. During the reign of Louis Philippe, he was the real connecting link between the two countries; and whenever an international difficulty arose, he it was who stepped in as mediator. In the disputes which arose between the two countries on the Eastern question in 1840, and in the still more irritating disputes about the Spanish marriages, he it was whose influence was brought to bear upon both parties, with the happiest results. Family circumstances, doubtless, contributed to his success, for, as son-in-law of the King of the French and uncle of Queen Victoria, he could mediate with great effect; but these advantages would have been of little service had it not been for the confidence which every Government in Europe had learnt to repose in him.

"King Leopold," says a contemporary writer, "if not a great monarch, was perhaps the wisest of his time. His intellect was more diplomatic than legislative, and he wanted the ambition of Imperial minds; but few men that care so little for power have enjoyed more. He had one of the smallest of kingdoms, yet he was one of the most powerful princes in Europe, and certainly he was the most trusted. His life was wonderfully calm, yet it is one of the most extraordinary romances in history."

The King's death can scarcely be said to have been unexpected. He had been long afflicted with a distressing malady, of which, however, to the honour of English surgery, he was completely cured about two years ago. It had defied the leading surgeons of the Continent, but yielded to the skill of Mr. Henry Thompson, who successfully performed the operation of lithotripsy. After this remarkable

cure, it seemed as if the king, notwithstanding his great age, might still count on the enjoyment of not a few years of life. He had a strong constitution, and easily underwent fatigues from which many younger men shrink. He delighted in walking, and, to the dismay of his attendants, used to think little of twenty or thirty miles a day. Only in January last, whilst shooting at his château in the Forest of Ardennes, he might be seen for six hours a day on ten successive days tramping through the snow and defying fatigue, although he had then entered his seventy-fifth year. He was, indeed, too confident of his strength, and took liberties with it. Just before coming to England last spring, he had a slight paralytic seizure. Although he was subject to a bronchial weakness, he came to visit the Queen, careless of the weather; and he left our shores, against all advice, equally careless. Since then the papers more than once reported the state of his health as doubtful and failing.

The late King's body lay in state for three days at the Palace of Brussels, and was deposited in a vault beneath the old church at Laeken, on Saturday, December 16, the seventy-fifth anniversary of his birthday.

The late King, by his second marriage, had the following issue:—(1.) Louis-Philippe-Victor-Leopold-Ernest, Prince Royal, born July 24, 1833, and died May 10, 1834. (2.) Prince Leopold-Louis-Philip-Marie-Victor, Duke of Brabant, who succeeds as King Leopold II., born April 9, 1835; married August 22, 1853, the Archduchess Maria-Henrietta-Anne, second daughter of the late Archduke Joseph-Anthony-John of Austria, Palatine of Hungary, and has issue—Princess Louisa-Maria-Amelia-Jane, born February 18, 1858; Prince Leopold-Ferdinand-Élie-Victor-Albert-Marie, Count of Hainault, born June 12, 1859; and Princess Stéphanie-Clotilde-Louisa-Hermine-Marie-Charlotte, born May 21, 1864. (3.) Prince Philip-Eugene-Ferdinand-Maria-Clement-Baldwin-Leopold-George, Count of Flanders, born March 24, 1837. (4.) Princess Mary-Charlotte-Amelia-Augusta-Victoria-Clementina-Leopoldina, born June 7, 1840; married July 27, 1857, the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, brother of the Emperor, and now Emperor of Mexico.

GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. SIR  
GEORGE BROWN, G.C.B.

This distinguished officer, whose name is familiar to most persons as the Commander of the Light Division during the

Crimean war, was the third son of George Brown, Esq., Provost of Elgin, by Miss Clark, daughter of Lord Provost Clark, of Aberdeen. He was born at Linkwood (where he died) July 3, 1790, was educated at the Elgin Academy, where he evinced a strong desire for a military life, and, though against his father's wishes, he obtained an ensigncy in the 43rd Regiment, through the influence of his uncle, Col. Brown. He joined the service in January, 1806, and became a lieutenant in the September of the same year, being then in Sicily with his corps. He served at the siege and capture of Copenhagen in 1807, in the Peninsula from August, 1808, to July, 1811; and again from July, 1813, to May, 1814, including the battle of Vimiera, passage of the Douro, and capture of Oporto, with the previous and subsequent actions; the battle of Talavera (where he was severely wounded through both thighs), action of the Light Division at the bridge of Almeida, battle of Busaco, the different actions during the retreat of the French army from Portugal, action at Sabugal, battle of Fuentes d'Onor, siege of San Sebastian, battles of the Nivelle and Nive, and the investment of Bayonne. He served afterwards in the American war, and was present at the battle of Bladensburg and capture of Washington; he was slightly wounded in the head, and very severely in the groin, at Bladensburg, so that for some time his life was despaired of. He had become captain in 1811, major and lieutenant-colonel in 1814, and after the peace he was long employed on the staff, though he did not reach the rank of colonel till 1831. Under Lord Hill, he was made Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General, then Deputy-Adjutant-General, and lastly, on the death of Sir J. Macdonald, in 1850, he became Adjutant-General, under the Duke of Wellington. This office he, however, resigned, on the 12th of December, 1853, after Lord Hardinge had become General Commanding-in-Chief. In 1854 the Crimean war again called him into active service, when he commanded the Light Division throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, including the battles of the Alma (where he had his horse shot under him), Balaklava, and Inkermann (where he was severely wounded—shot through the arm), and siege of Sebastopol. In 1860 he was appointed to the command of the forces in Ireland, which he held for the customary period of five years, and very shortly after he fixed his residence at the house of his brother at Linkwood, where he died on the 27th of August, aged 75.

Sir George married, at Malta, in 1826, Maria, third daughter of Hugh Macdonnell, Esq., of the family of Macdonald of the Isles, who survived him. He had received the Peninsular medal with seven clasps, as also the Crimean, Turkish, and Sardinian ones, and he was a Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. He was made Colonel of the 32nd Foot on the 1st of April, 1863, and Colonel-in-Chief of the Rifle Brigade on the 18th of April of the same year.

Sir George Brown was a soldier of the Wellington school, and was a strict disciplinarian. His manner was thought by some to be too abrupt and preremptory. But those who knew him intimately were well aware that much of this roughness was merely assumed, under the idea of supporting discipline; and it is certain that as an individual he was ever ready to do any kindness in his power. Though he enforced the "Regulations" with unpalatable strictness whilst in command in the East, he was at least equally anxious to provide for the welfare of his men, and on many occasions manifested genuine warmth of heart and liberality of disposition. When cholera broke out, who more prompt in action, more energetic in command, more constant in care and attention to his men, than Sir George Brown? Like many good-hearted men, he disliked his own good-nature, and covered it in with a cloak of asperity. He would use harsh language to any one who suspected him of being benevolent. No wonder if he was the victim of his own injustice to himself, and created unfavourable impressions which a closer acquaintance would have removed.

#### RICHARD COBDEN, ESQ., M.P.

This deceased statesman, who has left a name that will be remembered as long and as gratefully as that of any of his political contemporaries, came of a family of yeomen long settled in Sussex, was the son of Mr. William Cobden, a farmer, and was born at the farm-house of Dunford, near Midhurst, June 3, 1804. He received his education at the grammar-school of Midhurst, and on the death of his father he was sent to London, where he served an apprenticeship in a Manchester warehouse, and afterwards became one of the travellers for the firm. In 1830 he joined with some relatives who were established in Lancashire, and speedily introduced a new system of business into the cotton print trade. At the time when he first began his career as a public man his share

of profits was not much short of 9000*l.* per annum, so successful had been the management of the "Cobden prints." He travelled occasionally on the Continent in the interest of the firm, visiting Greece, Egypt, and Turkey in 1834, and the United States in the following year. On his return he began what may be called his literary career, by addressing several letters, anonymously, on political and economical topics to the "Manchester Times." He also published a pamphlet, entitled, "England, Ireland, and America, by a Manchester Manufacturer." The views which have now become so familiar in connexion with his name were boldly stated and enforced in this his earliest work. Its publication produced a lively controversy, and several answers were made to it. His views then were, as they remained up to the latest moment of his life, that peace, retrenchment, non-intervention, and free trade, were the true policy for England. The first pamphlet was speedily followed by another, entitled, "Russia," on the title-page of which he again described himself as "a Manchester Manufacturer." The same views were again forcibly stated and illustrated, and what he regarded as misconceptions concerning the Eastern question were denounced in unsparing terms.

It was about this time that the policy of the Corn Laws began to be called in question. The Anti-Corn-Law League was established in Manchester in 1838; neither Mr. Cobden nor Mr. Bright were original members, but when they did join, they infused an immense amount of fresh energy. The country was divided into districts, subscriptions were raised and lecturers were appointed, but the chief interest centred in the peregrinations of Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and one or two other men of like mind, whose exertions were extraordinary. Mr. Cobden offered himself for Stockport as early as the dissolution which followed the death of William IV. in 1837, but he was then defeated by a manufacturer of the town. At the following dissolution, however, in 1841, when Lord Melbourne made his appeal to the country in favour of a fixed duty on corn, Mr. Cobden offered himself again, and was this time successful. Of course he took every opportunity of advocating his views; and one of his impassioned speeches led to a singular scene. Soon after Sir Robert Peel came into power in that Parliament, his private secretary, Mr. Drummond, was shot by a madman, of the name of M'Naghten, in mistake for Sir Robert himself. The circumstance naturally made a deep impression on Sir Robert's mind; and when

in the course of a free-trade debate Mr Cobden had warned the Ministers of the "personal responsibility" they incurred by refusing the free importation of corn, Sir Robert rose in a state of great excitement and accused Mr. Cobden of inciting to assassination. This, of course, was indignantly denied; but the agitation was kept up, the Minister at length gave way, and the Corn Laws were repealed. As soon as the contest was over, a proposal was made to raise 100,000*l.* by way of subscription in recognition of the services of Mr. Cobden in the cause, by which it was well understood his own private affairs had become impaired. The proposal was warmly taken up in various quarters, and though the sanguine anticipations of its promoters were not realized, the handsome sum of 70,000*l.* was raised, with a portion of which the small property at Midhurst, on which he had worked when a boy, was purchased for him, while the remainder was invested by Mr. Cobden himself in American railway stock. The passing of the Corn Law Repeal Bill was the last act of the Peel Ministry, and the Cabinet went out of office on the day the Royal assent was given. Lord John Russell became Premier, and he intimated a wish to see Mr. Cobden a member of the Government, but the offer was declined. His popularity was great, and the constituency of the West Riding returned him to Parliament as one of their representatives without a contest. This seat he retained for ten or eleven years, devoting himself during the whole period to the advocacy of Radical views, and occasionally reverting to his early habits of itinerating agitation in the country districts, and advocating parliamentary reform, freehold land societies, &c.

To the Derby Government of 1852 and its successors, the Coalition Cabinet of Lords Aberdeen, Clarendon, and others, Mr. Cobden gave his decided opposition, and the war with Russia which soon followed was condemned by him in terms that gave some offence to the nation in general; and though he succeeded in causing a dissolution of Parliament in 1857 by carrying a vote condemning the proceedings of Sir John Bowring in China, his course was so distasteful to his Yorkshire constituents that he did not offer himself again for the West Riding. He became, however, a candidate for the town of Huddersfield, but was beaten by his opponent. For the next two years Mr. Cobden remained out of Parliament, and spent a good portion of the time abroad recruiting his health. But at the next general election, in 1859, when Mr. Cobden was in the United



States, his friends nominated him for the borough of Rochdale, and had influence enough to return him for the seat. The issue of that election was unfavourable to the Conservative party, and Lord Palmerston, again Premier, kept the Presidentship of the Board of Trade, with a seat in the Cabinet, vacant for some time, waiting for Mr. Cobden's acceptance. The latter on arriving in England hastened to the Premier, and had an interview with him; but the result was that he declined the offer.

Though never a Minister, he in 1859 was employed as Plenipotentiary at Paris, where he had the chief direction of the commercial treaty with France. After negotiating that treaty he refused, with rare disinterestedness, all public reward for his services beyond the bare repayment of the expenses to which he had been put; which was the more honourable to him, as it was generally understood that his private affairs were not in the best order, owing to the depressed state of his American investments. Indeed, whilst he was out of Parliament his friends proposed to raise a second subscription for him, but this he positively declined, and before long an improvement occurred in the share market which rendered any such step unnecessary.

For some years previous to his death, Mr. Cobden had suffered from ill health, and he was strenuously advised (as he declined to go abroad) to avoid as much as possible exertion and exposure in the winter season; this he usually passed at Dunford, where he was much esteemed by all classes. He ordinarily followed the advice given, but on the occasion of his visit to his constituents at Rochdale in last November, he spoke to an unusual length, his speech occupying more than two hours in delivery. Though apparently in an improved state of health, the exertion required in making that speech, coupled with the heated condition of the room, produced the illness that ended in his death. A severe attack of bronchitis confined him to his bedroom several weeks, and to his house during the whole of the winter. As the season advanced his health began to improve, and about three weeks before his decease he wrote to a friend stating that he was perfectly well, and that he intended taking his seat in Parliament, to join in the debate on the Canadian defences. He arrived in London for that purpose on the 21st of March; but the weather was so bitterly cold that he was suddenly seized with a renewal of his complaint, and was obliged to hasten to his lodgings in Suf-

folk-street. Though very ill, it was believed that he would recover, but after some alternations, his strength entirely gave way, and he died on the morning of the 2nd of April, in his 61st year. His remains were interred on the 7th of the same month, beside his only son, who died some years ago, in the churchyard of West Lavington, which is in the immediate vicinity of Dunford. The funeral was attended by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Villiers, Mr. Milner Gibson, and upwards of fifty other Members of Parliament, besides numerous deputations from Manchester, Rochdale, and other places.

Richard Cobden was one of those men whom the fertile soil of freedom never fails to cast up whenever there is a great deed to do, or a great reputation to make. In some respects he might appear at first sight one who was not peculiarly well qualified to conduct a great popular agitation. His manners, at least in private life, were gentle and courteous; he habitually shunned all occasions of giving offence, and, without deserting his opinions, took no particular delight in supporting them. Nature had given him tastes for both what is correct in design and elegant in language, but his voice had neither great flexibility nor power, and his manner and action were not such as greatly to commend him to turbulent and mixed assemblies. He probably was more at home in the House of Commons than in those large meetings over which he exercised so great and so decisive an influence. But though he was scantily endowed with the external gifts and graces of oratory, Mr. Cobden had that within which amply compensated for these defects. His delivery was earnest and impressive, his language was clear, vernacular, and well chosen, his appeals to the reason of his hearers weighty and well directed, his power of argument singularly sustained, and elastic. He could impress upon an uncultivated audience long and subtle arguments on matters far removed from ordinary experience, and by the united power of language, vigour of thought, and homeliness of illustration, could convince as well as persuade, and win converts while he was overwhelming adversaries. No man took up the ground he meant to maintain with more caution; no man saw more clearly the weakness and difficulty of his own position, or the assailable points of his adversary. It was his habit to anticipate objections, and to answer arguments before they had been urged, and so to qualify and limit his position as to leave as few vulnerable points as possible.

His English was clear, racy, and idiomatic, free from common and vulgar expressions on the one side, or from exaggerated or inflated phrases on the other. He was Nature herself; but Nature straining and bending all her powers to the attainment of a single object, to the establishment of a single point. He had a mastery over every part of the great Free Trade controversy such as nobody else could pretend to; and in the number of speeches which he made on the same subject he showed a boundless fertility of illustration, and an inexhaustible ingenuity in varying the arrangement and the form of his arguments. Although not exempt from that inequality which attends even the best public speakers, there is no orator of the present day who was so sure to bring out the facts, to adduce the arguments, and to make the impression that he desired. Such a man could not fail of great success, especially among the hard heads and shrewd understandings of the North. Year after year he laboured on in the cause of Free Trade, and it might be difficult to say what amount of progress he had made, when suddenly the whole edifice of Protection crumbled away before him, and he found himself victorious in a struggle which many had considered as almost without hope.

At that moment he occupied a position as proud, perhaps, as has ever fallen to the lot of any English subject, who, by the mere exercise of energy and talent, had raised himself above his fellow-citizens. Just seventy years after the discoveries of Adam Smith were made public, the victory was obtained; and the twenty years of Mr. Cobden's life which succeeded this glorious epoch witnessed the verification of his ideas and the gradual diffusion of his principles. Though at various times the object of bitter denunciation and unsparing attack from his political adversaries, Mr. Cobden lived to see his merits appreciated and his great services acknowledged, even by some of his most vehement opponents. But of all the tributes paid to his character none was more brilliant nor better deserved than that which he received from the great leader of the Conservative party. On the 29th of June, 1846, in the course of a memorable speech, Sir Robert Peel said: "In proposing our measures of commercial policy, I had no wish to rob others of the credit due to them. The name which ought to be, and will be associated with these measures is not the name of the noble lord, the organ of the party of which he is the leader, nor is it mine. The name which ought to be,

and will be, associated with those measures, is that of one who, acting as I believe from pure and disinterested motives, has with untiring energy made appeals to our reason, and has enforced those appeals with an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned; the name which ought to be chiefly associated with those measures is that of Richard Cobden."

Mr. Cobden's private character was unblemished, his habits extremely simple, and his discharge of all the duties of life exemplary. The Bishop of Oxford (a neighbour of Mr. Cobden's), writing to account for his non-attendance at the funeral on the ground of ill health, said,—

"I feel his loss deeply. I think it is a great national loss. But my feelings dwell rather on the loss of such a man, whom I hope it is not too much for me to venture to call my friend.

"His gentleness of nature, the tenderness and frankness of his affections, his exceeding modesty, his love of truth, and his ready and kindly sympathy—these invested him with an unusual charm for me."

He left a widow and five daughters to lament his loss.

#### FIELD MARSHAL VISCOUNT COMBERMERE.

The Right Hon. Sir Stapleton Stapleton-Cotton, Viscount Combermere of Bhurtpore, in the East Indies, and of Combermere, in the county palatine of Chester, Baron Combermere of Combermere, in the county of Chester; and a Baronet, D.C.L. (Oxon), G.C.B., G.C.H., K.S.I., Knight Grand Cross of St. Ferdinand and St. Charles of Spain, and of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, Field Marshal in the Army, Colonel of the 1st Life Guards, Constable of the Tower, Lieutenant and Constable of the Tower Hamlets, and a Privy Councillor in England and Ireland, was the scion of an old family which derived its patronymic from the village of Cotton, or Coton, in Shropshire, where it was established before the Norman Conquest. He was the eldest son of Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton, fifth Baronet, of Combermere, Cheshire, M.P. for that county, by his wife, Frances, daughter and coheir of James Russel Stapleton, Esq., and is said to have been born at Llewenny Hall, Denbighshire, in 1772, the exact date of his birth being, however, somewhat doubtful. He was educated at Westminster School, and was,

in 1790, appointed an officer in the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and, after a short professional training at a military academy, joined his regiment in Dublin. He was made a Lieutenant in 1791. He served with much credit in the campaigns of that and the next year, in Flanders, under the Duke of York. In 1794 he was Lieutenant-Colonel of Gwyn's Hussars, a newly-raised corps, afterwards known as the 25th Light Dragoons, and he, in command of this regiment, embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, and went through a short but laborious service under Sir Thomas Craig; after which, he accompanied the 25th to India, and took part in the Mysore War, in the memorable campaign of 1798-9 against Tipoo Sultaun. He was at the capture of Seringapatam, in 1799, and was publicly thanked by Lord Harris for his conduct there. He, in 1805, was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and he held the command of a brigade of light infantry in England, after which (having succeeded his father, in 1807, in the family baronetcy) he accompanied the Duke of Wellington to the Peninsula, and was one of the Paladins of the glorious struggle. He first established his fame at Talavera, where, on the second day of the combat, July 28, 1809, the whole British line renewed the fight and completely beat the French out of the field, and where, for the part he took, Sir Stapleton Cotton received the thanks of Parliament. Cotton commanded the whole of the allied cavalry on its retreat from Almeida to Torres Vedras. His skill and bravery in covering that historic retreat were handsomely acknowledged by Lord Wellington. One grand achievement of Cotton was at Salamanca, where he led on the overwhelming cavalry charge of the sixth and seventh divisions, and decided the fortune of the day—he and his followers taking 3000 French prisoners. Returning from this conflict he was fired at by a Portuguese picket, and severely wounded. For the victory of Salamanca the thanks of the Houses of Parliament were voted to Lord Wellington and to Sir Stapleton Cotton; and the latter was made a K.B. and gazetted to the colonelcy of the 20th Dragoons. Cotton showed himself in force at the battle of Orthes. He there supported Sir Lowry Cole's division, and, attacking Soult's centre and left, on the heights—a position which Soult thought impregnable—utterly routed the enemy. For this he was again thanked by Parliament. He went on adding to his reputation at Busaco, Villa Garcia, Castiglion, El Bodon, and at the great action of Toulouse. He was,

on May 17, 1814—five weeks after the Battle of Toulouse—created Baron Combermere, of Combermere, in the county of Chester; and on the 5th of the following July the Prince Regent sent a message to the Commons requesting a provision for the new Peer, in return for his brilliant deeds; whereupon a pension of 2000*l.* a year for his life and the lives of his two successors in the peerage was unanimously voted. Lord Combermere commanded a cavalry force during the occupation of Paris, and he was Governor of Barbadoes and Commander-in-Chief of the West India forces from 1817 to 1820, and Commander-in-Chief in 1822, in Ireland. His Lordship, in 1825, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in India, and Second Member of Council. The object of his mission was to overcome the formidable hostility of the usurping Rajah, Doorjun Sal. Lord Combermere's army sat down before Doorjun's chief city, Bhurtpore, a fortress of prodigious size and strength, on December 10, 1825, with a field of more than 100 pieces of artillery. After a fearful struggle, the British troops carried the breaches, and on Feb. 6, 1826, the place was taken, and the fortifications were demolished. By this achievement Lord Combermere restored English supremacy in India. Lord Goderich moved and carried in Parliament a vote of thanks to Lord Combermere for "the zeal and meritorious conduct which he displayed in commanding the British troops at Bhurtpore, and for the judgment with which he planned the assault;" and a similar vote was passed in the Commons. The East India Company made also liberal and grateful acknowledgment of his services; and on Feb. 8, 1827, his Lordship was created Viscount Combermere of Bhurtpore, in the East Indies, and of Combermere, in the county palatine of Chester. He was appointed Colonel of the 1st Life Guards. At the commemoration of 1830, at Oxford (June 23), he was made an honorary D.C.L. amid great applause. In 1852 the Viscount was appointed Constable of the Tower, and Lord Lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets on the death of his chief, the Duke of Wellington. He was made a Field Marshal on October 2, 1855. He received a medal for Seringapatam, the gold cross and one clasp for Talavera, Fuentes d'Onor, Salamanca, Orthes, and Toulouse; as well as the silver war medal with three clasps for Busaco, Ciudad Rodrigo, and the Pyrenees. Lord Combermere was a Conservative, but did not take any active part in public affairs, except in local matters in Cheshire, and occasionally on



military topics. His favourite recreation was angling, and he for many years was an ardent and active devotee of the gentle art. He was a Freemason, and had held high office in the craft. Viscount Combermere married, first, Jan. 1, 1801, Lady Anna Maria Pelham-Clinton, eldest daughter of Thomas, third Duke of Newcastle, by whom (who died May 31, 1807) he had issue three sons, who all died young. The Viscount married, secondly, June 18, 1814, Caroline, second daughter of Captain William Fulke Greville, R.N., of the family of the Earl of Warwick, and by her (who died Jan. 25, 1837) had issue one son, his successor, and two daughters—viz., Caroline Frances, wife of Arthur, present Marquis of Downshire; and Meliora Emily Anna Maria, wife of John Charles Frederick Hunter, Esq., of Stradarran, in the county of Londonderry. Viscount Combermere married, thirdly, Oct. 2, 1838, Mary Woolley, only child of Robert Gibbins, M.D., of Cork, and of Gibbins' Grove, in the county of Limerick, of an ancient family of English lineage seated in the counties of Cork and Limerick since the time of Queen Elizabeth, and by this marriage (Lady Combermere surviving him) he left no issue. Viscount Combermere died, at Clifton, on the 21st February, and his remains were interred, on the 2nd March, in the family burial-place at Wrenbury Church, near his seat, Combermere Abbey, Nantwich, where, the previous day, the body lay in state.

SIR CHARLES LOCK EASTLAKE,  
P.R.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., &c.

The President of the Royal Academy died, on the 23rd of December, at Pisa, whither, at the commencement of a long and painful illness, he had repaired, intending to winter in Italy. Charles Lock Eastlake was the youngest son of a highly respectable solicitor and Judge Advocate of Plymouth, where he was born, on the 17th of November, 1793. Part of his education he received at Plympton Grammar School—the same which boasts among its roll of scholars the names of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir Joshua's biographer, Northcote, and Haydon. Thence the young Eastlake went to the Charterhouse, but quitted that school at a comparatively early age, resolving to devote himself to the study of art, his own natural inclination in that direction having been stimulated, it is said, by the success of the first-exhibited picture his fellow-townsmen, friend, and, afterwards, instructor, Haydon. He was, how-

ever, allowed to take this step only on condition that he should for a time continue his classical studies with a tutor. That the love of art did not lead him to neglect those studies will be readily inferred by those acquainted with the writings of the accomplished painter. After going through the usual course of study at the Royal Academy (where he was favourably noticed by Fuseli), he sold his first picture to Mr. Jeremiah Harman, one of the leading patrons of the day; and by the same liberal amateur he was sent to Paris to copy some of the numberless treasures of art then collected by Napoleon, which occupation, however, he was compelled suddenly to relinquish by the return of the Emperor from Elba. The young artist was next employed chiefly in painting portraits in his native town; and on the arrival at Plymouth of the "Bellerophon," with the exiled Emperor on board, he managed to make sketches of him, from which he executed a full-length lifesize portrait as Napoleon appeared at the gangway of the ship. In 1817 Mr. Eastlake first visited Italy. A year later he proceeded to Greece, commissioned by Mr. Harman to make sketches of the most memorable remains and scenes of that classic land; being accompanied by the late Mr. (subsequently Sir Charles) Barry and Mr. Brockedon, the painter. After a tour in Sicily during the following year he returned to Rome, where he settled for several years, and whence, in 1820, he sent the first pictures he exhibited at the Royal Academy—viz. Views of the Bridge and Castle of St. Angelo, the Coliseum, and St. Peter's. Then came a long series of pictures illustrative of Italian life and costume, especially in the neighbourhood of Rome. A more important effort was a large composition, commissioned by the Duke of Devonshire, the subject of which was derived from Plutarch's story of the Spartan Isidas appearing in a battle armed but undraped, and being in consequence taken for a god; the exhibition of which picture, in 1827, procured the artist's election as Associate of the Academy. This was succeeded in the following year by, perhaps, his finest picture, "Pilgrims Arriving in Sight of Rome." The Duke of Bedford's original, we believe, of several repetitions of this subject was exhibited in the Art Treasures Collection, Manchester, in 1857. One of his pictures of banditti and contadini led to an engagement at a handsome income to paint only for the firm of Hurst, Robinson, and Co., the printers and publishers, who succeeded to the business of Alderman Boydell, but by the time two or three had been engraved the house

failed. In 1830 Mr. Eastlake was made a Royal Academician, and in that year he returned to England and established himself in London. Subjects from materials he had collected in Greece, and generally illustrative of the Turko-Greek war, now diversified those from Italy, and gradually works of far higher aim than his graceful but tame costume pieces appeared. Among the best examples in each department may be named "Greek Fugitives," "Arab Selling his Captives," "Gaston de Foix," "Escape of Francesco di Carrara and his Wife," an illustration of Byron's "Dream," "Christ Lamenting over Jerusalem" (the originals or repetitions of the last two are in the Vernon Collection), "Christ Blessing Little Children," and "Hagar and Ishmael." The artist's religious pictures testify to the influence of the attempted revival under Overbeck and other Germans at Rome of the spirit of Christian Art. As an R.A. Eastlake soon became generally known, not simply as an artist, but as an accomplished gentleman, a learned and clear-headed writer also, and possessed of excellent aptitude for business. This union of qualities (unfortunately too rare among artists) secured his appointment, in 1841, as secretary to the Royal Commission of Fine Arts authorized to conduct the decoration of the New Palace of Westminster, and this delicate and responsible post he filled with honour as long as the Commission remained in existence, and distinguishing himself further as a contributor of most valuable papers tending to check the present tendency to ultra-realism in monumental painting and the "formative arts" generally. In their last report (1863) the Commissioners offer a warm testimony to the "long and meritorious services of Sir Charles Eastlake," and seem to hint that some special acknowledgment should be made him, which, however, was not acted on. In 1847 Eastlake published a really important literary work, though under the modest title of "Materials for a History of Oil-Painting." In this book he appears as a linguist deeply versed in the literature of Northern art; and his researches into the discovery or invention of the Van Eycks, and those methods of the early Flemish oil painters which have proved of such remarkable permanency, are of the highest value to artists. A similar work on the technical processes of the Italian painters was promised, but did not appear. The scholarship and courtesy of Eastlake—more, perhaps, than his eminence as a painter—marked him as a fitting successor to Sir Martin A. Shee. Accordingly, on the death of Sir Martin, in 1850, he was elected president of the Royal

Academy; and, on the confirmation of the election by Her Majesty, he received the honour of knighthood customarily given on the occasion. Meanwhile, Eastlake's extensive knowledge both of the theory and practice of Art, qualifying him in a peculiar degree as a trustworthy guide to the acquisition and preservation of a public collection, he was appointed Keeper of the National Gallery, on the death of Mr. Seguin, in 1843, a post which he resigned in 1847. In 1850, at the invitation of Sir Robert Peel, he accepted an appointment as one of the trustees of the Gallery, and subsequently, under the new arrangement, he became director, at a salary of 1000*l.* per annum, with a secretary, Mr. Wornum, at 800*l.* per annum. In the early part of Eastlake's connexion with the National Gallery he is believed to have made some mistakes, and angry discussions took place respecting the cleaning of certain of the pictures; but on the whole, making allowance for the rivalry of public and private collectors, and the tricks of dealers, Sir Charles must be considered to have acted judiciously; unquestionably he brought a kind and a degree of knowledge and taste to the discharge of his duties as keeper, trustee, and director of the National Gallery, which it will not be easy to replace. The severe taste which he displayed in purchasing early Italian pictures in preference to those of other schools must be unreservedly commended. Besides the "Materials," &c., Eastlake published a series of papers under the title "Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts," containing essays written for the reports of the Fine Arts Commissioners, and for the "Quarterly Review;" he also translated "Goethe on colour," annotated Kugler's "Handbook of Painting." In 1849 he married Miss Elizabeth Rigby, a lady of eminent literary ability, author, among other works, of "Letters from the Baltic;" and whose last literary labour was the completion of "The History of our Lord," commenced by the late Mrs. Jameson. The remains of Sir C. Eastlake were consigned to their final resting-place in the English cemetery, Florence. The body was conveyed at an early hour by railway from Pisa, and was accompanied by Lady Eastlake, who was met at the station by many sympathizing friends, who followed the body in a long *cortège* to the cemetery.

#### VICE-ADMIRAL ROBERT FITZROY.

In another part of this volume will be found a narrative of the sad event, the

effect of an overstrained mind, which, on the 1st of May, terminated prematurely the life of this gallant and scientific naval officer.

The unfortunate Admiral was the youngest son of the late General Lord Charles Fitzroy by his second marriage with Lady Frances Anne Stuart, eldest daughter of Robert, first Marquis of Londonderry. He was born on the 5th of July, 1805; entered the navy in October, 1819, and obtained his commission as lieutenant in September, 1824. After serving on the Mediterranean and South American stations, he became, in August, 1828, flag-lieutenant to Rear-Admiral Robert W. Otway, at Rio Janeiro, and obtained his commission as commander in November the same year. He was employed as commander and captain of the "Beagle" from 1828 to 1836 in important hydrographical operations in South America and elsewhere, carrying on surveys and a chain of meridional distances round the globe. In 1843 he was appointed Governor of New Zealand, which appointment he held three years, being recalled owing to the disturbed state of the colony. Previously to going to New Zealand he was elected, in 1841, M.P. for the city of Durham. In 1848 he superintended the fitting of the "Arrogant," with a screw and peculiar machinery, which gave the utmost satisfaction. He became rear-admiral in 1857, and vice-admiral in 1863.

When, in 1854, the meteorological department of the Board of Trade was established, Captain Fitzroy was placed at its head, and to him are owing the storm signals and other modes of warning that are now in use for the benefit of the seamen. His own life, however, was the price of his devotion to his duties. The office over which he presided did not in itself entail any very extraordinary amount of intellectual exertion; but all his friends knew well that any subject which the gallant officer touched received from him such an absolute amount of devotion, that he worried himself with the details which belonged to his assistants, and thus made that which should have afforded pleasant recreation to the mind an intense labour.

Admiral Fitzroy's scientific researches in meteorology procured him the highest reputation in that branch of science. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, the Royal Geographical, the Astronomical, the Ethnological, and the Meteorological Societies. Also a member of the Institute of Paris. He was twice married, — first, in 1836, to Mary Henrietta, second daughter of the late Major-General O'Brien, which lady died in 1852; and, secondly, in 1854,

to Maria Isabella, daughter of the late Mr. J. H. Smyth, of Heath-hall, Yorkshire, who survived him.

He was the author of the following publications:—"Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H.M.S. 'Adventurer' and 'Beagle,' between the years 1824 and 1833, Describing their Examination of the Southern Shores of South America, and the 'Beagle's' Circumnavigation of the Globe," 4 vols. 8vo.; "Remarks on New Zealand," 1846; and "Sailing Directions for South America," 1858.

#### ELIZABETH CLEGHORN GASKELL.

One of the most admired and successful of that group of female writers of fiction whose productions form one of the marked features of modern literature, Mrs. Gaskell, died on the 19th of November, at her residence at Alton. The earliest and best known of this lady's tales, "Mary Barton," attracted great attention at the time of its publication, and "Ruth," which followed it, added still more to her reputation. Besides being an effective contributor to "Household Words" and other periodicals, she published a tale called "North and South," in illustration of the details of manufacturing life; and among her later works is a "Life of Charlotte Bronte," the author of "Jane Eyre." The deceased lady was the wife of a Unitarian minister at Manchester, and was born early in the present century.

#### CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, ESQ.

Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, Esq., who died suddenly, on the 18th of January, was a scion of the noble house of Warwick, and was the eldest of the three sons of Charles Greville, Esq., by his wife, Lady Charlotte Cavendish Bentinck, eldest daughter of William Henry Cavendish, third Duke of Portland, K.G., and was cousin of George Grey, present Earl of Warwick. He was born April 2, 1794, and was educated at Eton, and at Christ Church, Oxford. He, from 1821, filled the post of joint clerk to the Privy Council with the Right Hon. William Bathurst, retiring in 1860 with his colleague. He was also, for a period, secretary to the Board of Trade and Plantations.

By the peculiar quality of Mr. Greville's mind, while he took a warm and active interest in every thing that was passing around him—in the amusements of the world, in the sports of the turf, in the literature of the day—he could at any moment throw off those pastimes of the hour, and



concentrate his vigorous intellect on any grave and weighty matters which he took earnestly in hand. Hence, while he continued during the greater part of his life to be one of the most popular men of his time, he was not less regarded by the first statesmen of the age as a dispassionate counsellor and a discreet friend.

Of a singularly refined and intellectual countenance, of courteous manners, of varied attainments, and of a lively disposition, it is not surprising that Mr. Greville was soon plunged into all the gaiety of the Regency. He was one of the most favoured guests at Oatlands, then inhabited by the Duke and Duchess of York; and his connexion with the turf, as well as his official positions, subsequently brought him into frequent and intimate communication with George IV. As years advanced, he took a keener interest in the political events of the time; he lived in closer intimacy with the men by whom those events were directed. Without professing to be a party politician, he ardently desired the success of the great struggle for Catholic Emancipation, and one of the few literary works he published in his lifetime was a volume on the "Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland" (1845), in which he contended for the completion of the measure of relief to the Catholics by the payment of their clergy. In all the important transactions which he subsequently witnessed, although he professed no unrestrained confidence in the leaders or the principles of the popular party, yet his good sense and his love of justice ranged him on the side of Liberal progress and Conservative improvement. His true position, partly from the peculiar nature of the permanent office he held in the Privy Council, and partly from his personal intimacies with men of very opposite opinions, was a neutral one; but he used that neutral position with consummate judgment and address to remove obstacles, to allay irritation, to compose differences, and to promote, as far as lay in his power, the public welfare. Contented with his own social eminence, he was alike free from ambition and from covetousness. No man was more entirely disinterested in his judgments on public affairs, for he had long made up his mind that he had nothing to gain or to lose by them; and in the opinions he formed, and on occasion energetically maintained, he cared for nothing but their justice and their truth. Hence it was that with no especial authority, save that of his own integrity and acuteness, the opinion of Mr. Greville was sought and respected by multitudes of persons; he was in some sense the general

referee; and his time and attention were never wanting to the service of his friends. The utility of a man, standing thus unbiassed between the two great parties in the State, and trusted equally by the leaders on either side, could hardly be overrated: and when the more secret political transactions of the last three reigns are recorded, the share taken in many of them by Mr. Greville will be found not inconsiderable.

Mr. Greville was one of the oldest members of the Jockey Club, and a firm supporter of the Turf, from the days of the Duke of York's stud to the last October meeting at Newmarket. He was not, however, one of the favourites of fortune on the race-course. He never won the Derby, and once only the St. Leger. But as the owner of Alarm, Preserve, Orlando, and several of the finest animals bred in his time in England, he contributed much to uphold and improve the blood of the race-horse as well as the character of the Turf.

It has seldom been the lot of a man who carefully avoided all display, and circumscribed his influence within the sphere of private life, to take so active a part in public affairs, or to maintain relations of so much interest with the leading statesmen of England and of Europe; and it must be added that Mr. Greville's influence was ever directed by a manly love of his country, by a spirit of independence, by a love of moderation, and by a sense of justice. Within the wide circle of the society in which his life was spent, few names will be repeated with more regard or remembered with more regret than that of Mr. Charles Greville. He died unmarried.

#### JUDGE HALIBURTON.

The Hon. Thomas Chandler Haliburton, late Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, the celebrated author of "Sam Slick," died, on the 27th of August, at his residence, Gordon House, Isleworth. He was the son of the Hon. W. Haliburton, a Judge in Nova Scotia, by his wife, Lucy, daughter of Major Grant, and was born in British North America, in 1796. He was educated at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, and was called to the Nova Scotia Bar in 1818. After a fair practice, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Nova Scotia, and became Judge of the Supreme Court there in 1840. He, in 1835, founded his great literary reputation by furnishing to a weekly review at Halifax a series of very amusing letters,

in which the portraiture of American manners formed an inexhaustible subject. Subsequently they were republished at New York, under the title of "The Clock-maker; or, the Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville," and had a world-wide circulation. Mr. Haliburton, in 1842, on his retirement from his judicial office, came, as an Attaché of the American Legation, to this country, and the next year published his observations on British society, under the title of "The Attaché; or, Sam Slick in England." The Judge eventually took up his permanent residence in England, and entered the House of Commons, in 1859, as Member for Launceston. He attached himself to the Conservative party, and was a constant attendant in the House, but seldom spoke, probably in consequence of the weakness of his voice, which prevented his being distinctly heard. In 1858 he received the Honorary Degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. The state of his health induced him to retire from the House of Commons at the close of the last Parliament. Among the Judge's other literary works are "Bubbles from Canada," "An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," and "The Old Judge; or, Life in a Colony."

#### SIR WILLIAM JACKSON HOOKER, F.R.S.

This eminent Botanist, who died at Kew on the 12th of August at the advanced age of 80, was the son of Joseph Hooker, Esq., of Exeter, a gentleman who claimed to be a member of the same family as Richard Hooker, the author of "Ecclesiastical Polity," but who had removed to Norwich, where his son was born early in 1785. From innate taste William devoted himself to botanical studies, and these he pursued with so much success that he was eventually appointed Regius Professor of Botany in the University of Glasgow, where he greatly endeared himself to the students, not only by his ability as a lecturer, but by his engaging personal qualities.

In 1832 he was removed to a wider sphere of usefulness, being appointed Curator of the Royal Gardens at Kew, which, in their present state, he may almost be said to have created. On the recommendation of Viscount Melbourne, then Prime Minister, he received the honour of knighthood in 1835, and in 1845 received the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford, on the nomination of the Duke of Wellington, the Chancellor. In 1815 he married a daugh-

ter of Dawson Turner, Esq., of Norwich, by whom he leaves a family, his only surviving son being Dr. Joseph Dalton Hooker, the well-known botanist and traveller.

Sir William was the author of "The British Flora," *Flora Borealis Americana*, *Icones Filicum*, *Genera Filicum*, *Musci Exotici*, *Flora Exotica*, *Muscologia Britannica*, &c., and he contributed the botanical portion of the work to Admiral Beechey's account of his voyage of discovery in the Arctic regions; he was beside a constant writer in botanical periodicals. He was a member of nearly all the learned and scientific societies both upon the Continent and in America, and a Knight of the Legion of Honour.

#### GENERAL SIR JAMES SHAW KENNEDY, K.C.B.

This accomplished officer, whose death took place at Bath on the 30th of May, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, was born in 1788, was educated at the Royal Military College, and entered the army as ensign in the 43rd Regiment in 1805. He served with his regiment at the siege of Copenhagen and battle of Kioge, in 1807. In the following year he was present with the corps of Sir David Baird in the advance from Corunna to Sahagun, and the subsequent retreat under Sir John Moore. In 1809 he was with the Light Division in the march from Lisbon to Talavera, where he became adjutant of the 43rd. In the course of the same and the following year he served as Aide-de-Camp to General Robert Craufurd, commanding the Light Division, was present in the numerous affairs that took place between the Coa and Agueda, and was severely wounded at the action of Almeida. He served at the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, and at the assault of the fort and place he stood beside General Craufurd, when in the assault the latter placed himself on the crest of the glacis and there fell mortally wounded; and he was the bearer of Lord Wellington's summons to the Governor, demanding the surrender of the place. Lieut. Shaw (he took the name of Kennedy later in life) also served with his regiment at the siege and storming of Badajoz, during the investment of the forts of Salamanca, the advance and retreat from that place to the Douro, the action of Salamanca, and the investment of Retiro, and occupation of Madrid. Sir William Napier, his brother officer, in a striking and well-known passage of his History, describes

the remarkable valour which Mr. Shaw displayed at the storm of Badajoz.

More fortunate than many of the Peninsular veterans, Captain Shaw shared in the glories of Waterloo, and he served as the only officer of the Quartermaster-General's department to the third division of the Duke of Wellington's army, in the actions of Quatre Bras and Waterloo. He reconnoitered for the line of march of the division, on the 17th of June, from Piermont and the Ligny-road, crossing the Dyle at Ways, a line of march separate from the rest of the army, and a movement of great delicacy, being performed in open day in presence of Napoleon's army. On the 18th he was allowed, in presence of the Duke of Wellington, to form the division in an order of battle new and unusual, that of oblongs in echiquier, to meet the formidable masses of cavalry seen forming in its front; and in this formation the division resisted repeatedly, with perfect success, attacks of cavalry and artillery probably as formidable as any known in military history. On this famous day he was struck on the side and disabled for some time, and had one horse killed and one wounded under him. After the war was over, he commanded at Calais, during the three years of the army of occupation, the establishment formed there to keep up the communication between the army and England.

Colonel Shaw served nine years as Assistant Adjutant-General at Manchester, during a period of great disturbance, and generally in command. Among his services in later years was the organization of the Constabulary Force of Ireland; and after attaining the rank of Major-General, which he did in 1846, he was named by the Duke of Wellington to several very important commands.

In 1838 he was made a companion of the Bath, and in 1861 he received the ribbon of a Knight Commander of the same distinguished Order. In August, 1854, he was appointed Colonel of the 47th Foot. He had received the war medal with three clasps.

The dates of his commissions are as follows:—Ensign, April, 18, 1805; Lieutenant, Jan. 23, 1806; Captain, July 16, 1812; Major, June 18, 1815; Lieutenant-Colonel, Jan. 21, 1819; Colonel, Jan. 10, 1837; Major-General, Nov. 9, 1846; Lieutenant-General, June 20, 1854; and General, Aug. 19, 1862.

The deceased married, in 1820, Mary, daughter of David Kennedy, Esq., and assumed his wife's name in addition to his own.

# **HIS EXCELLENCY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.**

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America during the most momentous period of rule since that of his great predecessor George Washington, was the grandson of Abraham Lincoln, killed by Indians in 1784, and was the son of Thomas Lincoln, of Virginia, by his wife, Nancy Hanks. He was born, Feb. 12, 1809, in Harden County, Kentucky. His father, Thomas Lincoln, when the young Abraham was about eight years of age, removed with his family to Spencer County, Indiana. There for the next twelve years Abraham Lincoln worked with his father in the ordinary pursuits of a settler, living in the log hut which the neighbours assisted them to build when they first came to the neighbourhood. He had not, however, during all these years, the guiding hand of his mother, for she died shortly after they took up their residence in Indiana. In course of time, a Mr. Crawford came to settle in the neighbourhood, and opened a school in his own cabin, and Abraham Lincoln was his pupil. Abraham was a youth of manifold qualifications; he had perseverance, a desire for knowledge, truthfulness, and earnestness. The books which he loved to peruse at this period were Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," "Æsop's Fables," a life of Henry Clay, afterwards Lincoln's model of a statesman; and Weem's "Life of Washington." When he was nineteen he made a trip to New Orleans in a flat-boat with the son of one of his neighbours, with a cargo for the New Orleans market. In addition to a long voyage down the river Ohio, which bounds Indiana on the south, the young voyagers had at least one thousand miles of the Mississippi to traverse before they arrived at their destination. The voyage was successful, and raised the character of Abraham Lincoln in the vicinity as a youth of energy and promise. In 1830, when Abraham was twenty-one years of age, he migrated once more with his father to Decatur, Illinois. The father being there comfortably settled, Abraham started on his own account, hiring himself out first of all as a farm hand, and occasionally acting as a clerk in a store. When the war with the Indians broke out in 1832, commonly called the Black Hawk War, Mr. Lincoln was elected to the command of a company of volunteers. One who knew him at this period writes that "he was an efficient, faithful officer,



watchful of his men, and prompt in the discharge of duty; and his courage and patriotism shrank from no dangers or hardships." After his military career, Lincoln kept a store; and then took to the business of a surveyor. In 1834 he was sent to the local Legislature, and during the time the House was not sitting he applied himself with vigour to the study of law. In 1836 he obtained a licence to practise; and in 1837 went to Springfield, the chief town in Illinois, and commenced as a lawyer, in partnership with the Hon. John F. Stuart. He rose rapidly in public favour, and is said to have been very successful as an advocate in jury trials. In 1846 Mr. Lincoln was returned to Congress, and took his seat as the only Whig member from Illinois. He continued to belong to Congress till 1849. The Whigs were the forerunners of the present powerful Republican party, the chief point of difference being that of slavery. Lincoln was for freedom, and on that ground opposed the Mexican War. He supported a Bill abolishing slavery in the district of Columbia. When the Wilmot proviso was discussed, to exclude slavery from those territories which had been captured from Mexico, Mr. Lincoln voted for the proviso; and he afterwards stated that, in one way or another, he had cast his vote about forty times in favour of the abolition of slavery. In 1849 he stood, and was defeated, for the office of United States' Senator for Illinois, and consequently remained at home from that period until 1854, in the practice of his profession. In that year the Kansas Nebraska Bill was passed by the slaveholding party, aided by some of their supporters in the North. Mr. Stephen A. Douglas stood for United States' Senator from Illinois, and Mr. Lincoln opposed him; the two champions ultimately holding seven joint debates in different towns of the State for the purpose of informing the people of the grounds of difference of policy upon which they were called on to decide. Upon his discussions with Douglas, however, the eyes of the whole country were fixed, and the ability and quaint humour which Mr. Lincoln exhibited, and the success which he gained for the party, made him very popular among the Republicans. The immediate practical question which then agitated the people, and which came to be the turning-point of the presidential election of 1860, was whether or not slavery ought to be permitted in the new territories as, one by one, they came to be peopled. Mr. Lincoln believed that slavery ought to be excluded from the territories, although he did not see his

way to interfere with slavery in those States where it existed. The Republican Convention, which met at Chicago, nominated Mr. Lincoln as their candidate for the presidency. The contest lay between him and Mr. Seward. The canvass was carried on with the usual good humour in the North, but amid threatenings and mutterings in the South in the prospect of their defeat. The polling resulted in the return of Mr. Lincoln—the numbers being, for Lincoln, 1,857,910; for Douglas, 1,291,574; for Breckenridge, 850,082; and for Bell (a Whig of long standing), 642,124. The election, in 1860, of Mr. Lincoln, was hailed with delight by the people of the Northern States, and when he proceeded to Washington to execute the functions of President, the whole country watched his progress with intense satisfaction. Mr. Lincoln's policy was to woo the South to submission to the constitutionally-expressed will of the people by every argument which would be supposed to have weight with American citizens. His appeal was vain. The men to whom it was addressed had for a long series of years encouraged the delusion that slavery was a Divine institution. The North, with Mr. Lincoln as President, had no choice but to enforce the laws and to use whatever powers the Constitution gave for the suppression of the South, which had burst out into open rebellion. The terrible war that followed, and its ever-varying incidents, are too much matters of history to need any detail here. Sufficient it is to say that in the west the national arms were almost uniformly successful. In the east the forces of the Union failed to capture Richmond until weary years of effort had been wasted, and several successive generals tried and removed. But the elasticity of free institutions permitted of these changes of commanders; and the patriotism of the people supported the President in whatever appointments he deemed best for the furtherance of the cause, until—by his happy selection of General Grant, who had proved victorious in the west, and by the skill and energy of Generals Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, and others—the power of the South was completely battered down. The emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln was one of his boldest and greatest acts, and the cause of the Union prospered ever since. Lincoln had been a second time elected President, and the surrender of the Confederate army was just being looked on as the closing scene of the mighty struggle, when he fell the victim of one of the foulest acts of assassination recorded in history.

Mr. Lincoln was naturally Conservative in his tendencies, although forced at times

to adopt extreme Radical measures. He was humane and amiable in his character, without vindictiveness; and these qualities were shown in the policy sketched out by him for the restoration of the Union. Without brilliant abilities, he possessed good sense, a fair judgment, and great knowledge of his countrymen. The great majority of the inhabitants of the middle and western States were unfitted to judge of his qualifications for his high office, but they were won by his homely manners, his good nature, his sympathy with their feelings, and his humble origin. This last was indeed a great source of power to him. It created so strong and popular a feeling in his favour as enabled him to triumph over all opposition. At the time of his death his views were so much more Conservative than those of his partisans, that the opposition began warmly to support him, while the Republicans were alarmed at his moderation. President Lincoln died on the 15th of April, from the shot fired at him in the theatre at Washington, by John Wilkes Booth. He left behind him a widow and several children. His untimely end was much regretted in England, and in many parts of the continent of Europe he had warm admirers.

#### PROFESSOR LINDLEY.

Dr. John Lindley, Ph. D., F.R.S., a very eminent botanist, and late Professor of Botany at University College, London, and editor of the "Gardeners' Chronicle" who died at his residence, Acton-green, on the 1st of November, was the son of Mr. Lindley, a writer on horticulture, who kept botanical nursery grounds, near Catton, in Norfolk, where the Professor was born, in 1799. His father's pursuits gave the son the opportunity of acquiring knowledge and experience in horticulture, which he soon turned to profit. He commenced writing on botanical subjects when he was twenty-one years of age, and from that time to the day of his death contributed largely to botanical literature. His earliest works contained several new facts and observations, and they soon attracted notice. In 1828 he came to London, and was, during the succeeding seven years, principally engaged, with the late Mr. Loudon, in producing the *Encyclopædia of Plants*. This work was published in 1829. From that time Dr. Lindley wrote and published a succession of books and papers on the general arrangement, genera, and species of plants, each teaching and advocating the natural system; and in 1846 he pro-

duced "The Vegetable Kingdom," a most comprehensive and complete book of systematic science. Dr. Lindley was also a contributor to the periodical press upon his favourite subject, and he conducted the "Gardeners' Chronicle" from its commencement. In 1829 he was appointed to the chair of Botany, in University College, London, and he held that professorship nearly twenty-five years. He was also, from 1835 till the lectures were discontinued, lecturer at the Botanical Gardens, Chelsea, which were the property of the Apothecaries' Society; and from 1822 he filled with assiduity the post of under-secretary to the Royal Horticultural Society. He was a Doctor of Civil Law, and also held an honorary degree of Ph. D., presented to him by the University of Munich. Dr. Lindley was associated with the late Sir Joseph Paxton in superintending the interior of the first Crystal Palace. The library and museum of the Horticultural Society were for many years under the charge of Professor Lindley, and became much enhanced in value through his care.

#### VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G.

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, K.G., First Lord of the Treasury, having for upwards of half a century filled a conspicuous position in political life, having held during his career most of the principal offices in the State, and finally attained the highest, expired at Brockett Hall on the 18th of October, being within two days of the completion of his eighty-first year.

The deceased peer was the eldest surviving son of Henry, second Viscount, by his second wife, Mary, only daughter of Benjamin Mee, Esq. He was born in Park-street, Westminster<sup>1</sup>, Oct. 20, 1784, and succeeded to the title April 17, 1802. His education commenced at Harrow, was continued at the University of Edinburgh, and was completed at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1806. In the same year, when the formation of the Grenville Administration obliged Lord Henry Petty, on his accession to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, to appeal to his constituents, Lord Palmerston, then little more than of age, contested with him the representation of Cambridge University; he was unsuccessful, and though his name appeared in

<sup>1</sup> This fact appears in the "Salisbury Journal" of Nov. 1, 1784; his place of birth is usually said to have been Broadlands, near Romsey, the family seat.

a double return from Horsham, he failed to obtain a seat in Parliament. In the following year he again contested the University, but failed, when he was returned for Newport, Isle of Wight, which he continued to represent until elected Member for Cambridge. On the formation of the Duke of Portland's Administration, Lord Palmerston, who had displayed considerable ability in Parliament, was appointed a junior Lord of the Admiralty; and a speech made by him on the 3rd of February, 1808, in opposition to Mr. Ponsonby's motion for the production of papers explanatory of the grounds on which the Administration had advised the expedition against Copenhagen, may be regarded as an indication of the principle of much of his subsequent practice as a diplomatist. In 1809, on the resignation of the Secretaryship at War by Lord Castlereagh, Lord Palmerston was appointed to that office; which he continued to fill until 1828, under the successive Administrations of Mr. Perceval, the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington. He exhibited remarkable ability in his conduct as Secretary at War. He found his office, when he entered it, in a state of the greatest confusion, but he left it in the highest possible order. He matured and carried into effect arrangements for disposing of vast arrears of unsettled accounts, to the great pecuniary gain and advantage of the public; and at the same time he originated various rules and regulations under which the system of military finance was at once simplified and improved. Whilst discharging the duties of Secretary at War, the welfare as well as the honour of the British army was the subject of his constant solicitude. In the latter years of his administration he signalized himself by the constant skirmishes he held with the late Mr. Hume. During the whole of this period he confined himself in his speeches in Parliament chiefly to the business of his department; interfering occasionally only in discussions on other topics. Among these exceptions, however, was the important and vexed question of Catholic Emancipation, to which he had always given a steady support. A difference of opinion on the East Retford disenfranchisement question occasioned his withdrawal from office, and he remained in opposition until the accession of Earl Grey to power in Nov. 1830, when he received the post of Foreign Secretary in the Whig Ministry which was then formed, and he was ever after a prominent leader of the Liberal party. He resigned when Sir Robert Peel, in 1834, came into office, but resumed his

functions under Lord Melbourne in 1835. The following six years were perhaps the period during which he attained that reputation for brilliancy, alertness, and omniscience as a Foreign Minister, which has made his name a word of exultation to his admirers, and of execration and fear to some foreign Governments. It was during this time that over the Continent, from Spain to Turkey, the name of "Palmerston" began to be used as synonymous with English diplomatic activity; and it was during the same time that a party of erratic politicians sprang up in England, who sought to prove that he was a voluntary tool of Russia, and argued for his impeachment.

In 1841 Sir Robert Peel again came into power, and Lord Palmerston went out of office with his party, and ceased to have any connexion with the direction of public affairs. He did not, however, abandon his interest in them or in the general discussion on politics. Indeed, the close of that Session saw him appear in a new character. The leader of the party, Lord John Russell, seeing the hopelessness of making an impression in the then state of the public mind, left the House of Commons some time before the Session terminated, and the duty of watching the Ministerial movements devolved upon Lord Palmerston. In the following Session the Income Tax and the revival of the tariff fully exonerated the Ministry from the charge of idleness or inefficiency. Lord Palmerston, therefore, went back to his old rôle—that of watching the conduct of foreign affairs, which were now in the hands of Lord Aberdeen. One of the questions on which he stood forward as an opponent of the Government, was that of the Ashburton treaty with the United States respecting the settlement of the north-eastern boundary of Canada with the State of Maine. The long-litigated question was settled by giving to the States a strip of territory which had long been considered as British territory, and which had been colonized by British settlers, on the faith of its being so. This by no means suited the temperament of Lord Palmerston, who, ever jealous of his country's rights and dignity, brought the treaty containing this cession before the House, and stigmatized it as the "Ashburton Capitulation." He met with but few sympathizers, however; and though his speech was listened to with great attention, yet the House thinned the moment he finished, and in a short time it was counted out, so that his motion for a vote of censure was never put from the chair. On the question of the Corn Laws, Lord Palmerston publicly announced, in



1845, his conversion to the principle of absolute repeal, having before that time been in favour of a fixed duty, levied for the purposes of revenue. When Sir Robert Peel came to the same determination, his cabinet being of opinion that the work ought to be left to the Liberal party, resigned office, and Lord John Russell was sent for by the Queen, and entrusted with the task of forming a new Government. He solicited the assistance of his old colleagues, including Earl Grey and Lord Palmerston. The former nobleman, disapproving of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, refused to render any assistance to Lord John unless Lord Palmerston was excluded from office. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, expressed his willingness to refrain from taking office, but promised to give the new Government all the support he could. The quarrel, however, disconcerted the measures of the Whig leader, and Sir Robert Peel was therefore called to the helm, and under his auspices the law abolishing the protective duty on corn was passed. Soon afterwards Sir Robert's cabinet broke up through the dissensions of the party of which he was the head, and Lord Palmerston again came into office as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the summer of 1846, as a member of the new Whig Ministry of Lord John Russell. He continued to direct the diplomacy of the country in this capacity through the many difficult and intricate foreign questions which arose. Among these were the troubles in Portugal; the Swiss question; the revolutionary movements of 1848; the Spanish *imbroglio* of 1848; the Greek question, which had its origin in 1847, and was brought to an issue by the reprisals of 1850; and, finally, the Hungarian war, and the protection of the fugitive Hungarian chiefs. In the year 1851, differences with Lord John Russell and with his other colleagues induced him to resign.

Lord Palmerston was not long out of office. In 1852 he became Home Secretary in the Coalition Government of Lord Aberdeen, and Premier in February, 1855, when that Ministry broke up through the events of the Crimean war. In 1857 a vote of censure was passed in the House of Commons on his policy in China, the effect of which was a dissolution. The election went in his favour, but he was obliged to retire in 1858, in consequence of a defeat on the Conspiracy Bill. In June, 1859, the short career of Lord Derby's Government came to an end, and Lord Palmerston returned once more to the post of Premier, which he held until his death.

In 1839 Lord Palmerston married

Lady Emily Mary, sister of Viscount Melbourne, and widow of Earl Cowper, but having no issue his titles are extinct. These were Viscount Palmerston, of Palmerston, co. Dublin, and Baron Temple of Mount Temple, co. Sligo, in the Peerage of Ireland. He was also a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, a Knight of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, and a Knight of the Garter. In 1806 he received the degree of M.A. from the University of Cambridge, and in 1862 that of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. In 1861 he was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Governor or Constable of Dover Castle. He was an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, and Honorary Colonel of the 1st Cinque Ports Artillery Volunteers.

Lord Palmerston was a man of wonderful activity both of mind and body, indefatigable in business, but also entering as freely into all the pleasures of society as if he had no other demands on his time. He preserved his health and strength until a very short time before his death, and, in spite of his advanced age, his career was considered to be prematurely closed, by imprudent exposure to sudden cold weather: his last illness was very brief, and apparently painless. His own desire was to be interred in the Romsey cemetery (his parents lie in the Abbey church), but this was overruled, and with general concurrence he was buried at Westminster, on the 27th of October, the pall being borne by no less than ten cabinet ministers, and the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, the representatives of fourteen foreign States, beside deputations from many public bodies, being among the mourners.

"Lord Palmerston," says a contemporary writer, "though an eminently popular minister, was by no means servile in his deference to the opinions or prejudices of 'an enlightened public.' He was English, honest, open, plain-spoken in word, and straightforward in his dealings—gay, cheerful, and careless to a fault. No man was more thoroughly above all hypocrisy. Nor was he sedulous on all occasions not to shock deep-rooted prejudices. The social qualities of Lord Palmerston will long be the theme of remark. A jovial, jocular, and genial man, who is always in good temper with himself and those around him, cannot fail to be popular among his friends and acquaintances. And if any one was genial to the last, it was Lord Palmerston. Nothing put him out of temper; no failure could disturb the serenity of his disposition. He had no very strong views to

fight for; no stern and rugged line of unswerving policy did he ever propose to himself, but he always took care to seize the tide at the flood, and to swim down along with it, to lay hold of every event as it rose, and to make it subservient to his turn. Hence, without ever actually changing his political creed, he served and fought under various chiefs of opposite politics and principles, so that few can remember the day when his lordship had no official connexion with Downing-street. But it must be borne in mind that, even when ultra-Toryism was in the ascendant, Lord Palmerston was 'in advance of his age;' and that even then he might have been noticed ranging himself amongst the Grants, Huskissons, and other pioneers of a more liberal and enlightened policy. Like Peel, if he was Conservative from early impressions, he was ever Liberal in his deepest convictions. In the Foreign Office he was from first to last the consistent opponent of Absolutism; and wherever a struggle arose for constitutional rights, those engaged in it were sure to have his sympathy, if not his support."

Lord Palmerston's only brother, four years younger than himself, was the late Hon. Sir William Temple, K.C.B., many years Minister Plenipotentiary at Naples; he died unmarried, in London, in August, 1856, a few weeks after having resigned that post and returned to England. Of his two sisters, the elder, the Hon. Frances Temple, married in 1820, Admiral Wm. Bowles, C.B., and died in November, 1838: the younger, the Hon. Elizabeth Temple, married, in 1811, the Right Hon. Lawrence Sullivan, of Ponsbourne Park, Hertfordshire, a Commissioner of the Royal Military Asylum; she died in 1837, leaving two sons and three daughters. Her eldest son died at Lima, tragically, in 1856. Her only remaining son, the Rev. Henry Sullivan, is now Rector of Yoxall, Staffordshire. Her eldest daughter married Mr. Henry Hippley; her second daughter, the Rev. R. Baker, Vicar of Fulham; her third daughter is unmarried. Thus it will be seen that Lord Palmerston left one nephew and three nieces.

#### SIR JOSEPH PAXTON, M.P.

This eminent man, who raised himself from a humble station to be the greatest gardener of his time, the founder of a new style of architecture, and a man of genius, who devoted it to objects in the highest and noblest sense popular, was born at

Milton Bryant, near Woburn, Bedfordshire, August 3, 1803, and educated at the Grammar School of that town. The son of parents in very moderate circumstances, he was obliged at an early age to seek means of supporting himself. Having become a skilful gardener, he obtained employment at Chiswick, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire. There he had the good fortune to attract the notice of the Duke, who, in 1826, removed him to Chatsworth, and gave him a situation of increased responsibility; and eventually he was made not only director of the magnificent gardens and grounds at Chatsworth, but manager of the Duke's vast Derbyshire estates. At Chatsworth he had the superintendence of the extensive works which changed that already famous seat and grounds into the most splendid ducal residence in England. The gardens and grounds were entirely remodelled from the designs of Mr. Paxton; and while in a horticultural point of view they were considered to have been raised to the foremost place among English gardens, as regards elegance of design they have met with general admiration, though in this latter respect much has always been supposed to be due to the fine taste of the Duke himself. One great feature of the work, the grand conservatory, however, was known to be entirely the production of Mr. Paxton. This erection, in size beyond any thing then existing, being 300 ft. long by 145 ft. wide, and covering nearly an acre of ground, was not merely an expansion of an ordinary conservatory. With perfect simplicity, it combined much beauty of form, and it was constructed on a foundation of the greatest solidity; it has an underground railway for the use of the gardeners and workmen, an elaborate and successful system of heating and ventilation, and an ingenious ridge-and-furrow arrangement of the glass for the double purpose of increasing its power of resisting hail-storms and facilitating the rapid passage of rain water—contrivances since common enough in gigantic glass and iron buildings, but then novel. It may be added as an illustration of the mechanical ingenuity of Mr. Paxton, that the forty miles of sash-bar required for the conservatory were made by a machine of his own invention. This remarkable edifice was in fact the parent of the far more famous Crystal Palace.

When the scheme of the first Great Exhibition threatened to fall through for the want of a suitable building, this was the man who stepped forward to solve the difficulty. The architects and the engi-

neers had brought matters to a dead lock, and a great national *fiasco*, the most humiliating thing that could happen to a practical people like ours, seemed imminent. Then Paxton came with his simple but comprehensive design, and all difficulty vanished. The ingenious gardener was so clearly and unmistakably right in what he proposed, and he had so many backers in every direction, that, as if Prospero's wand had waved, opposition vanished. The fairy structure was erected, and, as all the world well remembers, the greatest triumph of the Great Exhibition was loudly proclaimed to be the building. His design, as is well known, was, with very slight modifications, carried out under his superintendence. With the general public the building was from the first a favourite, and it gained rather than otherwise by familiarity. As a recognition of his merit, Mr. Paxton received the honour of knighthood; and when the Crystal Palace Company was formed he was invited to prepare a revised design for the building on its new site at Sydenham, and was appointed director of the garden, park, &c. He availed himself of the opportunity so to remodel the plan and adapt it to the new site as to show in a very striking manner the artistic capabilities of the new style he may be said to have created. In this building Sir Joseph Paxton carried out, probably to the fullest extent, the ideal he had been led to imagine in the course of his Chatsworth experience in building; and in the grounds and gardens may in like manner be traced the influence of his Chatsworth studies. Costly and beautiful as are the Chatsworth gardens and terraces, the fountains and waterworks, they have but served as models for the nobler gardens, terraces, and fountains of the Crystal Palace; and whatever objections may be raised to particular points of detail, it must be regarded as no small triumph to have designed and carried out works so various, so vast, and so beautiful.

After the completion of the Crystal Palace, Sir Joseph Paxton appeared inclined to pursue the profession of an architect, but the only work of any consequence that he erected, is a mansion of a very costly and fanciful design at Ferrières, in France, for the Baron James de Rothschild; he also made extensive alterations at the seat of Baron M. A. de Rothschild, Mentmore, Buckinghamshire. In his later years Sir Joseph was a good deal connected with large industrial and commercial undertakings. His versatile ability was well shown in the suggestion, and subsequently in the organi-

zation, of the Army Works Corps, which served in the Crimea.

In 1827 Mr. Paxton married Sarah, the daughter of Mr. Thomas Bown. In 1854 he was elected, without opposition, M.P. for Coventry, and continued to represent that borough until his decease. He was elected Fellow of the Horticultural Society in 1826, and of the Linnæan Society in 1833; and in 1844 he was created a Knight of the Order of St. Vladimir by the Emperor of Russia. Sir Joseph contributed somewhat extensively to the literature of horticulture. Among other things, he wrote a "Practical Treatise on the Culture of the Dahlia," 1838; and a "Cottage Calendar," which has had an enormous circulation; he also edited, wholly or in part, "Paxton's Flower Garden," "Pocket Botanical Dictionary," "Horticultural Register," and "Botanical Magazine." He died at his residence adjoining the Crystal Palace on the 8th of June, in the sixty-third year of his age.

SIR JOHN RICHARDSON, M.D., C.B.,  
R.N., F.R.S.

This distinguished naturalist, whose death took place on the 5th of June at Lancrigg, near Grasmere, was the son of Gabriel Richardson, Esq., of Rosebank, provost of Dumfries, by the daughter of Peter Mundell, Esq., a descendant of the Maundells or Maundevilles of Torthoswald and Tinwald, and was born at Dumfries in 1787. He was educated at the Dumfries Grammar School, was sent to the University of Edinburgh in 1801, and in 1807 he entered the Royal Navy as an assistant-surgeon. He was in the same year present at the siege of Copenhagen, and in the next year he was employed on the coast of Portugal, when, before he had obtained the age of twenty-one, he was raised to the rank of acting-surgeon of "L'Hercule," 74, in acknowledgment of his coolness and bravery shown in a night attack by boats on a French brig in the Tagus. This was rapid promotion, but it was followed by a somewhat unexciting round of cruising and convoying, off Toulon, in the Baltic, on the West African coast, and at Quebec, till the years of Canadian and Georgian warfare in 1813 and 1814, when he served as surgeon to a battalion of Marines. With these latter expeditions Richardson's acquaintance with actual warfare ended, and, with one momentous exception, from 1814 to the day of his death he never, so far as we know, saw another shot fired in anger.



His services were not accepted, though they were offered, for the short war of 1815; and the young surgeon of eight-and-twenty sat himself down in Blenheim-street, and studied anatomy for two years there under Mr. Brookes. His zeal for self-improvement was soon to meet with its due reward. He found favour in the discerning eyes of Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Robert Brown, and Captain Franklin. On volunteering for the first Arctic Overland Expedition under the last-named of those three famous men, his services were accepted, and a direction and colouring was given to his whole life henceforward by the new field thus opened to his labours.

His scientific life began with the publication, in 1823, of Sir John Franklin's Narrative. In the appendix to that work we find "Geognostical Observations, Remarks on the Aurora Borealis, Notices of Fishes, and a Botanical Appendix, by Dr. Richardson;" and in the Introduction, written by Sir J. Franklin, we read (p. xiv.) as follows:—"To Dr. Richardson in particular the exclusive merit is due of whatever collections and observations have been made in the department of natural history; and I am indebted to him in no small degree for his friendly advice and assistance in the preparation of the present narrative."

The mammalia and birds of Sir Edward Parry's voyage had their natural history given to the world by Dr. Richardson in the very year (1825) in which he sailed a second time with Franklin to the Polar regions. In this second Overland Expedition Dr. Richardson was detached from Sir John Franklin, on the special duty of surveying the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers—a task which, under other auspices, he was once more to go through two-and-twenty years later. Dr. Richardson tells, in some hundred pages of the book published by Sir John Franklin in 1828, his own story of his own expedition, and the nineteen hundred and eighty miles they travelled over in the seventy-one days of their absence.

The chief scientific fruit, however, of the second Arctic Expedition, so far as Dr. Richardson was concerned, is represented by the truly magnificent work, "*Fauna Boreali-Americana*." It appeared in several quarto volumes from 1829 to 1837.

Sir John Richardson was knighted in 1846.

His scientific writings fill up some twenty volumes, treating mainly of the zoology of mammals, birds, and fishes, and most instructively of the distribution

of species. The "*Fauna Boreali-Americana*" is almost first in point of time, as it is quite in point of size and importance. "The Polar Regions," on the other hand, a moderate-sized octavo, which appeared in 1861, and was nearly, though not quite, the last work he published, is, perhaps, the most generally interesting of all his writings. In his latter years, as may be seen from the last-mentioned work, Sir John Richardson took great interest in ethnological and linguistic studies; and the excellent preparation and the well-balanced judgment which forty years of zoological study had conferred upon him, made him, as a similar course of study has made the not dissimilar character, Von Baer, a true and a trustworthy anthropologist. The museum at Haslar owes its existence to his zeal and energy.

Passing from Sir John's scientific to his philanthropic work, we may prominently mention the great improvement which, at this selfsame Haslar, he effected in the condition and treatment of lunatic sailors. He had, of course, to encounter opposition, but he finally carried his point, and had the daily satisfaction of watching from his own windows the actual working of the humane plans he had advocated.

His administrative ability was conspicuous. His purely medical and professional duties he discharged with unfailing energy and punctuality.

Friendship and enterprise never shone out more brightly than they did in Sir John's third Arctic Expedition, in search this time for, not in company with, his "dear friend," Sir John Franklin. At the age of sixty-one, he undertook once again to explore the same ice-bound seaboard, between the Mackenzie and the Coppermine rivers, which he had explored in the interests of geographical science at the age of thirty-eight. He has himself told the story of this chivalrous undertaking in the two volumes of the "*Boat Voyage*," but many volumes might be written on the lesson and example which that story furnishes.

He returned for another half-dozen years to Haslar, from 1849 to 1855, when he retired from the service in which he had spent nearly half a century. During the ten years, from his sixty-eighth to his seventy-eighth year, he was on constant duty as a magistrate and as a chairman of meetings; he visited Rome and Naples, and carried through the press five volumes or more of revisions of scientific, and especially ichthyological, works.

It would be unjust to pass over without mention the amiable and endearing qualities of Sir John Richardson's private character. Forgetfulness of self, and

thoughtfulness for others, truthfulness and charity, were the prominent features in his daily life and bearing.

### ISAAC TAYLOR.

As an Essayist and philosophical writer of high reputation and extensive popularity, the life of Mr. Taylor presents but few incidents except those which are furnished by a protracted literary career. He closed his life in the quiet seclusion in which it had been chiefly spent, at Stamford Rivers, in Essex, on the 28th of June, at the age of 77 years.

He was born at Lavenham, in Suffolk, in 1787, and was the son of Mr. Isaac Taylor, an artist and Dissenting teacher, who afterwards settled at Ongar. He was trained as an artist, but early in life he adopted literature as his profession, and he was also the author of several mechanical inventions. He was indeed a member of a very talented family. His father, Isaac Taylor, of Ongar; his uncle, Charles Taylor, the learned editor of "Calmet;" his sisters, Ann and Jane Taylor, the joint authors of "Original Poems" and "Hymns for Infant Minds;" his mother, Ann Taylor, and his brother, Jeffreys Taylor, produced works which attained a wide popularity. In 1848 he became a contributor to the "Eclectic Review," in conjunction with Robert Hall, John Foster, and Josiah Conder. His first independent literary venture was a small volume entitled "Elements of Thought," published in 1822. This was succeeded by a translation of the "Characters of Theophrastus," with clever and original illustrations, etched by the author; by the "History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times," the "Process of Historical Proof," the "Memoirs and Correspondence of Jane Taylor," and by a new translation of "Herodotus." None of these early literary ventures had very eminent success, but he at last discovered the true vein in which his genius lay. In 1829 the "Natural History of Enthusiasm" was published anonymously. Coming out at a time of great political and religious ferment, and offering a solution of the problems of the day, the book was received with extraordinary favour by the public, and rapidly ran through eight or nine editions. With the object of giving continuity to the philosophical and religious theories which he advanced in the "History of Enthusiasm," Mr. Taylor, in the course of the next seven years, published that series of works on which his fame must rest—"Fanaticism," "Spiri-

tual Despotism," "Saturday Evening," and the "Physical Theory of Another Life," works which have all had an extensive sale. The publication of the last of these works led to the reluctant surrender of the author's *incognito*. The unknown writer received an urgent request from the late Dr. Chalmers to stand for the chair of logic in the University of Edinburgh, in opposition to the late Sir William Hamilton, who, however, was elected by a small majority. Subsequently Mr. Taylor brought out his work entitled "Home Education," which has had an extensive popularity. He afterwards joined the Rev. Robert Traill in bringing out a new translation of "Josephus." This costly work was accompanied with numerous illustrations engraved by some most ingenious machinery, the invention of which had been the amusement of Mr. Taylor's leisure hours. The death of Dr. Traill at the eve of the publication of this work brought upon Mr. Taylor heavy pecuniary responsibilities, from which for many years he was unable to extricate himself. The engraving machine was patented in England, Ireland, and America, and, though productive of small benefit to the inventor, realized large returns in the hands of others. About this period the "Tracts for the Times" were creating great excitement in the religious world. Mr. Taylor believed that the writers of the "Tracts" were giving a perverted view of the tendencies, doctrinal and ritual, of the early Church, and he stated the results to which his study of the Fathers had led him, in a work entitled "Ancient Christianity."

After an interval of some years, Mr. Taylor published essays on the lives of Loyola and of Wesley, and a volume published anonymously at Cambridge, entitled the "Restoration of Belief." Two volumes of essays, "Logic and Theology" and "Ultimate Civilization," a series of lectures, originally delivered in Edinburgh, on "The Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry," and a series of autobiographical papers published last year in "Good Words" were the last occupations of his declining years.

Many members of Mr. Taylor's family displayed great aptitude for literature, but he combined with it much artistic and mechanical genius. The originality and power exhibited in some of his early designs, engraved for Boydell's Bible, were commemorated in Gilchrist's "Life of Blake." One of the most complicated and beautiful pieces of mechanism now at work in Manchester is Mr. Taylor's machine for engraving patterns on rollers for calico printing; the plates which illus-

trate Traill's "Josephus" were engraved by this process.

Though brought up as a Dissenter, Mr. Taylor, at an early period of his literary career, gave evidence of his preference for the Established Church, and he soon after joined its communion, but this did not lead to a severance of friendly intercourse with his former associates.

### CHARLES WATERTON.

Charles Waterton, Esq., of Walton Hall, in the county of York, died on the 27th of May, at his seat, Walton Hall, near Wakefield, from the effects of an accidental fall. This distinguished gentleman had repute not only as a naturalist and traveller; he was a man of varied genius and of much worth, and was every where popular. In his own neighbourhood he was familiarly and affectionately known as "Squire Waterton." He was the eldest son of Thomas Waterton, Esq., of Walton Hall, by his wife, Anne, daughter and eventually sole heiress of Edward Bedingfield, Esq., of Oxtou. He was born June 12, 1782; and received his education at Stonyhurst, the celebrated Jesuit College in Lancashire. There he remained until nearly twenty-one years of age, and there he became an accomplished scholar, and particularly a great adept in the Latin language. He in his youth renounced the use of wine and spirituous liquors, and adhered to that renunciation through life. His love of natural history often led him into playing truant, but eventually his instructors gave him more liberty to pursue his favourite study. Soon after leaving Stonyhurst the young man made a tour into Spain. There he met with many strange adventures, including fever and earthquakes. He, in 1804, went out to superintend his uncle's (Christopher Waterton's) estates in Demerara. That uncle and his own father being dead, in 1812 Charles Waterton delivered up his Demerara trust, and came as squire to Walton. All subsequent visits which he paid to South America were undertaken with no other object in view than the pursuit of natural history. The well-known book he published "The Wanderings in South America," bears testimony to his wonderful adventures during these visits. The vivacity with which his narratives abound render them some of the most charming productions of their kind. Mr. Waterton latterly made frequent journeys to Belgium and Italy. His "Essays on Natural History," have been collected from "London's Magazine," and edited by himself, in a hand-

some volume, to which he prefixed a most amusing autobiography. This work is as sarcastic and racy as "The Wanderings," and full of interesting and acute observation. It should be added of Mr. Waterton that he was the first bird-stuffer of his day, and his collections in that way at Walton are magnificent. Charles Waterton, with all his many eccentricities written, spoken, and enacted—was of a truly gentle spirit. He was benevolent to all—both to man and brute; he ever enjoined and practised the kindest treatment of animals, evincing a general sympathy towards them, and the greatest horror of any wanton persecution of them. One of his well-known traits was never to allow a shot to be fired on his grounds except to keep down the rabbits, whose impudent invasions were too much even for him. The result was that in Walton Park many a rare bird and animal has made its haunt in safety, and the curious sight may be therein seen of herons and other equally shy members of the feathered tribe remaining unmoved at the report of a gun. Walton Hall stands on an island in the centre of a lake, and has the honour of having successfully resisted an attack from Oliver Cromwell. A musket-ball, said to have been fired by Cromwell's own hand, lies embedded to this day in its wall, and used, with some pride, to be pointed out by the squire. He liberally threw open the park, and it was the resort, during the summer months, of numerous pleasure-parties. Waterton was a devoted Catholic; but even his religious fervour was of a friendly nature, and could only be remarked by the more pungent and playful manner he adopted towards those of different creeds to his own. He left behind him singular instructions concerning his funeral, which were faithfully carried out. A mausoleum for the reception of his body had long been erected near the top end of the lake. This sepulchre rests beneath the overhanging shade of two venerable oak-trees. The body was directed not to be carried to this last earthly home by land, but to be conveyed over the lake in a boat, the mourners following in the wake. Mr. Walton wrote his own epitaph in Latin. The translation runs thus:—"Pray for the soul of Charles Waterton, born June, 1782; died 18—, whose weary bones rest here." Mr. Waterton married, May 11, 1829, Anne, second daughter of Charles Edmonstone, Esq., of Cardross Park, Dunbartonshire, who died within a year, leaving him an only son, Edmund Waterton, Esq., J.P., D.L., F.S.A., now of Walton Hall. The family of Waterton is one of the oldest in the realm; its name



is in Domesday Book; and its crest of a bear was given by Richard Cœur de Lion to the crusader Sir Robert Waterton in reward of his valour at the Battle of Ascalon, in 1191. In 1415, Thomas Waterton fought with no less distinction at Agincourt. Another Waterton was on the side of the king at Marston Moor. From Waterton, in Lincolnshire, their original seat, the Watertons removed to Walton, in Yorkshire, some centuries ago, and there they have continued to flourish in high position and general estimation.

#### CARDINAL NICOLAS WISEMAN.

This eminent dignitary and representative in England of the Roman Church, who died in London on the 15th of February, at the age of 62, was the son of the late Mr. James Wiseman, merchant, of Waterford and of Seville, in which latter city the late Cardinal was born on the 2nd of August, 1802. The family of Wiseman is one of considerable antiquity, and they appear to have had lands in the county of Essex since the reign of Edward IV. Soon after the Reformation, Sir John Wiseman, who had been one of the Auditors of the Exchequer under Henry VIII., and was knighted for his bravery at the Battle of the Spurs, acquired by purchase Much Canfield-park in that county. His grandson, William, who married into the noble family of Capel, afterwards Earls of Essex, was created a baronet by King Charles I. in 1628, and a younger brother of the second baronet was Lord Bishop of Down. The title has continued in a direct line of succession down to the present time, and is now represented by Sir William Saltonstall Wiseman, eighth baronet, who is a Captain in the Royal Navy. From a younger branch of this family the late Cardinal traditionally claimed descent. His Eminence's mother, whose maiden name was Strange, and whose family, in spite of large confiscations of their property under Oliver Cromwell, is still seated at Aylward's Town Castle, in the county of Kilkenny, lived to see her son elevated to a Cardinal's hat, and died full of years in 1851.

Though born upon Spanish soil, young Nicolas Wiseman, when he was little more than five years old, was sent to England. He arrived at Portsmouth in January, 1808, in the "Melpomene" frigate, Captain Parker, and was sent, while still very young, to a boarding school at Waterford. In March, 1810, he was transferred thence to the Roman Catholic College of St. Cuthbert, at Ushaw, near Durham, where he remained until 1818. In that year he

obtained leave to quit Ushaw for Rome, where he arrived in the December of that year, and became one of the first members of the English College, then recently founded at Rome. In the next year he had the honour of preaching before the then Pope, Pius VII., and having pursued with diligence the usual course of philosophical and theological studies, he maintained a public disputation on theology, and was created a Doctor in Divinity July 7, 1824, shortly before the completion of his twenty-second year.

In the following Spring he received holy orders, and in 1827 was nominated Professor of Oriental languages in the Roman University, being at that time Vice-Rector of the English College, to the rectorship of which he was promoted in the year 1829. He had already distinguished himself, not merely as a theologian, but also as a scholar, for in 1827 he composed and printed a learned work, entitled "*Horæ Syriacæ*," chiefly drawn from Oriental manuscripts in the Library of the Vatican.

Dr. Wiseman returned to England in 1835, and in the winter of that year delivered a series of lectures, during the season of Advent, at the Sardinian Chapel in Lincoln's-inn-fields. In the Lent or the following year, at the request of the late Bishop Bramston, then Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, he delivered at St. Mary's, Moorfields, another course of lectures, in which he vindicated, at considerable length, the principal doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church, and with such success, that the Roman Catholics of the metropolis presented him with a gold medal, commemorative of their gratitude and of their high regard for his talents and acquirements. These "Lectures" were speedily followed by a "Treatise on the Holy Eucharist," which occasioned a theological controversy with Dr. Turton, the late Bishop of Ely, and by another work, in two volumes, entitled, "Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion." In the Lent of the year 1837, when he happened to be in Rome, he delivered four lectures on the "Offices and Ceremonies of Holy Week," which were afterwards given to the world as a separate publication.

In 1840 the late Pope Gregory XVI. increased the number of his Vicars-Apostolic in England from four to eight, and Dr. Wiseman was appointed coadjutor to the late Bishop Walsh, then Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District, being at the same time elevated to the Presidency of St. Mary's College, Oscott, near Birmingham. While there he took the deepest

interest in the theological movement at Oxford which is associated with the names of Dr. Newman and Dr. Pusey, and which has furnished Rome with many distinguished recruits. In 1848, on the death of Bishop Griffiths, Dr. Wiseman became Pro-Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, and subsequently was nominated coadjutor to Dr. Walsh, *cum jure successionis*, on the translation of that prelate to London. Bishop Walsh survived his translation but a short time, and on his death, in 1849, Bishop Wiseman succeeded him as Vicar-Apostolic.

The next stage in Dr. Wiseman's life is that which, as it has been more controverted than any other, so also is that by which his name will be longest remembered. In August, 1850, Bishop Wiseman was summoned to Rome, to the "threshold of the Apostles," by his Holiness Pope Pius IX., who on the 29th of the following September issued his celebrated "Apostolical Letter," re-establishing the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales, at the same time issuing a "Brief" elevating Dr. Wiseman to the "Archbishopric of Westminster." In a private consistory, held the following day, the new "Archbishop" was raised by the Sovereign Pontiff to the dignity of a Cardinal Priest, the ancient church of St. Pudentiana, at Rome, in conformity with the ecclesiastical custom, being selected by him as his title. His Eminence was the seventh Englishman who has been elevated to the hat of a Cardinal since the Reformation, his predecessors in this dignity having been Cardinal Pole, Cardinal Allen, Cardinal Howard, Cardinal York, Cardinal Weld, and Cardinal Acton.

The name of Cardinal Wiseman was well known in that portion of the literary world which interests itself in controversy, as one of the most frequent and able contributors to the "Dublin Review," of which he was for some years the joint editor. Among other productions of his pen which appeared in that periodical we may name his "Strictures on the High Church Movement in Oxford," which were reprinted by the Catholic Institute about twenty years ago for circulation in a cheap form, under the attractive title of "High Church Claims." His Eminence's "Essays and Contributions to the Dublin Review" were collected and published, with a preface by the author, in three volumes 8vo. in 1853. It is also understood that he contributed to the "Penny Cyclopædia" the article which treats on the "Catholic Church." Among the best known of his Eminence's other controversial and miscellaneous publications are his "Fabiola,"

a tale of the Early Christians; his "Reminiscences of the Four last Popes;" "A Letter on Catholic Unity," addressed to the late Earl of Shrewsbury; "A Letter to the Rev. J. H. Newman, on the Controversy relating to the Oxford Tracts for the Times;" and "A Letter addressed to John Poynder, Esq., upon his work entitled 'Popery in Alliance with Heathenism.'" To these must be added his "Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the People of England," respecting the "Papal aggression," in which he endeavoured to prove that the matter at issue was merely a question relating to the internal and spiritual organization of the English Roman Catholics, and in no sense a temporal measure, or one which involved any practical assault on the freedom of Protestants.

To the London world and to the public at large Cardinal Wiseman's name was familiar by his frequent appearance upon the platform as a public lecturer upon a wide range of subjects connected with education, history, art, and science; and in this capacity his Eminence always found an attentive audience, even among those who were most conscientiously opposed to his spiritual pretensions.

The illness of which his Eminence died had been of long standing, and when he left England for Rome in the Spring of 1860, there were many of his friends who feared that they would see his face no more. But he lived to return to England, and to recover some portion of his former health. It is almost superfluous to add that his Eminence's loss was severely felt among the English Roman Catholics, both lay and clerical, as he was one of the few members of their body who had earned for himself a wide and lasting reputation for ability and learning.

The Cardinal was a foreign member of the Royal Society of Literature, and a corresponding member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was not only a thorough master of English, but also an admirable linguist, being well acquainted with several Continental and Oriental languages. He may be well said to have been, like Wolsey, "from his cradle a scholar, and a ripe and good one, exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading;" but, unlike the great Cardinal of the Tudor age, the Prelate of the time of Victoria was nowise "lofty and sour." The remains of the deceased Cardinal lay for some days in state in his house in York-place. They were thence removed to his pro-cathedral, St. Mary's, Moorfields, and were interred, with splendid religious ceremony, in the Roman Catholic cemetery at Kensal-green.

# REMARKABLE TRIALS.

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## I.

### THE CASE OF THE BISHOP OF NATAL.

THE judgment of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upon the Petition of the Bishop of Natal, referred to the Judicial Committee by Her Majesty's Order in Council of the 10th of June, 1864; was delivered on the 20th of March, 1865 :—

Present.—The Lord Chancellor, Lord Cranworth, Lord Kingsdown, the Dean of the Arches, and the Master of the Rolls.

This very important decision, which treats of the whole position, authority, and character of the so-called Church of England in the Colonies, and of the persons who assume to hold office in it, arose out of the proceedings taken by the Bishop of Cape Town, Dr. Gray, for the purpose of depriving the Bishop of Natal, Dr. Colenso, of his episcopal see and jurisdiction, on the ground that his published writings were contrary to the Articles and Formularies of the Church.

Dr. Colenso at the outset protested against the whole proceedings, denied the jurisdiction *in hac re* of his Metropolitan, and announced his intention of appealing against any sentence that might be pronounced against him. Notwithstanding his protest, the Bishop of Cape Town claimed to exercise coercive jurisdiction over his suffragan Bishop, by virtue of the letters patent under which the office of Metropolitan Bishop had been conferred upon him by the Crown, whereby it was provided that any proceedings against either of his suffragan Bishops of Graham's Town or Natal should originate and be carried on before the Bishop of Cape Town, with a final appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and accordingly the Bishop of Cape Town proceeded to try the charges of heresy brought against the Bishop of Natal, and, having heard the case, he pronounced a sentence of deposition against the latter, and subsequently prohibited the clergy in the diocese of Natal from yielding obedience to their deposed Bishop. The Bishop of Natal was advised that the exercise of this jurisdiction on the part of the Metropolitan was not only an assumption of power unknown in the history of the Western Church, Catholic or Protestant, but



that it was plainly at variance with the settled principles of constitutional law as applied to colonies or settlements which have acquired legislative institutions of their own. He accordingly presented a petition of complaint and appeal to the Queen as Sovereign of this realm, and as the head of the Church of England, praying that the letters patent granted to the Bishop of Cape Town, in so far as they purported to create a court of criminal justice within the Colony of Natal, and to give the Archbishop of Canterbury appellate jurisdiction in causes between the Metropolitan of Cape Town and his suffragan Bishops, and in so far as they derogated from the Bishop of Natal's rights under his own letters patent, were of no force or avail in the matters complained of, and that the pretended trial and proceedings before the Bishop of Cape Town, and the sentence pronounced by him, were null and void in law. The petition of complaint and appeal also prayed that, if necessary, the Bishop of Natal might be heard upon the merits of the case, by way of appeal from the sentence of Bishop Gray. This petition of complaint and appeal was presented to the Queen through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the spring of 1864, and was referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to hear the same and report to Her Majesty their opinion thereon. The whole matter was argued in the month of December by counsel for the Bishop of Natal, and also for the Bishop of Cape Town. The case of the latter, as presented by his counsel at the bar, was shortly as follows:—That the letters patent under which the office of Metropolitan Bishop had been conferred upon the Bishop of Cape Town expressly authorized him to exercise coercive jurisdiction over his suffragan Bishops, and that the only appeal from his decision was to the Archbishop of Canterbury; that if such letters patent were insufficient in point of law to confer such jurisdiction, the Bishop of Natal had, by taking the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop of Cape Town as Metropolitan, submitted himself, as a matter of contract, to the jurisdiction of the latter; and, lastly, that if neither of these positions were sound in point of law, and if, consequently, the proceedings and sentence at Cape Town were a nullity, the Bishop of Natal might disregard them altogether, and that he had no right to come to the Sovereign to ask for a declaration as to their invalidity—that he might defy the sentence, and, if necessary, call upon the civil tribunal at Natal to protect him against the consequences of such sentence.

With these four questions the Judgment deals, furnishing clear and categorical answers to each of them.

#### “JUDGMENT.

“The Bishop of Natal and the Bishop of Cape Town, who are the parties to this proceeding, are ecclesiastical persons, who have been created Bishops by the Queen in the exercise of her authority as Sovereign of this realm and head of the Established Church. These Bishops were consecrated under mandate from the Queen by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the manner prescribed by the law of England. They received and hold their dioceses under grants made by the Crown. Their *status*, therefore, both ecclesiastical and temporal, must be ascertained and defined by the law of England; and it is plain that their legal existence depends on acts which have no validity or effect except on the basis of the supremacy of the Crown. Further, their respective and relative rights and liabilities must be determined by the principles of English law applied to the construction of the grants to them contained in the letters patent, for they are the creatures of English law, and dependent on that law for their existence,

rights, and attributes. We must treat the parties before us as standing on this foundation and on no other. The letters patent by which Dr. Gray was appointed Bishop of Cape Town, and also Metropolitan, passed the Great Seal on the 8th of December, 1853. These letters patent recited, among other things, that it had 'been represented to Her Majesty by the Archbishop of Canterbury that the then existing see or diocese of Cape Town was of inconvenient extent, and that for the due spiritual care and superintendence of the religious interests of the inhabitants there, and for the maintenance of the doctrine and discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland within the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, and the Island of St. Helena, it was desirable and expedient that the same should be divided into three (or more) distinct or separate sees or dioceses, to be styled the Bishopric of Cape Town, the Bishopric of Graham's Town, and the Bishopric of Natal—the Bishops of the said several sees of Graham's Town and Natal and their successors to be subject and subordinate to the see of Cape Town and to the Bishop thereof and his successors, in the same manner as any Bishop of any see within the province of Canterbury was under the authority of the archiepiscopal see of that province and the Archbishop of the same;' and the letters patent contained the following passages:—

“ And we do further will and ordain that the said Right Rev. Father in God, Robert Gray, Bishop of the said see of Cape Town, and his successors the Bishops thereof for the time being, shall be, and be deemed and taken to be, the Metropolitan Bishop in our Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, and our Island of St. Helena, subject nevertheless to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, and subordinate to the archiepiscopal see of the province of Canterbury; and we will and ordain that the said Bishops of Graham's Town and Natal respectively shall be suffragan Bishops to the said Bishop of Cape Town and his successors. And we will and grant to the said Bishop of Cape Town and his successors full power and authority, as Metropolitan of the Cape of Good Hope and of the Island of St. Helena, to perform all functions peculiar and appropriate to the office of Metropolitan within the limits of the said sees of Graham's Town and Natal, and to exercise metropolitan jurisdiction over the Bishops of the said sees and their successors, and over all archdeacons, dignitaries, and all other chaplains, ministers, priests, and deacons in holy orders of the United Church of England and Ireland within the limits of the said dioceses. And we do by these presents give and grant unto the said Bishop of Cape Town and his successors full power and authority to visit once in five years, or oftener if occasion shall require, as well the said several Bishops and their successors, as all dignitaries and other chaplains, ministers, priests, and deacons in holy orders of the United Church of England and Ireland resident in the said dioceses, for correcting and supplying the defects of the said Bishops and their successors, with all and all manner of visitatorial jurisdiction, power, and coercion. And we do hereby authorize and empower the said Bishop of Cape Town and his successors to inhibit during any such visitation of the said dioceses the exercise of all or of such part or parts of the ordinary jurisdiction of the said Bishops or their successors as to him, the said Bishop of Cape Town, or his successors, shall seem expedient, and during the time of such visitation to exercise by himself or themselves, or his or their commissaries, such powers, functions, and jurisdictions in and over the said dioceses as the Bishops thereof might have exercised if they had not been inhibited from exercising the same. And we do further ordain and declare that if any person

against whom a judgment or decree shall be pronounced by the said Bishops or their successors, or their commissary or commissaries, shall conceive himself to be aggrieved by such sentence, it shall be lawful for such person to appeal to the said Bishop of Cape Town or his successors, provided such appeal be entered within fifteen days after such sentence shall have been pronounced. And we do give and grant to the said Bishop of Cape Town and his successors full power and authority finally to decree and determine the said appeals. And we do further will and ordain that in case any proceeding shall be instituted against any of the said Bishops of Graham's Town and Natal, when placed under the said metropolitanical see of Cape Town, such proceedings shall originate and be carried on before the said Bishop of Cape Town, whom we hereby authorize and direct to take cognizance of the same. . . . And if any party shall conceive himself aggrieved by any judgment, decree, or sentence pronounced by the said Bishop of Cape Town or his successors, either in case of such review or in any cause originally instituted before the said Bishop or his successors, it shall be lawful for the said party to appeal to the said Archbishop of Canterbury or his successors, who shall finally decide and determine the said appeal.'

"The letters patent which constituted the see of Natal and appointed the appellant to that see, were sealed and bear date on the 23rd of November, 1853, fifteen days before the grant of the letters patent to the Bishop of Cape Town. The letters patent creating the see of Natal recited the patent of September, 1847, which created the original diocese of Cape Town, and appointed Dr. Gray the Bishop thereof, and that he had since resigned the office of Bishop of Cape Town, whereby the said see had become and was then vacant. The patent also recited that it was expedient and desirable that the said diocese should be divided into three or more distinct and separate dioceses, to be styled the bishoprics of Cape Town, Graham's Town, and Natal, the Bishops of the said several sees of Graham's Town and Natal to be subject and subordinate to the see of Cape Town and the Bishop thereof and his successors, in the same manner as any Bishop of any see within the province of Canterbury was under the authority of the archiepiscopal see of that province and the Archbishop of the same; and the letters patent proceeded to erect, found, make, ordain, and constitute the district of Natal to be a distinct and separate Bishop's see and diocese, to be called the bishopric of Natal. And after appointing Dr. Colenso to be the Bishop of the said see, and granting that the said Bishop of Natal and his successors should be a body corporate, the letters patent contained the following passage:—

"'And we do further ordain and declare that the said Bishop of Natal and his successors shall be subject and subordinate to the see of Cape Town, and to the Bishop thereof and his successors, in the same manner as any Bishop of any see within the province of Canterbury, in our kingdom of England, is under the authority of the archiepiscopal see of that province, and of the Archbishop of the same; and we do hereby further will and ordain that the said John William Colenso, and every Bishop of Natal, shall, within six months after the date of their respective letters patent, take an oath of due obedience to the Bishop of Cape Town for the time being, as his Metropolitan, which oath shall and may be ministered unto him by the said Archbishop, or by any person by him duly appointed or authorized for that purpose.'

"The letters patent then proceeded to confer on the Bishop of Natal and his successors episcopal jurisdiction and authority over all rectors, curates, ministers, chaplains, priests, and deacons within the diocese, and directed that, if any party should conceive himself aggrieved by any judgment, decree, or sentence pro-



nounced by the Bishop of Natal or his successors, he should have an appeal to the Bishop of Cape Town, who should finally decide and determine the appeal. Under these letters patent the appellant was consecrated on the 30th of November, 1853, and he took an oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town, which oath was administered to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was in these words:—

“‘I, John William Colenso, Doctor in Divinity, appointed Bishop of the see and diocese of Natal, do profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town and to his successors, and to the Metropolitan Church of St. George, Cape Town.’

“At this time there was not in reality any Metropolitan see at Cape Town, or any Bishop thereof, in existence. These several letters patent were not granted in pursuance of any Orders or Order made by Her Majesty in Council, nor were they made by virtue of any statute of the Imperial Parliament, nor were they confirmed by any Act of the Legislature of the Cape of Good Hope, or of the Legislative Council of Natal. Previous to these letters patent being granted, the district of Natal had been erected into a distinct and separate Government; and, by letters patent granted by the Crown in 1847, it was ordained that it should have a Legislative Council which should have power to make such laws and ordinances as might be required for the peace, order, and good government of the district. With respect to the Cape of Good Hope, by letters patent dated the 23rd of May, 1850, it was declared and ordained by Her Majesty that there should be within the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope a Parliament, which should be holden by the Governor, and should consist of the Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Assembly, and that such Parliament should have authority to make laws for the peace, welfare, and good government of the settlement. In the year 1863 certain charges of heresy and false doctrine were preferred against the appellant before the Bishop of Cape Town as Metropolitan, and upon these charges the Bishop of Cape Town, claiming to exercise jurisdiction as Metropolitan, did, on the 16th day of December, 1863, sentence, adjudge, and decree the appellant, the Bishop of Natal, to be deposed from his office as such Bishop, and to be further prohibited from the exercise of any divine office within any part of the metropolitan province of Cape Town. In pronouncing this decree, the Bishop of Cape Town claimed to exercise jurisdiction as Metropolitan by virtue of his letters patent, and of the office thereby conferred on him, and as having thereby acquired legal authority to try and condemn the appellant; and the appellant protested against such assumption of jurisdiction. This sentence and decree of Dr. Gray as Metropolitan has been published and promulgated in the diocese of Natal, and the clergy of that diocese have been thereby prohibited from yielding obedience to the appellant as Bishop of Natal. In this state of things three principal questions arise, and have been argued before us. First, Were the letters patent of the 8th of December, 1853, by which Dr. Gray was appointed Metropolitan, and a metropolitan see or province was expressed to be created, valid and good in law? Secondly, Supposing the ecclesiastical relation of Metropolitan and suffragan to have been created, was the grant of coercive authority and jurisdiction, expressed by the letters patent to be thereby made to the Metropolitan, valid and good in law? Thirdly, Can the oath of canonical obedience taken by the appellant to the Bishop of Cape Town, and his consent to accept his see as part of the Metropolitan province of Cape Town, confer any jurisdiction or authority on the Bishop of Cape Town by which this sentence of deprivation of the bishopric of Natal can be supported? With respect to the

first question, we apprehend it to be clear upon principle that after the establishment of an independent Legislature in the settlements of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal there was no power in the Crown by virtue of its prerogative (for these letters patent were not granted under the provisions of any statute) to establish a Metropolitan see or province, or to create an ecclesiastical corporation whose *status*, rights, and authority the colony could be required to recognize. After a colony or settlement has received legislative institutions, the Crown (subject to the special provisions of any Act of Parliament) stands in the same relation to that colony or settlement as it does to the United Kingdom. It may be true that the Crown, as legal head of the Church, has a right to command the consecration of a Bishop, but it has no power to assign him any diocese, or give him any sphere of action within the United Kingdom. The United Church of England and Ireland is not a part of the Constitution in any colonial settlement, nor can its authorities or those who bear office in it claim to be recognized by the law of the colony otherwise than as the members of a voluntary association. The course which legislation has taken on this subject is a strong proof of the correctness of these conclusions. In the year 1813 it was deemed expedient to establish a bishopric in the East Indies (then under the government of the East India Company), and although the Bishop was appointed and consecrated under the authority of the Crown, yet it was thought necessary to obtain the sanction of the Legislature, and that an Act of Parliament should be passed to give the Bishop legal *status* and authority. Accordingly, by Statute 53rd of George III., cap. 155, sec. 49, it was enacted that in case it should please His Majesty by his Royal letters patent to erect, found, and constitute one bishopric for the whole of the British territories in the East Indies and parts therein mentioned, a certain salary should be paid to the Bishop by the East India Company; and by the 51st and 52nd sections it was enacted that such Bishop should not have or use any jurisdiction, or exercise any episcopal functions whatsoever but such as should be limited to him by letters patent, and that it should be lawful for His Majesty by letters patent to grant to such Bishop such ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the exercise of such episcopal functions within the East Indies and parts aforesaid as His Majesty should think necessary for administering holy ceremonies, and for the superintendence and good government of the ministers of the Church establishment within the East Indies and parts aforesaid. Subsequently, in the year 1833, it was deemed right to found two additional bishoprics—one at Madras, and the other at Bombay; and again an Act of Parliament (3rd and 4th of William IV., cap. 86) was passed, by the 93rd section of which it was enacted in like manner that the Crown should have power to grant to such Bishops within their dioceses ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and it was also enacted and declared that the Bishop of Calcutta should be Metropolitan in India, and should have as such all such jurisdiction as the Crown should by letters patent direct, subject nevertheless to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and it was provided that the Bishops of Madras and Bombay should be subject to the Bishop of Calcutta as Metropolitan, and should take an oath of canonical obedience to him. So again, when, in 1824, a Bishop was appointed in Jamaica by letters patent containing clauses similar to those which are found in the letters patent to the present appellant, it was thought necessary that the legal *status* and authority of the Bishop should be confirmed and established by an Act of the colonial Legislature. The consent of the Crown was given to this colonial Act, which would have been an improper thing, as an injury to the Crown's prerogative, unless the law advisers of the Government had been satisfied

that the colonial statute was necessary to give full effect to the establishment of the bishopric. The conclusion is further confirmed by observing the course of Imperial legislation on the same subject—namely, the creation of new bishoprics in England. When four new bishoprics were constituted by Henry VIII., it appears to have been thought necessary, even by that absolute monarch, to have recourse to the authority of Parliament, and the Act that was passed (*viz.*, the 31st of Henry VIII., cap. 9, which is not found in the ordinary edition) is of a singular character. After referring to the slothful and ungodly life which had been used among all those which bore the name of religious folk, and reciting that it was thought, therefore, unto the King's Highness most expedient and necessary that more bishoprics, collegiate and cathedral churches should be established, it was enacted that His Highness should have full power and authority from time to time to declare and nominate by his letters patent, or other writing to be made under his great seal, such number of Bishops, such number of cities, sees for Bishops, cathedral churches, and dioceses by metes and bounds, for the exercise and ministration of their episcopal offices and administration as shall appertain, and to endow them with such possessions after such manner, form, and condition as to his most excellent wisdom shall be thought necessary and convenient. This statute, which was repealed by the 1st and 2nd of William and Mary, cap. 8, sec. 18, does not appear to have been revived. It is remarkable as granting power to nominate and appoint new Bishops, as well as to create new sees and dioceses. So also in recent times the two new bishoprics of Manchester and Ripon were constituted, and the new Bishops received ecclesiastical jurisdiction, under the authority of an Act of Parliament. It is true that it has been the practice for many years to insert in letters patent creating colonial bishoprics clauses which purport to confer ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but the forms of such letters patent were probably taken by the official persons who prepared them from the original forms used in the letters patent appointing the East Indian Bishops, without advertent to the fact that such last-mentioned letters patent were granted under the provisions of an Act of Parliament. We therefore arrive at the conclusion that, although in a Crown colony, properly so called, or in cases where the letters patent are made in pursuance of the authority of an Act of Parliament (such, for example, as the Act of the 6th and 7th Victoria, cap. 13), a bishopric may be constituted and ecclesiastical jurisdiction conferred by the sole authority of the Crown, yet that the letters patent of the Crown will not have any such effect or operation in a colony or settlement which is possessed of an independent Legislature. The subject was considered by the Judicial Committee in the case of *'Long v. the Bishop of Cape Town,'* and we adhere to the principles which are there laid down. The same reasoning is of course decisive of the second question, whether any jurisdiction was conferred by the letters patent. Let it be granted or assumed that the letters patent are sufficient in law to confer on Dr. Gray the ecclesiastical *status* of Metropolitan, and to create between him and the Bishops of Natal and Graham's Town the personal relation of Metropolitan and suffragan as ecclesiastics, yet it is clear that the Crown had no power to confer any jurisdiction or coercive legal authority upon the Metropolitan over the suffragan Bishops, or over any other person. It is a settled constitutional principle or rule of law, that, although the Crown may by its prerogative establish Courts to proceed according to the common law, yet that it cannot create any new Court to administer any other law, and it is laid down by Lord Coke in the 4th Institute, that the erection of a new Court with a new jurisdiction cannot be without an Act of Parliament. It cannot be said that any ecclesiastical tribunal or juris-



diction is required in any colony or settlement where there is no Established Church; and in the case of a settled colony the ecclesiastical law of England cannot, for the same reason, be treated as part of the law which the settlers carried with them from the mother country. So much of the letters patent now in question as attempts to confer any coercive legal jurisdiction is also in violation of the law as declared and established by that part of the Act of the 16th Charles I., cap. 11, which remains unrepealed by the 13th Charles II., st. 2, cap. 12. It may be useful to state this in detail. By the 16th and 17th sections of the 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 1, entitled 'An Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all Foreign Power repugnant to the same,' it was enacted that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, should for ever be extinguished within the realm, and that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority had theretofore been or might lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, should for ever be united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm. And by the 18th section the Queen was empowered by letters patent to appoint persons to exercise, occupy, use, and execute all manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, or any other the dominions and countries of the Crown. Under this statute the High Commission Court was erected, which was abolished by the 16th of Charles I., cap. 10. By the Act of the 16th of Charles I., cap. 11, the 18th section of the 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 1, was wholly repealed, and by the 4th section of the same statute all spiritual and ecclesiastical persons or judges were forbidden, under severe penalties, to exercise any jurisdiction or coercive legal authority, an enactment which closed all the regular established ecclesiastical tribunals; but, by the 13th Charles II., cap. 12, the ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority, as it existed before the year 1639, was, with certain savings, restored to the Archbishops and Bishops; and the Act of the 16th Charles I., excepting what concerned the High Commission Court, or the erection of any such like Court by commission, was repealed, but with a proviso that nothing should extend or be construed to revive or give force to the enactments contained in the 18th section of the 1st Elizabeth, cap. 1, which should remain and stand repealed. There is, therefore, no power in the Crown to create any new or additional ecclesiastical tribunal or jurisdiction; and the clauses which purport to do so, contained in the letters patent to the appellant and respondent, are simply void in law. No Metropolitan or Bishop in any colony having legislative institutions can, by virtue of the Crown's letters patent alone (unless granted under an Act of Parliament, or confirmed by a colonial statute), exercise any coercive jurisdiction, or hold any court or tribunal for that purpose. Pastoral or spiritual authority may be incidental to the office of Bishop, but all jurisdiction in the Church, where it can be lawfully conferred, must proceed from the Crown, and be exercised as the law directs; and suspension or privation of office is matter of coercive legal jurisdiction, and not of mere spiritual authority. Thirdly—If, then, the Bishop of Cape Town had no jurisdiction by law, did he obtain any by contract or submission on the part of the Bishop of Natal? There is nothing on which such an argument can be attempted to be put, unless it be the oath of canonical obedience taken by the Bishop of Natal to Dr. Gray as Metropolitan. The argument must be that, both parties being aware that the Bishop of Cape Town had no juris-

diction or legal authority as Metropolitan, the appellant agreed to give it to him by voluntary submission. But, even if the parties intended to enter into any such agreement (of which, however, we find no trace), it was not legally competent to the Bishop of Natal to give, or to the Bishop of Cape Town to accept or exercise any such jurisdiction. There remains one point to be considered. It was contended before us that, if the Bishop of Cape Town had no jurisdiction, his judgment was a nullity, and that no appeal could lie from a nullity to Her Majesty in Council. But that is by no means the consequence of holding that the respondent had no jurisdiction. The Bishop of Cape Town, acting under the authority which the Queen's letters patent purported to give, asserts that he has held a court of justice, and that with certain legal forms he has pronounced a judicial sentence, and that, by such sentence, he has deposed the Bishop of Natal from his office of Bishop, and deprived him of his see. He also asserts that, the sentence having been published in the diocese of Natal, the clergy and inhabitants of that diocese are thereby deprived of all episcopal superintendence. Whether these proceedings have the effect which is attributed to them by the Bishop of Cape Town, is a question of the greatest importance, and one which we feel bound to decide. We have already shown that there was no power to confer any jurisdiction on the respondent as Metropolitan. The attempt to give appellate jurisdiction to the Archbishop of Canterbury is equally invalid. This important question can be decided only by the Sovereign as head of the Established Church, and depositary of the ultimate appellate jurisdiction. Before the Reformation, in a dispute of this nature between two independent prelates, an appeal would have lain to the Pope; but all appellate authority of the Pope over members of the Established Church is by statute vested in the Crown. It is the settled prerogative of the Crown to receive appeals in all colonial causes, and by the 25th of Henry VIII., cap. 19 (by which the mode of the appeal to the Crown in ecclesiastical causes is directed), it is by the 4th section enacted that 'for lack of justice at or in any of the Courts of the Archbishops of this realm, or in any of the King's dominions, it shall be lawful to the parties grieved to appeal to the King's Majesty in the Court of Chancery,' an enactment which gave rise to the Commission of Delegates, for which this tribunal is now substituted. Unless a controversy, such as that which is presented by this appeal and petition, falls to be determined by the ultimate jurisdiction of the Crown, it is plain that there would be a denial of justice, and no remedy for great public inconvenience and mischief. It is right to add, although unnecessary, that by the Act 3rd and 4th of William IV., cap. 41, which constituted this tribunal, Her Majesty has power to refer to the Judicial Committee for hearing or consideration of any such other matters whatsoever as Her Majesty shall think fit, and this Commission is thereupon to hear or consider the same, and to advise Her Majesty thereon; and that on the 10th of June, 1864, it was ordered by Her Majesty in Council that the petition and supplemental petition of the appellant should be, and the same were, thereby referred to this Committee, to hear the same and report their opinion thereupon to Her Majesty. Their Lordships, therefore, will humbly report to Her Majesty their judgment and opinion that the proceedings taken by the Bishop of Cape Town, and the judgment or sentence pronounced by him against the Bishop of Natal, are null and void in law."

## II.

## THE MURDER IN PLAISTOW MARSHES.

At the Central Criminal Court, on the 11th of January, before the Lord Chief Baron and Mr. Justice Blackburn, Ferdinand Edward Karl Kohl, aged 26, sugar baker, a German, was indicted for the murder of John (alias Christian) Fuhrop, also a German. At the prisoner's desire a jury of six Englishmen and six foreigners was empanelled. The Solicitor-General (Sir R. P. Collier), in opening the case, said the prisoner, who had formerly been a butcher, had been in England three or four years. In September last he went to Germany. Soon after his return he married. He had previously been very poor, and subsequently his poverty seemed to be aggravated. On his return from Germany he was accompanied by the deceased, aged 21 years, with whom he said he had been long acquainted, but in fact he merely became acquainted with him on board the steamer. On arriving in England the prisoner introduced the deceased, Fuhrop, to Mrs. Warren; and Fuhrop, after lodging at Mrs. Warren's for awhile, went to lodge at the prisoner's. He was of a kind and confiding disposition, and he placed a sum of money and his best clothes in the hands of his landlady, Mrs. Warren. It did not appear that he had acted similarly on going to lodge at the prisoner's, but whilst he lodged there the prisoner pledged a large portion of Fuhrop's clothes. On the morning of the 3rd of November, 1864, the prisoner and Fuhrop went out together, and Fuhrop never returned. Nothing was heard of him till the 8th of November, when his headless body was found in Plaistow Marshes, and the head was found some days afterwards near the spot. Fearful injuries had been inflicted upon the body. He had been knocked down by a blow on the back of the head, and he never recovered consciousness. When the prisoner returned home on the 3rd of November he was covered with mud. Counsel then detailed the subsequent facts, and called the following witnesses:—

Mrs. Elizabeth Warren, of 3, Nelson-street, Plaistow, said the prisoner before going to Germany had lodged with her, and paid 11s. 6d. a week for board, lodging, and washing. He was very poor. He went to Germany in September, and returned in a fortnight. Fuhrop came with him. Fuhrop was a slight, gentlemanly-looking young man, and at the prisoner's request Fuhrop lodged with witness, and gave her six sovereigns, a silver watch, and a chain to take care of for him. On the Monday before the murder, the deceased went to live with the prisoner, owing her fifteen shillings, which he objected to pay; but he afterwards paid. He took away his things, and witness never saw him again alive. His box appeared to be full of clothes. He was a very quiet young man.—James Warren, the last witness's husband, said Fuhrop gave him the six sovereigns and the watch, &c., to take care of on the 2nd October, and in two hours afterwards they were returned to him.—Eliza Whitmore, of Hay-street, Plaistow, said she and her husband lodged in the prisoner's house. At half-past nine a.m. on the 3rd November, the prisoner and Fuhrop went out together. At three o'clock the prisoner returned and said he had been looking for Fuhrop, and that he had missed him in the Commercial-road whilst he (the prisoner) was making inquiries in a sugar-house. He said he would wait two hours for Fuhrop, and if he did not return he (the prisoner) would break open his box. Afterwards he took



a poker and went upstairs. He came down, saying that he had broken open the box, and that Fuhrop would never come back, as all his clothes were gone. Soon afterwards he showed witness a knife which he said he found in the box. (This was the knife which was afterwards found in the reed bed.) On the fourth morning after the murder he went out at half-past five, and on his return he said he had been looking for work, but that the gentleman whom he expected to see had gone to Scotland. When he returned on the 3rd November he looked very ill.—Mary Ann Wade corroborated this evidence, and said that when the prisoner returned on the 3rd November he looked very pale, and his eyes were sunk in his head. The chopper now produced belonged to witness's husband. The prisoner was in the habit of borrowing it.—John Sheldon, who was present when the prisoner broke open Fuhrop's box, said there was nothing in it except some collars, an old pair of trousers, and an old shirt.—Henry Zulch, of Hay-street, deposed that on the morning of the 3rd of November he saw the deceased and the prisoner Kohl walking towards the reed bed, where Fuhrop's body was found, and he lost sight of them at the end of Plaistow-walk. That was at ten o'clock, and he never saw Fuhrop again alive. At half-past four he met the prisoner, who said that he and Fuhrop had gone to London together, and he went into a sugar-house, and on coming out missed Fuhrop.—Witness said that he had seen the deceased and Kohl walking together that morning on the banks of the Thames, and the prisoner made no reply.—Other witnesses corroborated the statement that the prisoner and deceased were walking together at the place mentioned.—Wm. Jackson said the prisoner bought two cabbages from him on the 5th of November, and witness seeing five or six sovereigns in his hand, said, "If I had so much money, I should have a glass." He said he was going to Germany, and on his return he would set up a beershop.—Joseph Williams, of 8, Hay-street, said he in September last became acquainted with the prisoner, who married his sister. On the second of October witness's mother lent the prisoner money to purchase furniture. On the 15th of October the prisoner showed witness the ticket of a watch, which he said Fuhrop had given him to pawn to buy victuals with. Witness went to see the prisoner in Ilford Gaol, and the prisoner said he wished to see his brother Bill in order to say that he was with him on the day of the murder. Witness said he was not. The prisoner replied he must say that he was.—Mary Jane Cooper said she saw the prisoner coming from the reed bed on the 7th of November, and he jumped over a ditch.—Richard Harvey and Josiah Gaster deposed to having discovered the body in the reed bed.—A policeman repeated the evidence given at the inquest as to the discovery of the body and the finding the knife, &c. [produced]. On searching the prisoner's house he found articles of clothing, books, and postage stamps, and a pawnbroker afterwards gave him clothing, identified as having been Fuhrop's property.—Mr. Richardson, of the Graving Dock Tavern, Plaistow, described the appearance of the body, which was placed in an out-house, it having been found near witness's tavern. The prisoner was standing outside, and witness asked had he not missed a friend of his? He replied that he had, and that he had missed him in Ratcliff-highway. Afterwards witness showed him the body, and said that he suspected that he (the prisoner) knew something of the affair, and he charged him with being concerned in the murder. The prisoner then dropped his hands, and fell against the wall.—Evidence was given of the finding of deceased's head, which appeared to have been trampled down a foot below the earth.—Mr. Morris, of Plaistow, surgeon, deposed to the marks of injuries on the body, and said the flesh on the hands had been gnawed away by rats. Some of

the injuries were inflicted by a hammer, and others by a chopper. The body was dead before the head was cut off.—Dr. Letheby deposed to stains of blood on the prisoner's clothes, also on the chopper, but he could not positively swear that they were stains of human blood.—After some other evidence, Theodore Christian Fuhrop, the brother of the deceased, said that he (deceased) left Hamburg on September 27, with the intention of coming to England, and proceeding from thence to America. He had a good many clothes and a considerable sum of money in English and foreign coins when he left his own country. Witness and his mother accompanied his brother on board the steamer, and he never saw him again alive.

Mr. Best, for the prisoner, addressed the jury, analyzing the evidence which had been given on behalf of the Crown. He said:—The circumstantial evidence against the prisoner was as follows: At half-past nine in the morning of the 3rd November he left his home with the deceased. At ten they were seen going along the path near the reed bank. At half-past twelve the prisoner was at Mr. Zulch's house, when he said he had missed his friend in the manner described by him to many persons. Was that announcement such as a murderer would go to a friend's house to make? Besides, if he had committed the murder, there must have been blood upon him. But Mr. Zulch saw no blood or mud upon him. When he went home there was mud upon his boots and trousers, and he brushed it off, but no blood was seen upon his shirt or upon his clothes. If he had intended murder, why did he not commit it at an earlier hour in the morning, or late in the evening, when there would not have been so many persons passing about? He had plenty of opportunities, as he was always with the deceased. Then as to the handle of the hatchet, the prisoner stated that he smeared it with paint, in order to make it fit more tightly in the iron. Moreover, the medical witnesses deposed that the head must have been cut off a considerable time after the murder. But the prisoner returned the hatchet on the Friday, and therefore the hatchet could not have been used in cutting off the head. From first to last the prisoner was consistent in his statement that he lost the deceased outside of a sugar bakery, and what evidence had been adduced to show that he had not been at a sugar bakery? The porter had been called to prove that part of his statement was false, but the porter could not recollect every one who had passed in and out, and he admitted that he was not always on the premises. It was proved that the prisoner was of a kind and quiet nature, and his haggardness on the evening of the murder might be attributed to his anxiety for his lost friend. As to the sovereigns found in the prisoner's possession, they were probably entrusted to him by the deceased, who, as had been shown, was a very confiding young man. Moreover, had the prisoner murdered him, would he have exhibited the money so recklessly? After some further observations, counsel called on the jury to return a verdict of acquittal, and to restore an innocent man to life and liberty.

The Solicitor-General, in reply, commented on the several facts given in evidence, and upon the statements made by the prisoner. He asked, what was the meaning of the statement made by Kohl "that the prisoner was gone and would never return?" Why should he never return, if he had only lost his way in the Commercial-road? Ah! the prisoner in his heart of hearts knew the reason why he would never return. It was rather a remarkable fact that the doctor had described the kind of instrument which would have inflicted the wounds upon the deceased before he had seen the hatchet, and that hatchet exactly tallied with his description of it before he had seen it.

The Lord Chief Baron summed up, and after detailing the evidence, his lordship said it seemed to be made out that the prisoner and the deceased were seen near the reed bed where the body was found about half-past ten o'clock in the morning, and at half-past twelve o'clock the prisoner was at Zulch's house, and he then stated that he had lost the deceased at the iron sugar-house in the Commercial-road, and it would be most important for them to consider whether the deceased ever left the neighbourhood of the reed bed, or whether it was possible that he could have gone from thence to the Commercial-road, and then have wandered back to the same spot. The learned counsel for the prisoner had stated that the prisoner had all along told the same consistent story, but it appeared to him that upon the evidence this was hardly the case; and looking at what was said by the prisoner to the different witnesses as to the manner in which he had lost the deceased, it was for the jury, as sensible and reasonable men, to answer the question whether the story told by the prisoner was the truth, and whether it was probable that he could have parted from the deceased in the way he had stated.

The jury retired, and in half an hour they returned, and asked to see a map of London.—The Lord Chief Justice said he could not legally allow them to see a map which was not in evidence. He asked what was their object in desiring to see a map.—The foreman said they were anxious to know the exact distance between the reed bed and the London Docks and the iron sugar-house.—Mr. Hagan, a surveyor, who made a plan of the different places referred to in the evidence, stated that it was about five miles from the reed bed to the London Docks, and about half a mile further to the sugar-house referred to by the prisoner.

The jury again retired, and in ten minutes returned with a verdict of Guilty.—Mr. Justice Blackburn pronounced sentence of death in the usual form, and the prisoner underwent the extreme punishment of the law at Chelmsford.

### III.

#### THE TRIAL OF DR. PRITCHARD.

In the High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh, the trial of Dr. Edward Pritchard, charged with the murder of his wife and mother-in-law in Glasgow, took place on the 8th of July, before the Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Ardmillan, and Lord Jerviswood. The indictment charged the prisoner with administering tartarized antimony, aconite, and opium to his mother-in-law, Jane Cowper Taylor, in tapioca, and in porter or beer, and in a medicine called "Batley's Sedative Solution," between the 10th and 25th February, 1865; and it also charged him with administering, on repeated occasions, in February and March, 1865, tartarized antimony and aconite to his wife, Mary Jane, in articles of food and of medicine.

The Solicitor-General, with Mr. Giffard and Mr. Crichton, advocates depute, conducted the prosecution; Mr. A. R. Clark, Mr. W. Watson, and Mr. D. Brand, advocates, conducted the defence.

Mary Latimer, cook to Mrs. Pritchard, deposed that during February Mrs. Pritchard was frequently sick, and attacked with severe cramps in the stomach. On one occasion she said to her husband when standing at her bedside, "Don't cry, for if you do you are a hypocrite;" adding, referring to the doctor, "You are all hypocrites."



Mary M'Leod, the housemaid, detailed, during an examination of four hours, the circumstances of the death of Mrs. Pritchard, and her mother, Mrs. Taylor. During the greater part of Mrs. Pritchard's illness, no doctor except Dr. Pritchard attended her. She was frequently sick after her meals. On one occasion she was sick after taking egg-flip, and said, "What a taste it has!" Witness admitted that in the course of last summer Mrs. Pritchard saw Dr. Pritchard kissing her in a bedroom. Witness said to Mrs. Pritchard she would go away, but Mrs. Pritchard said she would speak to the doctor, and that "he was a nasty, dirty man." Witness admitted that she had been with child by the prisoner and she had had a miscarriage. After great hesitation she admitted that the prisoner had said he would marry her if his wife died before him. The prisoner gave her a ring, and a brooch, and a photograph of himself.

Mary Paterson said she entered Dr. Pritchard's service as cook, on the 16th of February, to take the place of Mary Latimer, who left that night. The inmates were Dr. and Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Taylor, four children, and two boarders, Mary M'Leod, and Mrs. Nabb, a washerwoman, who was there that night. Mrs. Taylor told witness that Mrs. Pritchard was sick. Witness never saw Mrs. Pritchard till the night of Mrs. Taylor's death, the 24th of February, as witness waited on Mrs. Taylor while she was ill. She heard Mrs. Pritchard's voice in the bedroom, on the 24th of February, exclaiming, "Mother, dear mother!" and Dr. Pritchard came out of the room and told witness that Mrs. Taylor was dead, and he told witness not to disturb Mrs. Pritchard by going upstairs that night. He sent witness to prepare a fire in the spare bedroom, and when it was ready he and Mrs. Pritchard went down to that room. Witness and Mrs. Nabb prepared Mrs. Taylor's body for burial. She was dressed when she died. In stripping off the dress a bottle and a key made a noise. Witness took them from deceased's pocket. The bottle [produced] was half full of a brown liquid and labelled, "Two drops equal to three of laudanum." Witness placed it under a chest of drawers. Mrs. Taylor's body was of pinkish colour all down the left side. Dr. Patterson not having come when sent for, Mrs. Pritchard said to the prisoner, "Edward, can you do nothing yourself?" He replied, "What can I do for a dead woman? I cannot recall life." He added that Dr. Patterson told him that she was paralyzed in the left side. He asked what had been found in Mrs. Taylor's pocket, and witness gave him the bottle. He raised his hands and said, "Good heavens! has she taken this much since Tuesday?" He also said, "Say nothing about it," as it would not do for a man in his position to be spoken about. He took the bottle, saying he would show it to Mrs. Pritchard. After Mrs. Taylor's death witness only twice, or perhaps three times, brought Mrs. Pritchard her food. The doctor had never sent witness to get any thing for Mrs. Taylor. He one evening gave her a woodcock to prepare for supper. She cooked it, but did not know who took it up. On the day before Mrs. Pritchard died, witness answered her bell, when it rang a third time, although it was Mary M'Leod's duty to do so. On going upstairs Dr. Pritchard and Mary M'Leod followed her. At Mrs. Pritchard's desire witness took a vessel from the room to the kitchen to empty it. On the 8th of March she took up Mrs. Pritchard's dinner, after which Mrs. Pritchard said she enjoyed it. She felt much better that day, and said she felt almost well, except the vomiting. On the Monday before she died, witness tasted a bit of the cheese which Mary M'Leod told her Mrs. Pritchard had for supper on the previous night. Witness took a piece of the size of a pea. It tasted bitter and caused a burning sensation

in the throat, and in twenty minutes afterwards witness vomited, and felt a pain in the stomach and bowels. On mentioning this to M'Leod, she gave witness a glass of spirits. Next day Dr. Pritchard gave her an egg, and told her to beat it up in a porter glass to make egg flip. After she had done so he dropped some lump sugar into the glass, and told witness to pour hot water on it. Afterwards M'Leod came for it and asked witness to taste it. She did so. She took a tea-spoonful; it was very bitter, and witness afterwards felt as she had felt after tasting the cheese, and she vomited frequently during the night. Mary M'Leod brought it upstairs. Witness did not afterwards see Mrs. Pritchard till the day before she died. The doctor was in the room. Mrs. Pritchard drank something from a porter glass, which she emptied. At five o'clock that day the bell rang again. Witness went up, and saw M'Leod helping Mrs. Pritchard into bed. Mrs. Pritchard was much excited, and talking of her mother. Witness and M'Leod were putting the bed-clothes over her. She said, "Never mind me, attend to my mother." Afterwards she got more composed. The doctor told witness to give her some chicken for supper, and at the doctor's request witness allowed him to take up the supper, which she was carrying up herself. At half-past one M'Leod called witness to make a mustard poultice for Mrs. Pritchard. Witness was called in a short time, and went up. Dr. and Mrs. Pritchard were lying in bed. Mary M'Leod was in the room. Mrs. Pritchard was dead. Her body was cold. The doctor told witness to put on the poultice. Witness replied, "She is dead." He said, "Is she dead?" Witness replied, "You should know better than I." He then said she must have only fainted. He told M'Leod to fetch hot water, but she said there was no use in hot water for a dead body. He then said, "Come back, come back, my darling; don't leave your dear Edward;" and, "What a brute, what a heathen; so gentle, so mild!" Witness continued: "He asked me to kill him, to take his rifle and shoot him. Mr. King, one of the students in the house, had a rifle. I said, 'Doctor, doctor, don't use such expressions; if God Almighty were to shut your mouth and mine, I don't know how we might be able to stand before a righteous God.' He said, 'True, Paterson, you are the wisest and kindest woman I ever saw.' I asked him to leave the room that I might dress the body, and he did so. He had told me that before the death he had had his friend Dr. Patterson in about his wife, and that he had said she had taken too much wine. I said, 'That would be a pity.' I dressed the body and then went into the dining-room where the prisoner was, and told him that I had dressed the body. He said he had written two letters, and he told me he was going to the post-office. He went out. When he returned he called me upstairs. He said she had walked down the street with him, and that they had talked about the children, that she kissed him on the cheek, and then went away. I understood him to be speaking of deceased." On the 1st of April witness found a bag of tapioca in the pantry, which she gave to the sheriff's officer, Murray.

In the cross-examination of this witness, nothing material was elicited.

Jessie Brydon, or Nabb, deposed as to the bottle found in Mrs. Taylor's pocket, and to the frequent vomiting of the deceased.

Thomas Alexander Connell, medical student, who was boarding at Dr. Pritchard's up to Mrs. Pritchard's death, deposed that after spending the Christmas holidays at his father's, he returned to Dr. Pritchard's. Mrs. Pritchard had been ailing before he went. On his return she appeared to be well, but soon afterwards she began to be ill again. At first Dr. Pritchard did not say what was the matter with her. Afterwards he said she had gastric fever. Mrs. Taylor

told witness that Mrs. Pritchard had cramps. Dr. Pritchard had not told him that. Mrs. Taylor said she had been ill herself after taking some tapioca prepared for Mrs. Pritchard. On the Friday before Mrs. Taylor's death, she (Mrs. Taylor) appeared strong and healthy. She took tea with the doctor that evening. At half-past nine the doctor sent witness for Dr. Patterson, as Mrs. Taylor had been taken ill. Dr. Patterson came, and, after he left, Dr. Pritchard said Mrs. Taylor's illness was apoplexy. Next day witness heard that Mrs. Taylor had died at half-past-twelve o'clock, and that she had died very calmly. Witness then went again to his father's, and returned on the 6th of March. Mrs. Pritchard was then, Dr. Pritchard said, getting better. Witness saw her again a week before her death. He never saw her again alive. Witness had known the prisoner to take up his wife's meals.—Cross-examined: Witness was taken ill at dinner at the prisoner's house in November. He was ill for a fortnight. In February he was sick for a week for an hour after breakfast. One of the servants brought the tea from the dining-room.

Richard Christian King, son of the Rev. R. King, Bridgetown, Wexford, medical student, also a boarder at Dr. Pritchard's, gave similar evidence as to the illnesses and deaths of Mrs. Pritchard and Mrs. Taylor.

Dr. Gardner, professor of medicine in Glasgow University, said he visited Mrs. Pritchard on the 8th and 9th of March. He found her in a state of excitement, which he attributed to stimulants—a combination of champagne and chloroform. When he went from the bedside to the fireside, Mrs. Pritchard called to witness, "Oh, you cruel, cruel man! don't leave me." Witness thought they were the exclamations of an intoxicated woman, and ordered Dr. Pritchard to discontinue stimulants, as it was a very bad practice. He gave the same order at his second visit.

Dr. Patterson said he was called on the night of the 24th February to see Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Pritchard. Dr. Pritchard said they had been sick after taking bitter beer. Witness said Mrs. Taylor appeared to suffer from some powerful narcotic, and Mrs. Pritchard appeared to suffer from antimony. His impression was that she was being poisoned by antimony, and in cross-examination he said he formed that opinion simply by looking at her. He refused a certificate to the registrar as to the cause of death of the mother-in-law. He never mentioned poison to Mrs. Pritchard, because the treatment he prescribed, provided she got nothing else, was quite sufficient to have brought her round. He did not communicate to Dr. Pritchard his suspicion as to Mrs. Pritchard's being poisoned with antimony, because he did not think it would have been safe to do so. He wrote to the registrar that Mrs. Taylor's death was "extremely sudden, unexpected, and, to him, mysterious."

James Struthers, registrar of deaths, said Dr. Pritchard certified that Mrs. Taylor died of paralysis, and Mrs. Pritchard of gastric fever.

Dr. Cowan, of Edinburgh, a friend of Mrs. Pritchard, deposed that Dr. Pritchard and Mrs. Taylor lived on good terms with each other.

Mr. Taylor, the prisoner's father-in-law, said his daughter and Dr. Pritchard lived happily together.

Alexander M'Call, of the Glasgow police, and John Murray, sheriff's officer, deposed as to articles handed to the analytical doctors for examination.

Mr. J. Campbell, manager of the Glasgow Apothecaries' Company, deposed that the prisoner bought large quantities of strychnine, laudanum, tartar emetic, tincture aconite, Fleming's tincture aconite, conii, tartarised antimony, &c., extending from the latter end of last year. Within two or three months the wit-



ness sold the prisoner more tartarized antimony than he did all the rest of the Glasgow doctors together, though he did a large dispensing trade.

John Corrie, chemist, also deposed to having sold aconite to Dr. Pritchard.

Drs. Douglas, Maglagan, Littlejohn, and Perry, deposed to the *post mortem* examination of the bodies of Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Pritchard. The substance of their testimony was, that Mrs. Pritchard had taken large quantities of antimony in the form of tartar emetic in a succession of doses. That the Battley's solution of opium found in Mrs. Taylor's pocket contained aconite, more than five per cent., but less than ten per cent. The medical witnesses also declared their opinion that Mrs. Pritchard died of repeated small doses of antimony, and Mrs. Taylor of a dose of antimony administered shortly before her death. There was nothing to indicate apoplexy. Tartar emetic could be readily beaten with egg flip, and a sufficient dose to keep up illness could be given in a lump of sugar.

Mr. MacBrair, trustee of the late David Cowan, of Portsmouth, proved that Mrs. Taylor had control of 3000*l.* under Mr. Cowan's will, and that Mrs. Taylor had made a will leaving two-thirds of that sum to Mrs. Pritchard, and in the event of her death to Dr. Pritchard, who was to get the interest till his children should attain the age of twenty-one, and after that time he was to get the money for himself. In July, 1864, Mrs. Taylor had paid £500 to Dr. Pritchard. Formal evidence of two declarations, emitted by the prisoner respectively on the 2nd of March and 21st of April, was then given, declaring that he had never administered poison to Mrs. Pritchard or Mrs. Taylor, and that he never administered antimony to his wife, except on one occasion, in October last, when he applied it externally to a swelling in her throat.

The case for the prosecution was then closed, and evidence was given for the defence.

Dr. Michael Taylor, of Carlisle, brother to Mrs. Pritchard, and son of Mrs. Taylor, said he advised his sister after his mother's death to get a nurse, but she objected, as she did not like strangers about her.

John Simpson (of Duncan and Co., chemists, Edinburgh), said his firm frequently sold "Battley's Sedative Solution" to a person who asked for it in Dr. Pritchard's name. His firm sold no less than half-a-gallon (eighty ounces) of Fleming's tincture of aconite in a year.

Thos. Fairgrieve, chemist, Edinburgh, said he often sold bottles of Battley's solution to Mrs. Taylor. He sold two ounces to her on January 29, and two more on February 4, 1865. In the course of the year he sold fifty ounces of Fleming's tincture of aconite. He had made up prescriptions of two ounces of said tincture for a liniment. There was no aconite in Battley's solution.

James Thompson, commission agent, said he had been in the habit of purchasing Battley's solution from Duncan, Flockhart, and Co., for Mrs. Taylor in the name of Dr. Pritchard, and had bought a bottle of the solution for her the night before Mrs. Taylor went to Glasgow, immediately preceding her death.

Two witnesses spoke to consulting Dr. Pritchard for affections in the ear, and getting bottles from Dr. Pritchard in his consulting room.

One of the witnesses produced the bottle which Dr. Pritchard had given him; but the prisoner's counsel said he had no desire that its contents should be examined, and it was ordered to lie on the table of the court.

Charles Pritchard, the eldest son of the prisoner, eleven, and Jane Pritchard, his daughter, fourteen years of age, were examined very briefly; the son saying that his papa and mamma lived very happily together, and were very fond

of one another, and the daughter saying that her grandmamma and papa were very fond of each other.

The prisoner was much affected while his children were under examination.

The Solicitor-General then addressed the jury for the Crown, and contended that the only two persons who had any opportunity to perpetrate the murders were the prisoner and Mary M'Leod; that the gradual poisoning of the wife could not have been done by a girl of seventeen; and that in the nature of the murder they could almost detect the finger of a doctor. He noticed the facts in evidence as showing that the prisoner had the opportunity of committing the murder, dwelling especially upon his dropping the sugar into the egg flip, which made the servant and Mrs. Pritchard sick. As to Mrs. Taylor, her death was clearly due to the aconite which had been mixed with Battley's solution, and the evidence left no room to doubt that the prisoner had put the aconite in the bottle.

Mr. Clark addressed the jury for the prisoner, and contended that the prosecution had failed to trace the poisoning to the prisoner. All that the Solicitor-General had contended was that there were only two persons who could commit the crime—the prisoner and Mary M'Leod—and yet without asking Mary M'Leod whether she put any thing in the food, the jury were asked to believe that she was not guilty, and therefore that the prisoner was guilty. He concluded by maintaining that the whole evidence for the prosecution hung upon probability, and could never justify the jury in finding a verdict against the prisoner.

The Lord Justice Clerk at considerable length summed up the evidence. At the conclusion of his summing up, his lordship said the prisoner's counsel had urged that M'Leod might have been the person who committed the murders. It was, however, right to consider the balance of probabilities. Was it possible that a servant-maid sixteen or seventeen years of age could have herself conceived or executed such a design, and if she had conceived it, could she have executed it subject to the vigilance of the husband of her victim, himself a medical man? That was very hard to believe indeed. On the other hand, if the prisoner conceived and executed the design, it was not so difficult to believe that Mary M'Leod may have been the perfectly unconscious and innocent instrument of carrying out his purpose. If they were satisfied the murder was committed, the parties who had access to Mrs. Pritchard only could have done it. Some of them were plainly innocent, and in the case of others the probability of guilt was reduced to two. Of these two one or other of them was guilty.

The jury retired, and returned in about an hour with a unanimous verdict of guilty of both charges.

The Lord Justice Clerk then sentenced the prisoner to be executed at Glasgow on the 28th inst., and said that the verdict of the jury proceeded upon evidence which could leave no reasonable doubt on the minds of those by whom it was considered.

Some days after the trial the prisoner volunteered a confession to the Rev. Mr. Oldham, the clergyman who attended him, in which he declared himself, by a solemn statement in writing, which he drew up with great care and deliberation, to have been guilty of adultery with M'Leod and of poisoning his wife, but avowed his innocency of the murder of Mrs. Taylor. Eight days later he retracted this statement and made a second confession as follows :—

“Confession by Edward William Pritchard, and made in the presence of an all-seeing God, and of the Rev. T. Watson Reid, my present spiritual adviser, on the 19th day of July, 1865, at Glasgow prison, for communication to the proper authorities.

"I, Edward William Pritchard, in the full possession of all my senses, and understanding the awful position in which I am placed, do make free and open confession that the sentence pronounced upon me is just; that I am guilty of the death of my mother-in-law, Mrs. Taylor, and of my wife, Mary Jane Pritchard; that I can assign no motive for the conduct which actuated me beyond a species of terrible madness and the use of ardent spirits. I hereby freely and fully state that the confession made to the Rev. R. S. Oldham, on the 11th day of this month, was not true; and I hereby confess that I alone, not Mary M'Leod, poisoned my wife in the way brought out in evidence at my trial. That Mrs. Taylor's death was caused according to the wording of the indictment I further state to be true, and the main facts brought out at my trial I hereby fully acknowledge, and now plead wholly and solely guilty thereto, and may God have mercy on my soul. I pray earnestly for repentance not to be repented of, and for forgiveness from Almighty God through the intercession of our blessed Redeemer, Mediator, and Advocate, Jesus Christ the Lord and Saviour.

"Fellow-creatures, pray for me; and, let me add, I am in charity with all men.

"I have now to record my humble thanks to all who have taken part in any way for my interest. First, to their lordships the judges for their great patience, forbearance, and careful consideration of my case, and to the gentlemen of the jury. Second, to all the officials. I cannot help mentioning the clerk of the High Court of Justiciary, the governor (Mr. Smith) of the Edinburgh gaol, the chaplain (Rev. Mr. Russell), head-warder Nelson, warders John Livingstone and Mackintosh; the governor of Glasgow prison (Mr. Stirling); Mr. Armour, head-warder; chaplain Mr. Doran; his assistants, Messrs. Hogg and Troup; warders Mutrie, Thomson, &c.; Drs. Leishman and Dewar, surgeons to Glasgow prison; and Dr. Simpson, of Edinburgh gaol. To the non-officials my heartfelt thanks are especially due; to the Rev. Dr. Miller, of Free St. Matthew's, Glasgow, and to other ministers who have written me, not adding their names; to Dr. Norman MacLeod, may God bless him; and to my own immediate faith professors, Rev. R. S. Oldham and Rev. K. Watson Reid; to the police authorities, Superintendent M'Call and police at the Central Office, Glasgow; to Sergeant Stewart of the Edinburgh police force, and the sheriff officers Wilson of Glasgow, and Ferguson of Edinburgh; and to many others whose courtesy and kindness I cannot forget; above all to Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., sheriff, &c., for his humane, gentle treatment while undergoing his legal duties.

"May each and all accept the thanks of a dearly penitent sinner, and may Heaven be their reward, is the last prayer of Edward William Pritchard<sup>1</sup>.

"JOHN STIRLING, governor, witness.

"EDWARD GEARY, warder, witness.

"JOHN MUTRIE, warder, witness."

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the execution of Dr. Pritchard, see *Chronicle*, *ante*.



## IV.

## THE ROAD MURDER.

CONVICTION OF CONSTANCE KENT OF THE MURDER OF HER BROTHER,  
FRANCIS SAVILLE KENT.

The case of this prisoner, who had been committed for trial upon her own confession<sup>2</sup>, made five years after the event, of having murdered her infant brother at Road, in Wiltshire, took place at Salisbury on the 20th of July, before Mr. Justice Willes, one of the Judges of Assize for that county. Extraordinary interest had been excited in the public mind in reference to this case, on account of the impenetrable mystery which had surrounded the crime until it was at length cleared up by the voluntary confession of the guilty party, who at the time of perpetrating the act was a girl of only sixteen years of age.

The prisoner being placed at the bar, amidst the deep silence of a densely-crowded court, the Clerk of Assize, addressing her, said: Constance Emilie Kent, you stand charged with having wilfully murdered Francis Saville Kent, at Road-hill House, on the 30th of June, 1860; how say you, are you guilty or not guilty?

Prisoner (in a low tone of voice): Guilty.

Mr. Justice Willes, pausing: Are you aware that you are charged with having wilfully, intentionally, and with malice, killed your brother?

Prisoner (with her head bent low): Yes.

Mr. Justice Willes: And you plead guilty to that?

The prisoner hesitated in her reply.

Mr. Justice Willes waited for some minutes amidst breathless silence, and then said: What is your answer?

The prisoner still remained silent.

Mr. Justice Willes: I must repeat to you that you are charged with having wilfully, and intentionally, and with malice, killed and murdered your brother; are you guilty or not guilty?

The prisoner, in a rather more firm voice, said, "Guilty."

Mr. Justice Willes (to the Clerk of Assize): Let the plea be recorded.

A dead silence then ensued for some minutes, which was broken by

Mr. Coleridge, Q.C., who said: My lord, as counsel for the defence, acting on the prisoner's behalf, before your lordship passes sentence, I desire to say two things—first, solemnly in the presence of Almighty God, as a person who values her own soul, she wishes me to say that the guilt is hers alone, and that her father and others who have so long suffered most unjust and cruel suspicion are wholly and absolutely innocent; and, secondly, she was not driven to this act, as has been asserted, by unkind treatment at home, as she met with nothing there but tender and forbearing love; and I hope I may add, my lord, not improperly, that it gives me a melancholy pleasure to be the organ of these statements for her, because on my honour I believe them to be true.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the confession and committal of the prisoner, see Chronicle, *ante*.

The Clerk of Assize (addressing the prisoner): Constance Emilie Kent, you have confessed yourself guilty of the murder of Francis Saville Kent; have you any thing to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon you?

Prisoner: No.

Mr. Justice Willes then assumed the black cap, and addressed the prisoner in the following terms:—

“Constance Emilie Kent, you have pleaded guilty to an indictment charging you with the wilful murder of your brother Francis Saville Kent on the 30th of June, 1860. It is my duty to receive that plea which you have deliberately put forward, and it is a satisfaction to me to know that it was not done until after having had the advice of counsel who would have freed you from this dreadful charge, if you could have been freed thereof. I can entertain no doubt, after having read the evidence in the depositions, and considering this is your third confession of your crime, that your plea is the plea of a really guilty person. The murder was one committed under circumstances of great deliberation and cruelty. You appear to have allowed your feelings of jealousy and anger to have worked in your breast until at last they assumed over you the influence and the power of the Evil One.”

Mr. Justice Willes here became deeply affected, and burst into tears, which prevented him from proceeding with his remarks for some minutes.

The prisoner at the bar, who up to this time had maintained the greatest composure, could no longer witness the proceedings with apparent indifference. Turning her head from the judge, she burst into a passion of tears, which was audible in every part of the court, and produced a profound impression upon all who were witnesses of the scene.

Mr. Justice Willes continued as follows:—

“Whether Her Majesty, with whom alone the prerogative of mercy rests, may be advised to consider the fact of your youth at the time when the murder was committed, and the fact that you were convicted chiefly upon your own confession, which removes suspicion from others, is a question which it would be presumption for me to answer here. It well behoves you to live what is left of your life as one who is about to die, and to seek a more enduring mercy, by sincere and deep contrition, and by a reliance upon the only redemption and satisfaction for all the sins of the world. It only remains for me to discharge the duty which the law imposes upon the Court without alternative, and that is to pass upon you the sentence which the law adjudges for wilful murder: That you be taken from the place where you now stand to the place whence you came, from thence to the place of execution, and that you be hanged by the neck until your body be dead; that when your body be dead it be buried within the precincts of the gaol in which you were last confined: and may God have mercy on your soul.”

The capital sentence was commuted for that of penal servitude for life.

A detailed account of the manner in which the crime was committed was afterwards furnished to the public by Dr. Bucknill, the physician who had examined the prisoner by the desire of the Government, in order to form an opinion as to the condition of her mind. The following letter appeared in the public papers:—

“Sir,—I am requested by Miss Constance Kent to communicate to you the following details of her crime, which she has confessed to Mr. Rodway, her solicitor, and to myself, and which she now desires to be made public.

“Constance Kent first gave an account of the circumstances of her crime to

Mr. Rodway, and she afterwards acknowledged to me the correctness of that account when I recapitulated it to her. The explanation of her motive she gave to me when, with the permission of the Lord Chancellor, I examined her for the purpose of ascertaining whether there were any grounds for supposing that she was labouring under mental disease. Both Mr. Rodway and I are convinced of the truthfulness and good faith of what she said to us.

“Constance Kent says that the manner in which she committed her crime was as follows: A few days before the murder she obtained possession of a razor from a green case in her father’s wardrobe, and secreted it. This was the sole instrument which she used. She also secreted a candle with matches, by placing them in the corner of the closet in the garden, where the murder was committed. On the night of the murder she undressed herself and went to bed, because she expected that her sisters would visit her room. She lay awake watching until she thought that the household were all asleep, and soon after midnight she left her bedroom and went down-stairs and opened the drawing-room door and window shutters. She then went up into the nursery, withdrew the blanket from between the sheet and the counterpane, and placed it on the side of the cot. She then took the child from his bed and carried him down-stairs through the drawing-room. She had on her night-dress, and in the drawing-room she put on her goloshes. Having the child in one arm, she raised the drawing-room window with the other hand, went round the house and into the closet, lighted the candle and placed it on the seat of the closet, the child being wrapped in the blanket and still sleeping, and while the child was in this position she inflicted the wound in the throat. She says that she thought the blood would never come, and that the child was not killed, so she thrust the razor into its left side, and put the body, with the blanket round it, into the vault. The light burnt out. The piece of flannel which she had with her was torn from an old flannel garment placed in the waste bag, and which she had taken some time before and sewn it to use in washing herself. She went back into her bedroom, examined her dress, and found only two spots of blood on it. These she washed out in the basin, and threw the water, which was but little discoloured, into the foot-pan in which she had washed her feet over night. She took another of her night-dresses and got into bed. In the morning her night-dress had become dry where it had been washed. She folded it up and put it into the drawer. Her three night-dresses were examined by Mr. Foley, and she believes also by Mr. Parsons, the medical attendant of the family. She thought the blood stains had been effectually washed out, but on holding the dress up to the light a day or two afterwards, she found the stains were still visible. She secreted the dress, moving it from place to place, and she eventually burnt it in her own bedroom, and put the ashes or tinder into the kitchen grate. It was about five or six days after the child’s death that she burnt the night-dress. On the Saturday morning, having cleaned the razor, she took an opportunity of replacing it unobserved in the case in the wardrobe. She abstracted her night-dress from the clothes basket when the housemaid went to fetch a glass of water. The stained garment found in the boiler hole had no connexion whatever with the deed. As regards the motive of her crime, it seems that, although she entertained at one time a great regard for the present Mrs. Kent, yet if any remark was at any time made which in her opinion was disparaging to any member of the first family, she treasured it up, and determined to revenge it. She had no ill-will against the little boy, except as one of the children of her stepmother. She declared that both her father and her stepmother had always been kind to her personally, and the following is the



copy of a letter which she addressed to Mr. Rodway on this point while in prison before her trial:—

“Devizes, May 15.

“Sir,—It has been stated that my feelings of revenge were excited in consequence of cruel treatment. This is entirely false. I have received the greatest kindness from both the persons accused of subjecting me to it. I have never had any ill-will towards either of them on account of their behaviour to me, which has been very kind.

“I shall feel obliged if you will make use of this statement in order that the public may be undeceived on this point.—I remain, sir, yours truly,

“CONSTANCE E. KENT.

“To Mr. R. Rodway.”

“She told me that when the nursemaid was accused she had fully made up her mind to confess, if the nurse had been convicted; and that she had also made up her mind to commit suicide, if she was herself convicted. She said that she had felt herself under the influence of the devil before she committed the murder, but that she did not believe, and had not believed, that the devil had more to do with her crime than he had with any other wicked action. She had not said her prayers for a year before the murder, and not afterwards, until she came to reside at Brighton. She said that the circumstance which revived religious feelings in her mind was thinking about receiving the sacrament when confirmed.

“An opinion has been expressed that the peculiarities evinced by Constance Kent between the ages of twelve and seventeen may be attributed to the then transition period of her life. Moreover, the fact of her cutting off her hair, dressing herself in her brother's clothes, and leaving her home with the intention of going abroad, which occurred when she was only thirteen years of age, indicated a peculiarity of disposition, and great determination of character, which foreboded that, for good or evil, her future life would be remarkable.

“This peculiar disposition, which led her to such singular and violent resolves of action, seemed also to colour and intensify her thoughts and feelings, and magnify into wrongs that were to be revenged, any little family incidents or occurrences which provoked her displeasure.

“Although it became my duty to advise her counsel that she evinced no symptoms of insanity at the time of my examination, and that, so far as it was possible to ascertain the state of her mind at so remote a period, there was no evidence of it at the time of the murder, I am yet of opinion that, owing to the peculiarities of her constitution, it is probable that under prolonged solitary confinement she would become insane.

“The validity of this opinion is of importance now that the sentence of death has been commuted to penal servitude for life; for no one could desire that the punishment of the criminal should be so carried out as to cause danger of a further and greater punishment not contemplated by the law.

“I have the honour to remain, your very obedient servant,

“JOHN CHARLES BUCKNILL, M.D.

“Hilmerton Hall, near Rugby, Aug. 24.”

## V.

## THE FENIAN CONSPIRACY IN IRELAND.

## TRIAL OF THOMAS CLARKE LUBY FOR TREASON-FELONY.

A Special Commission for the trial of the persons implicated in the Fenian conspiracy<sup>3</sup> was opened at Dublin on the 27th of November, before Mr. Justice Keogh and Mr. Justice Fitzgerald. Great preparations had been made to guard against a rescue, and a detachment of fifty rank and file of the 8th regiment, and twenty-five of the metropolitan policemen were placed to guard the prison. After the opening of the Commission, Mr. Justice Keogh delivered a charge to the grand jury, which obtained general approbation as a fair and impartial exposition of the law as applied to the facts of the case. A true bill was subsequently found against some of the Fenian prisoners. The first arraigned was Thomas Clarke Luby, who was indicted for treason-felony, in conspiring to subvert the Government of the country, to deprive Her Majesty of her style and title of Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, to separate this country from England, and to establish a republican form of government. The prisoner pleaded Not Guilty.

The Attorney-General (Mr. Lawson, M.P.), in stating the case for the Crown, said the Act of Parliament respecting treason-felony created several offences, and these were of three descriptions: First, it provides that if any person compasses or intends to depose the Queen from her royal authority as Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, that shall constitute the offence of treason-felony. Another offence is intending to levy war against the Queen in order to induce her to change her measures; and the last is a conspiracy to invite foreigners to invade this realm. It would be shown by the documents now to be produced that an extensive conspiracy existed to overthrow Her Majesty's Government in Ireland, to provide troops and arms for this purpose, and that the prisoner had taken part in the said conspiracy. A society was formed in America, called the Fenian Brotherhood, having for its object to re-establish by force what was called the independence of Ireland. In May, 1863, the prisoner himself was in America, actively co-operating with the Fenian Brotherhood. Counsel here read several documents, and proceeded to say that when Mr. Luby was arrested a document was found in his house, sealed with black wax, and addressed to "Miss Frazer." When the constable took it, Mr. Luby requested him to give it to Mrs. Luby, as it was a private matter between her and a lady friend. The constable, however, opened it, and found it to be the following note:—

"I hereby empower Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary, and Charles J. Kickham, a committee of organization or executive, with the same supreme control over the home organization, England, Ireland, and Scotland, that I have exercised myself. I further empower them to appoint a committee of appeal and judgment, the functions of which committee will be made known to every member of them. Trusting to the patriotism and abilities of the executive, I fully endorse their actions beforehand. I call on every man in our ranks to support and be guided by them in all that concerns the military brotherhood.

"J. STEPHENS."

<sup>3</sup> For a full account of this conspiracy, see English History, Chap. 7, of this volume.

Counsel then proceeded to read passages from Mr. Luby's paper, the "Irish People," recommending "revolution," "the Irish Republic," "retribution," &c. An extract from an article written in February said: "But the overthrow of the British Empire—that would be grand indeed! The day Irishmen humble the haughty crest of England, they chain for ever the glory of Ireland to the stars; they strike a blow that resounds through eternity," &c. Counsel then read a letter from Cornelius Manus O'Keeffe, addressed to the prisoner, dated "9th August, 24, William-street," and saying:—

"Dear Mr. Luby,—The difference which exists between the aristocracy and the landlords (a subject which you will remember we were discussing the other day) is neither more nor less than that which exists between the privates and officers of the British army. You are doubtless aware that when the existing war commenced in New Zealand, the natives were foolish enough to confine their hostility to the privates, because the latter, they perceived, were actively engaged in firing on them. The privates killed their brethren; why should they not kill the private soldiers? This was the view of the New Zealanders at the commencement of the war. They could not understand why they should shoot the officers who never struck a blow—who certainly never discharged a musket. But war is a swift and stern instructor; they have since learned that it is sheer folly to waste their powder on the common men; that it is far better to kill those who utter the word of command, but never strike a blow, rather than those who 'present and fire,' but never issue an order."

After further similar observations, the letter says:—

"P.S.—We are enslaved and subjected to England by an institution which all Liberal Europe, the world, outside Ireland, is hostile to—the aristocracy are our gaolers." (On the inside of the envelope.) "Show the enclosed to Mr. O'Leary, and ask if it would not make the subject of an original leader? If so, save the letter for me."

After reading a mass of documents, of which the above may be taken as specimens, the Attorney-General called evidence to prove the formal registration of Mr. Luby as proprietor of the "Irish People."

Constable John Cooke was then examined. He said: I am acting-sergeant of the detective force. On the night of the 15th of September, about 11 o'clock, I went with Constable Doyle to Dolphin's-barn, where the residence of the prisoner is. There were five or six other detectives with us. We remained there until morning. While there I saw Terence Byrne and Michael O'Leary. They knocked twice at Mr. Luby's house about 3 o'clock. Immediately after they knocked I made prisoners of them, and removed them to the police station. At nine o'clock we went into Mr. Luby's house. We found in his parlour several letters and documents which we marked. I found a revolver pistol on the top of a press in the kitchen. Found other documents in a bedroom, a bullet mould, and a "death or glory," intended to be worn on a cap. Luby said we need not be particular, that he knew we were looking for documents and would get none. [The witness here identified a number of documents which were taken by the police on that occasion.] I found the document directed to Miss Frazer in a sealed envelope in the upper bedroom. The prisoner said he did not know what was in the envelope. He said it was something between Mrs. Luby and Miss Frazer, and when neither of them would open it I took possession of it. Mrs. Luby made no observation about the letter. I opened the letter on the 10th of October, up to which time it was in my custody. I found the documents now produced in the envelope.



The witness then proceeded to identify a number of other documents found in the possession of the prisoner at the time of his arrest. He stated he was afterwards at the police-office when Mr. Luby was there. He was asked the morning of his arrest at the police-station what was his business, and he answered, "I am the editor of the 'Irish People' newspaper; in fact, you may say proprietor." He found a number of books in the house. One was a glossary of military terms. He found in one of the houses in which the documents were, the lease of the house No. 12, Parliament-street, the house in which the paper was published.

Cross-examined.—I had been on duty in Parliament-street part of the time, but was not at the scene at the "Irish People" office. I arrested Mr. Luby in his own house; he came with me from room to room while I made a search, but I cannot now say whether I asked him to do so, or that he came of his own motion. I found the documents I have proved in his house.—Have you any reason for saying it was his house beyond your finding him living there? No.—Can you tell me where you got this? [document handed to witness]. No, not beyond saying that I found it in the house. [The witness gave the same reply as to a number of other documents handed to him. Others, he said, he found in Mr. Luby's bedroom, and some more in a writing-case.]—You produced a number of envelopes, and said that you had found them and the papers together. Were the papers in the envelopes, or did you sort them and place them together as you thought they ought to be? In three instances the documents were in the envelopes, but I am not able to swear positively as to the others; I only proved the documents as having been found in the house; with the exception of O'Keeffe's letter, the lease of the house 12, Parliament-street, and the envelope on which was written "Miss Frazer," which I found in the writing-case, I cannot state precisely where I found any of the documents.—Did you, as a matter of fact, seize every paper on which you could lay your hands? I seized every paper which I thought bore upon the charge against Mr. Luby. I found the papers very well arranged; some were in parcels, summed up; others in an old cotton handkerchief; and others, again, in parcels bound round with black cloth. I went over all the documents in Mr. Luby's presence, and gave him some which he asked for. I collected all I intended taking with me in a gauze handkerchief.—Did you carry that handkerchief from room to room through the house? I did.—Did you carry it into the top room? I did.—That is Mrs. Luby's room, I believe? Yes, I believe Mrs. Luby's mother occupied it.—Did you search that room? I did; I searched a writing-case and two other little boxes there.—To whom did you dictate the evidence you were to give before you swore to it before the magistrate? To Mr. Williams, the chief clerk.—Did he make a second copy of it? I do not know.—Now, with reference to the finding of the lease and the "Miss Frazer" letter, did you ever state that you found them in the same box? I do not recollect that I did.—Did you, on the 2nd of October, make any specific statement describing the documents you found along with the lease? I did. I do not think the "Miss Frazer" letter was then referred to, because I did not know what it contained.—Where was that letter put after the seizure? It was put along with a number of loose documents in a lock-up place in the Lower Castle-yard.—What became of the documents? They were opened in an office in the Castle.—Who opened them? I did.—What did you do with them? I handed some of them to Mr. Anderson and some of them to Mr. Berry.—And what became of them afterwards? They were returned to me as soon as they read them.—And what did you do with them then? I put them in the lock-up

place again.—Did you keep the key of that place? I did not.—Who kept it? It was kept in the superintendent's office. That is a very large place, and there are a great number of persons there.—Who kept it? It was taken from me by Mr. Superintendent Ryan.—When did you next take them from the lock-up place? The next day that there was an investigation by the magistrate. Mr. Ryan gave me the key to get them out; I think he took the key from a safe; after the investigation some of them were attached to the informations.—Did you not on the 2nd of October describe with particularity the documents you found in one of the boxes in Mrs. Luby's room? I did, all that were given in evidence.—Did you make any statement that you found the "Miss Frazer" letter in that box? I don't think I did, because it was passed over as of no importance, as we did not know what was in it.—Did you at any time make any statement to any person about that letter? I did; some day or two after the arrest I mentioned having found it in the presence of Mr. Sullivan (the Solicitor-General) and Mr. Barry, but I made no information in reference to it until the 10th of October, when I opened it for the first time.

Re-examined.—I found the "Glossary of Military Terms for the Use of Young Officers" in Mr. Luby's house; the documents now handed to me I also found in the house; one of them is addressed to "Mr. Thomas Clarke, at Mrs. Prossar's, Red Lion-square, London;" the other is addressed, "Mr. Fitzpatrick, Star and Garter Hotel, Queen-square."

The next witness was Pierce Nagle, the informer. He said, I know the "Irish People" office in Parliament-street. I was employed there myself as a folder of the newspaper. I entered upon that employment on the 15th of March, 1864. I continued there until last August. I was in the habit of attending at the office, but not from day to day. I was always there on Thursday night and the best part of Friday, and whenever I would be required. It was a weekly paper, printed on Thursday night. It was set up in Parliament-street and printed in West Essex-street. The newspapers were taken in parcels of 500 each from Mr. Jolly's office, and conveyed to the office in Parliament-street. The persons generally to be seen about the office were John O'Leary, O'Donovan (Rossa), James O'Connor, Cornelius O'Mahony, Denis Dowling Mulcahy, Charles J. Kickham, and Daniel Dinney. They had the conduct and management of the office. I saw Stephens there frequently from January to March, 1864; he then went to America. I was in America; I left that country in January, 1864; before I went to America I was aware of the existence of the society called the Fenian Brotherhood.—Were you a member of that society yourself? I cannot say that I was, but I acted as a member of that society.—You did not yourself take any oath, but you acted as a member of the society? Yes, sir.—What was the first occasion that you acted as a member of that society? The first occasion was attending a meeting held in a field in the country, about two miles to the north-east of Clonmel, some time about three months back from February, 1862.—How many were present at that meeting? Something like 100. I did not count the number. Denis Dowling Mulcahy was there.—Is that the same man whose name you have mentioned as being connected with the "Irish People?" It is. No person else that I can remember.—When next were you present at any meeting of the Fenian Society? In summer, 1862; in George Lee's thatched house, Powerstown, near Clonmel.—Now, in 1863, did you attend any meeting of this society? Yes; in September, 1863, I attended a meeting at Denis Mulcahy's house at Redmondstown, near Clonmel.—Who attended it? James

Stephens, Charles J. Kickham, Michael O'Neil Fogarty, Denis Dowling Mulcahy, and old Denis Mulcahy.

In reply to questions asked by the Solicitor-General, the witness said: There were two forms for purposes of enumeration, which were ruled in squares by means of perpendicular and horizontal lines; the squares did not extend to the top, but there was a blank space on which the name of the captain or B was entered; the squares then showed how the captain, the sergeant or C, and the rank and file or D, were armed, also the strength of the company. Denis Dowling Mulcahy filled up a square in my presence on the rostrum of the national school, of which I was a teacher.—Now, you said something about the document showing how they were armed? Yes; a V signified a man armed with a rifle. If it was an inverted V, it signified a man armed with a gun or pistol. A stroke signified that the man was armed with a pike. Where there was a circle, it signified a man—captain, sergeant, or private—not armed at all. I see this filled paper [produced]. This paper is the same as that filled by the captains; but there are others for the sergeant and privates [document marked]. I have also seen a paper like this [produced]. This is for the Centres. I observe letters B, C, D marked. It shows the nine spaces or squares marked off for the different bodies. I myself enrolled ten or twelve into the society. The mode of enrolling a member was, in the first instance, to administer the oath, which in substance was, that the party should be a member of the Irish Republic now virtually established, and that he would be ready to take up arms at a moment's notice. There was no person present at the taking of the oath but the party taking and the party administering it. The oath was taken on a Prayer-book. I did not swear any person in later than May, 1862. When I swore the parties in, I returned them to Denis Dowling Mulcahy. I learned from Mulcahy that the object of the society was to overthrow the Queen's Government in Ireland, and when that was done the Republic was to be established. I was told by a member of the society that arms were to be given to carry out those objects. On the first occasion that I met Ryan and another member of the body, they told me that the Fenians in Ireland were to be officered by French officers; and since the war was over in America, that they were to be officered by Federal officers. Stephens spoke to me on various points at his house. He told me, when he was stopping at Mulcahy's house, in September, 1863, what he was going to do. He told me the same thing when he was at a meeting in Edward Bourke's house, Clonmel. There were present at that meeting Denis Dowling Mulcahy and Kickham. Stephens abused the members on that occasion for being so inactive. He said that the missionaries being in Clonmel was the cause of the falling off in their body, and remarked that they were Englishmen, and that they should not mind what they said about politics. He told those present that he was about to establish a paper in Dublin, and that they should form themselves into sections for the purpose of collecting subscriptions. I told Bourke that his name was Stephens, and on the following day he accused him of having gone by another name. I was about going to America, and I attended on him from day to day, asking him for a letter of introduction to John O'Mahony, of New York. Stephens did not give me the letter, but I got one to O'Mahony from Denis Dowling Mulcahy.

The Solicitor-General: As regards those meetings before the autumn of 1863, which were held in the open fields or other places, may I ask you how they used to be held? At football matches; on one of those occasions there was money collected.—What occasion was that? On the last that I attended, in the summer



of 1862.—Was this footballing a pastime, or was it as a colour to what was going on? According to my understanding, it was as a colour to what was going on.—And you were at those meetings? Yes; at four of them.—When you were going to America, you got this letter from Mulcahy to O'Mahony? Yes; I handed that letter to a man named Cavanagh in John O'Mahony's office in Centre-street.—Did you find John O'Mahony at Centre-street, where you had this letter directed to him? I did.—Was Cavanagh employed in that office? He was.—Do you know what his Christian name was? Yes, Michael.—Did Mulcahy mention his name when giving you the letter? He told me to remember him to Cavanagh in John O'Mahony's office.—Did you yourself present O'Mahony with any paper or document besides the letter? I did. I presented him with a list of about 200 names.—Did you attend any meeting of the Fenian Society in the office of John O'Mahony, in America? I did, sir.—On what occasion was that? On the Sunday before the Chicago Convention.—Did any body act as secretary to that meeting? Yes, Michael Cavanagh. I saw Charles Underwood O'Connell at that meeting, and frequently afterwards at O'Mahony's office. (The witness here identified the prisoners O'Connell and Luby.)

Witness continued,—“I remained in New York until the second week in November, 1863; I heard of O'Connell enrolling men, but I did not see him enrol any.—Did he make any statement about enrolling men that were to do something? Yes; he said that he was enrolling men that were to act as a company of militia in the States of America. They were composed of Fenians. At this time the draught was coming on in America. I afterwards went to Pennsylvania and Philadelphia. In Philadelphia I saw James Gibbons, a “Centre” of the society, who kept a printing-office at 303, Chestnut-street. I saw O'Mahony correcting a pamphlet in that office. The pamphlet was entitled “The Proceedings of the First Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood, held at Chicago, Illinois, November, 1863.” I knew that John O'Mahony was the Head Centre of the Fenian Society. So long as I was in America his office was at 6, Centre-street.—When you were in America, did you meet any person named Henry O'Clarence M'Carthy? Not in America; but in February, or thereabouts, in 1864, I saw him at the “Irish People” office.—Used James Stephens to be at the “People” office at that time? Yes, frequently.—What was M'Carthy doing at that time? Helping me to pack parcels for the Chicago fair.—What was done with the goods when they were packed up for the Chicago fair? They were transmitted.—Who employed you to pack them up? James O'Connor.—What was his office there? He was bookkeeper.—Was Mr. Luby in and out daily during the time you were employed? I could not say every day, but very frequently.—Was James Stephens known in the office by any name? Yes; he was known by the names of “The Captain,” “Jeff,” and “The Boss,” the latter being the American term for “master.”—During the time you were at the office, did you attend any Fenian meeting? I did.—Who told you to go there? Thomas Clarke Luby.—Where was that meeting held? At Phibsborough-road, the lodgings of Cornelius O'Mahony.—Who attended the meeting? Thomas Clarke Luby, William Francis Roantree, Cornelius O'Mahony, James O'Connor, and James Stephens, and some two or three other persons whose names I don't remember.—Before this meeting did you know a man named “Pagan” O'Leary? Yes; I saw him at the “People” office, casting bullets.—At the meeting you allude to what business was transacted? Some money matters were settled between Stephens and Luby.

Stephens wanted Luby to go to Cork next day to attend the trial of Cornelius Dwyer Keane, who had been arrested on a charge of Fenianism. The trial of "Pagan" O'Leary was also spoken of. He was charged with seducing soldiers from their allegiance.—Did Stephens address you personally? Yes; the first words he addressed to me were, "What a pretty pass Fenianism has come to in Clonmel; they were hooted at the election."—What salary were you getting at this time at the "Irish People" office? Seven-and-sixpence a week.—Did you apply to Luby for an increase of salary? Yes; at the beginning of August last I spoke to him, and he said I should see the captain. He told me that at Dan Downing's lodgings I would see him. They were at 68, Great Brunswick-street. I went to the lodgings and attended a meeting, at which were Stephens, Cornelius Dwyer Keane, a man named Ryan from Liverpool, and Downing himself. There were one or two other persons there whom I did not know. While we were there, Stephens sent a message to a man named Hugh Brophy.—What occurred at this meeting? Cornelius Dwyer Keane reported to Stephens that there were nearly 500 new men in the neighbourhood of Clonakilty. Stephens said he did not know what he should do with the number of men he had, there were so many of them.—At those meetings who appeared to be the principal person? James Stephens.—Were there any private meetings in addition to the public meetings to which you have referred? Yes; on the night I speak of, Stephens was in the bedroom, and each of those present saw him separately.—Had you a private interview with him? Yes; he wanted me to give up my situation in the chapel of St. Laurence O'Toole, as I was to go to Clonmel, as matters were backward there.—Did he say any thing else? Yes; he said that when he saw me again he would give me instructions what I was to do. He said he would pay my expenses while I was away, and allow my wife a pound a week to support her, in addition to keeping her comfortable.—If you wanted to see Stephens yourself during this time, did you know where to find him? No; but I was told by Mortimer Moynihan that it was at 40, Lower Buckingham-street. I attended a meeting there the same evening I was told of it. There were ten or twelve persons there, who were nearly all strangers to me, and who, I was told, were American officers. On the Monday before the 8th of September last, a man named Power, of Clonmel, came to the "Irish People" office with a letter which I understood was for Stephens. On the evening of the 8th of September I saw Stephens at 20, Denzille-street, at the lodgings of a man named Flood. I was told where to find him by Cornelius O'Mahony. He told me to take Power with me, and I did so. Flood was in the room with Stephens. Power and Stephens went into Flood's bedroom, where they remained for ten or fifteen minutes. After Power had the interview with Stephens, I had one with him. He told me to go to Clonmel, and gave me 7l.—Before you left the house, was there any thing said in Stephens's presence as to what you or Power were to get or do? Yes; Power handed me a slip of paper in Stephens's handwriting.—Is this the slip? It is.

Solicitor-General: This is the slip: "My dear Friend.—Give bearer fifty rods. Yours, J. P." Were those the initials that Stephens sometimes used? Yes.—Did you know what the meaning of the word "rods" was? I thought it meant pikes. I asked Stephens where I was to go, and he said, to Mike Moore's; I did not know where that was, and I asked him; he (Stephens), Cornelius O'Mahony, Power, and I left the house together, and when we got into the street he showed me a letter, which I now identify.

The Solicitor-General read the letter, as follows:—

“Dublin, Sept. 8, 1865.

“Brothers,—I regret to find that the letter I addressed to you has never reached you. Had you received it, I am confident all would have been right before this, because I told you explicitly what to do, and once you saw your way it is sure to me that you would have done well. Far as I can understand your actual position and wishes now, the best course to take is to get all the working B's together, and after due deliberation, and without favour to any one—acting purely and conscientiously for the good of the cause—to select one man to represent and direct you all. This selection made, the man of your choice should come up here at once, when he shall get instructions and authority to go on with the good work. There is no time to be lost. This year—and let there be no mistake about it—must be the year of action. I speak with a knowledge and authority to which no other man could pretend; and I repeat, the flag of Ireland—of the Irish Republic—must this year be raised. As I am much pressed for time I shall merely add that it shall be raised in a glow of hope such as never gleamed round it before. Be, then, of firm faith and the best of cheer, for all goes bravely on.

“Yours fraternally,

“J. POWER.

“N.B.—This letter must be read for the working B's only, and when read must be burnt.”

Examination continued.—

Where did you go after that? I went to different places, looking for Cornelius O'Mahony, but I could not find him. I left Power in Capel-street, and went home myself. Next morning Power and a man named Morris, whom I had known before, called at my lodgings. Power told me he had lost 2*l.*, which Stephens had given him the night before. I then went with him to the “Irish People” office, where I saw Cornelius O'Mahony, who told me where Moore lived.—Where did Moore live? 199, Francis-street.—Did you get the pike-heads? Yes.—What sort were they? The blade was about two feet long, and the portion to cover the handle about six or seven inches.—What became of the pikeheads? Power got fifty and Morris fifty, and they were put up into a trunk which was taken down to the Dallaway Tavern, Essex-bridge, where they were left for some time.—Did you see Power again? Yes, I saw him in the “Irish People” office, when he presented the appearance of one stupid from drink and want of rest. I took the letter from him and put him to bed.—Did you see Morris again that evening? Yes, I saw him at the King's-bridge terminus, going by the half-past six train. He had the trunk with him.—Did Power go by the same train? No, by a later train.—While you were in the “Irish People” office, did you see any pikeheads there? I did.—Did you go to Clonmel in pursuance of the instructions you received from Stephens? I did. I went to Clonmel and attended a meeting in Bourke's public-house. On my return I first went home and then to the “Irish People” office, where I saw Luby, O'Donovan (Rossa), O'Leary, and O'Connor. O'Donovan (Rossa) asked me if I had sworn in a militiaman named Tobin. I said I did not, and he was angry with me, saying I ought to have done so.—After this, did you get a message from Stephens? Yes, I got a message from John Haltigan to go see Stephens at 20, Denzille-street. I went there and saw him. William F. Roantree, and Michael Moore were there. James O'Connor came in and went into the bedroom with Stephens. After they



came back, Stephens announced the seizure of the "Irish People," but said that it was no matter, as the business would go on the same as before. He told O'Connor to go back to the "People" office and show himself, to show that there was some proprietor, and ask the reason of it.—Did you see any arms there that night? I did. I saw Stephens putting a six-barrelled revolver into his pocket.—I believe you were arrested that night yourself? I was.—Whose hand-writing is that [letter handed to witness]? James O'Connor's handwriting.

The Solicitor-General read the letter; it was as follows:—

"Dublin, June 30, 1865.

"Dear Sir,—Enclosed you have receipt for a quarter's subscription, with thanks. The "Glossary of Military" is not the most useful book. Colonel Lefroy's book is a much better book. Get this and the "Field Exercises," which will cost 1s. You can then get Macaulay's work, with plates, which will cost you 12s. Any bookseller will order it for you, and that would be a much easier way to get it. I asked yesterday the price of a small colt, and I was told it was 3*l.* 10*s.*; entirely too much. We are getting a cheaper kind and just as useful for 1*l.* 5*s.* You can have one by remitting the amount. They are made on an improved principle.—Yours truly,

"JAMES O'CONNOR."

Another letter, directed to "T. C. Luby, Esq., 12, St. James's-terrace, Dolphin's-barn," was as follows:—

"My dear Mr. Luby,—I am very anxious that you should be down here between eleven and twelve o'clock to-day. I have made an appointment with Mr. Flood to have a Mr. Ferguson here at twelve o'clock. You will recollect that Mr. Ferguson is one of the men whom O'Leary acted on, and from what Flood told me last night I still believe that O'Leary is right.—Yours faithfully,

"JAMES O'CONNOR."

Some other letters and the document headed "Executive," as read in the Attorney-General's statement, were proved by the witness and put in evidence.

In reply to further questions, the witness stated that he saw a man named O'Shea bringing copies of the pamphlet referring to the proceedings of the Chicago Fenian Convention to the "Irish People" office.

This was the examination in chief. The witness then underwent a rigorous cross-examination from the counsel for the prisoner, Mr. Butt, Q.C.

Counsel: I think I heard you say that Stephens was called by the name "Boss," and that it was an American phrase? It was in America I heard it.—Did you ever hear that it was applied in the Southern States to the master of slaves? All people employed call their master "Boss."—Where were you born? In Tipperary, near Clonmel.—When did you become a National teacher? In 1853.—And you continued from that time until you went to America? Yes.—Was it with the intention and object of going to America, you left the National School? Yes.—You were not dismissed? No; but I was reprimanded?—Do you swear that? I do.—Who was the Roman Catholic clergyman of this school? The Rev. John Power.—Will you now swear that you were not dismissed? The Rev. John Power told me —. Say, sir, when did you see Mr. Power last? I don't know.—When did you see him last? I don't know; I have not seen him since I left Clonmel.—Will you swear you did not see him since? I don't think I did.—Will you swear you did not see him to-day? I will.—Look round the court and see if he is here. (The witness turned round in his chair and pointed out the

Rev. Mr. Power, sitting beside Mr. John Lawless. The rev. gentleman had occupied the same seat during the greater part of the day.) He is here, but I did not see him.—On your oath, now, were you dismissed? I was not dismissed, but, in consequence of my having been fined, the Rev. Mr. Power came to me and said it was better I should resign at the end of the quarter, and I did so.—Did I understand you to say that you never took any oath of the Fenian Brotherhood? No.—But you swore others in? I did.—How many? About ten or twelve.—When was the first sworn in? About the month of February, 1862, or within three months before it.—Then it might have been some time in December, 1861? It might.—To whom did you first administer the oath? To a man named Reidy, a mason.—Where did you administer that oath? On the side of the road.—Where? On the side of the road.—Where, sir? On the side of the road leading from Ballyvaughan, two or three miles outside Clonmel.—Did you swear him to be true to the Irish Republic then virtually established? I did.—Repeat the oath you swore him. I could not repeat it.—As nearly as you can. That he was to keep all secrets that might be entrusted to him, and to take up arms when called upon.—And to be true to the Irish Republic then virtually established? I believe I did, but I am not too positive.—Do you know that no person ever said that the Irish Republic was established at that time? I don't know. (The witness, in reply to further questions, said he had been asked by a man named Burke at the house in Clonmel of a man named Ryan, but that he refused to take it, and that afterwards he told Burke that Ryan had sworn him in, in consequence of Ryan telling him that if he wished to live peaceably he would give out that he had been sworn in; Burke then gave him the form of oath verbally; no one was present when he swore Reidy in.)—Was Ryan a Fenian? I could not say he was; I did not see him take the oath.—Did you see Luby take the oath? I did not.—And yet you swore he was a Fenian? Yes, from his acts; from his connexion with the “Irish People,” and being at the meetings with Stephens.—Now, was Ryan a Fenian? From his attempt to swear me in I should say he was.

The witness was cross-examined at great length, but he went through the ordeal well, and maintained his ground firmly on every material point. He admitted that he was paid by the detectives while working for the Fenians, and being drilled, &c.

Mr. Russell Kelly, from the Crown office, was sworn and examined with reference to certain documents handed to him by several members of the detective force.

Edward Power was next examined, and deposed that he knew the prisoner for nineteen years. (Witness identified a number of documents as being in the handwriting of the prisoner.)

A boy named Francis Larkin, in the employment of the Magnetic Telegraph Company, was examined, and deposed to having found two letters near the railway station at Kingstown, one of which contained a money order from New York.

Acting-Inspector Edward Hughes, of the G division, was examined by Mr. Barry, Q.C., with reference to the entrance into and seizure of the “Irish People” office on the 15th of September, and as to the finding of books, letters, &c., and their removal.

Cross-examined by Mr. Butt.—Had you a warrant for Luby's arrest? I had.—Is it here? Yes.—Was there any one in the “Irish People” office when you went in? No.—Did you break in the door? No.—And how did you get in?

The door went in ; I pushed it without breaking it at all.—But you pushed the door open ? I did. There was light inside, and I knocked three times, and when the door was not opened I then went in.—Who had you with you ? A number of other officers.—Was there any one in the house when you went in ? No.—You looked through the house ? I did.—Through every part of it ? Yes.—Then it was not you who made the arrest ? No.—Had you any warrant for breaking open the house ? No ; only for his arrest.—Not having found him, you carried away every thing out of the house ? I did not take every thing. I took nothing but what I considered to be connected with what he was charged with.—What did you leave in the house, then ? I left the fixtures, the furniture, and every thing connected with it, except the manuscripts and all these things which I have here now.—Did you bring away all the type ? I did.—Did you bring away the printing-press ? No. I brought the type. There was no printing-press to be seen.—How did you take them away ? I took them in a float, which I brought to the door.—You took the type ? I did.—You left nothing for the printing of the paper beyond the furniture and fixtures ? I did.—What ? A large stone, eight or twelve hundredweight, which is used in levelling the type when set, and I left all the woodwork, furniture, fire-irons, and a large quantity of paper. I took away all the books belonging to the “Irish People” newspaper. I broke open no desk.—No lock ? No.—At all ? No.—Was any lock broken by your men ? No.—Did you open any desk ? I did.—And was there no desk locked ? There was.—How did you open it, then ? I did not open it that time at all.—Did you examine the desk ? I did.—And how did you open it without breaking it ? There was no necessity for breaking it, for it was not locked.—I asked were there any desks locked when you went in. There were.—What became of them ? They are there still. I left other things there also, which were taken away by Mrs. Luby afterwards, for which I have her receipt.—Do I understand that no desks that were locked were opened ? No desks were opened ; but I opened the drawers that were locked, and some of those manuscripts I took out of them. I took about half a dozen back, but not on that night. It was about a week afterwards.—Did you break open any door of a room ? No.—Did you raise any of the boards from the floors ? No, nor any body else either.—Can you give an idea of what quantity of papers you took away ? I took a large quantity. Some were letters. I think I took 500 letters, if not more. I might have taken 1000. Examined some of them before removing them, and took a large number of others without examining them at all. Some of the letters I found in a desk in the shop, more on a table in the editor’s room, and some more inside in what I believe to be a wareroom. I got more on a table in a room over that. Did you take away any manuscripts that were not letters ? I considered them all to be letters.—Did you take away any manuscripts that had been editorial articles ? I did.—How many ? A large number.—Where did you find those ? In different parts of the place.—Could you tell in what way were those papers arranged in the office ? Why, they appeared to me to be very badly arranged, for to a certain extent they were all in confusion, thrown in a loose way on a table in the editor’s room.—Did there appear to be any distinction where articles that appeared to have been printed were put ? I could not say. I was not able to say which articles had been printed, for I read the paper very little before that.—Did the manuscripts you took appear to be dirty, as if they had been in the printing-office ? A great many of them appeared to have been corrected by the editor, for they had marks upon them.—Did you ever see manuscripts that went through the printing-office ? They generally don’t come back



clean from the printers, I believe? No.—Could you give an opinion, now, whether those were printed or not that were taken away? I believe some of them were.—Was there any distinction apparently made between those papers that had been printed and those that had not? I cannot say.—Did you keep the papers by themselves that were got in each room? I did.—Can you tell me where any of the papers were found? Yes.—Where was that entitled “A Meeting of the Friends of Ireland” got? In the shop.—Where were those that appeared to have been printed? Some were in the shop and others in the editor’s room.—Were any of those now shown to you found in the editor’s room? I marked on each bundle the place where the papers in it were found.—Did you go with the float? I did.—Where to? The papers were taken into the Lower Castle-yard, to Mr. Ryan’s office. They were put into a room. The door was locked, and I put the key into my pocket. Some of them were afterwards examined in my presence on the Sunday following by Mr. Andrews. He gave them all back to me except two or three. They were afterwards produced before the magistrates at the investigation, when some more of them were retained. I afterwards, in about three weeks, gave the remainder to Mr. Kelly, of the Crown office, who assorted them, retaining some and giving me back others.

The next witness was Herman Schofield, sent over from America by the British Consul at New York. He was asked by the Counsel for the Crown: Have you lately resided in the city of New York? I have.—When did you leave it? The 1st of November last.—Did you know a man there named John O’Mahony? I did; he lived in Duane-street. I am acquainted with his handwriting. The signature to this document is his. This other document is likewise in the handwriting of John O’Mahony. I believe the direction of this envelope to be in his handwriting. The address “Captain Daly” is also in his handwriting.—The witness identified other documents as being in John O’Mahony’s handwriting.

Cross-examined by Mr. Dowse.—My name is Herman Schofield. I belong to that part of Germany which has been wrested from Poland. I came to England first in 1852. I am a refugee for not serving in the military.—You ran away from the conscription? Yes.—I was engaged in my father’s business (linen business). I remained in England till 1862. I have been during that time in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. I first came to Dublin about six years ago.—Where did you stop? I cannot tell you.—Did you stop in King’s Inn-street? You are out, I did not stop there then; I was here first for only two or three days, and don’t know where I stopped. I came to sell perfumery. I came again in twelve months after for a few days; I came again two and a half years ago, and stopped then in King’s Inn-street. I worked here as a printer, a compositor; I learned that trade in 1855; I was two or three months in the employment of Peter Roe, in Mabbott-street; I delivered a lecture on the wrongs of Ireland. That is one of the cards of admission. My name had an “l” in it; to facilitate the pronunciation I have left out the “l.”

Mr. Dowse, Q.C.: This is the card—“Insurrection in Poland; lecture in the theatre of the Mechanics’ Institute. Subject—The Rise, Progress, and Prospects, and ultimate Success of the present Insurrection in Poland, by Herman Schofield, a native of Poland.”—On that occasion had you any person dressed so as to represent the scithemen of Poland? I had; he was a Pole; I met him here.—At that time you were lecturing on the glories of insurrection? Yes; that is one of the placards. I was negotiating about delivering lectures in Belfast. The receipts in Dublin scarcely paid for the hall and other expenses.—When did you

first become acquainted with John O'Mahony? The middle of October, 1863.—Where did you meet him first? I first met him in his own office in New York.—What brought you there? I became acquainted with a man named Devine on board the steamer from Queenstown to New York, who had a letter for O'Mahony; he told me to come along with him to the office, which I did, and saw him deliver the letter in my presence.—Did you keep up an intimacy with John O'Mahony after that? No.—How often have you seen John O'Mahony in your life? Twice, to my knowledge.—How long did the interview with John O'Mahony last, the first time you saw him? I should say about fifteen minutes.—When did you see him next? On the 28th of October last, in New York.—What brought you to see him then? To see him write.—Who sent you? The British Consul, Edward Mortimer Archbold.—Where did he live? He lives in No. 14, Broadway, to the best of my knowledge.—Great Britain takes the Poles occasionally under her protection; where did he pick you up? I was acquainted with Mr. Archbold; I made his acquaintance first about six months after I arrived in New York.—What brought you to see him? I went to him about this letter of Devine.—You were hard up and wanted some money? No, sir.—Did he give you any money? Not at that time.—Did he afterwards? He did.—How much? I cannot tell.—It was so much you cannot tell? I cannot tell.—Do you mean to say you are not able to tell? I am not able to tell.—He gave you a good round sum? I cannot tell.—Was it dollars or gold? In dollars.—In gold or silver? No, in greenbacks.—He wanted you, in point of fact, to identify John O'Mahony's handwriting? He wanted me to identify the handwriting.—Did you want him to employ you? No.—What did you say to him? I did not say any thing to him; he asked me if I knew the handwriting.—When did you see the British Consul again? I think two or three months afterwards; by invitation. I left him my address.—Did he tell you to go and see O'Mahony writing? He did.—And then you went and saw John O'Mahony writing? I did.—Where did you see him? I saw him at 22, Duane-street; the interview lasted fifteen or twenty minutes; that was the second interview I had with him. I did not ask to see him write; I had a letter to him which I wrote myself.—In whose name? I don't know the name.—A false name? I cannot tell you whether it was a false name or my own name.—On your oath, in whose name was the letter? I cannot tell.—Do you mean that you don't know in whose name the letter was? I swear that I cannot tell; I forget the name; I believe it was Herman Schofield.—You forget the name in which you wrote? I forget the name in which I wrote.—How long is that ago? It is not long ago; it was on the 20th of October.—What was the letter about? Asking him to send me some bonds—Irish bonds.—You represented yourself as a purchaser of Irish bonds. Did you represent yourself as a friend of Ireland? No, I delivered the letter to John O'Mahony as if some one had sent me.—And that was for the purpose of enabling you to see John O'Mahony write? That was for the purpose of enabling me to see him write.—Did the British Consul tell you to do that? He did.—Then it was the British Consul suggested to you that you should write the letter and call on John O'Mahony? Yes.—What did he say to you? When I had the last interview with him he asked, "Are you acquainted with the handwriting of John O'Mahony?" I said, "I am." He said, "Can you swear to his handwriting?" I said I could not positively swear, though I knew it very well, because I had not seen him write, though I had seen his handwriting. He said, "Could you manage to see him write?" I said I could. He asked me what way. He suggested one way, and I suggested another way to see him

write. I went with the letter, which I wrote on purpose to wait for an answer. I delivered it to himself to see him write, so that I should be able to say that it was his writing that I had seen before.—Was it the British Consul, in point of fact, who suggested that you should write that letter? I cannot tell, because it was suggested by me and him. I saw John O'Mahony write in the office. I saw him write before, but I had not his handwriting in my hand. I saw him write this time again.—Then the British Consul sent you to this country. Do you intend to go back to America? Yes.—Did you say in the police-office you were a citizen of America? I explained what I meant by a citizen.—You are not a naturalized citizen? No; I have lived in America altogether about two years; in America I have translated four languages for a publishing office, and worked as a compositor and a reader. I knew some members of the St. Patrick's Brotherhood in this country, but I was not a member of the society.—Did you ever say in Roe's office that if you got money you would go to Russia to shoot the Emperor? On my oath I never made use of such an expression or any thing like it to any person. I never said I would do any thing for money.—Look at that letter [letter handed to witness].

Mr. Murphy: Was that the letter you saw John O'Mahony write? That is the one he wrote in my presence and gave to me.

Mr. Dowse: Do you profess any religion at all at present? I do; the Protestant religion—Were you ever a Jew? I was born of Jewish parents.—Did you ever profess the Jewish religion? Nominally.—Are you what is called a converted Jew? You may call it so.

Patrick Power, an informer, examined by Mr. Barry, Q.C.—I am from Clonmel. I was sworn in a Fenian by a man named Sweeny. The substance of the words, as far as I can recollect, were to take up arms when called upon, and to establish an Irish Republic, and to be obedient to superior officers. He said 200,000 men were expected from America. B's mean captains, and C's mean sergeants. I came to Dublin last September. I went to the "Irish People" office. I was sworn. I brought a letter with me from the man who swore me in. I gave it to Nagle.—What did you do with the letter? I gave it to Nagle, the person who was examined as the witness here. I called at the office again next day and remained in Dublin until Saturday.—Do you remember going any where on Friday evening? Yes. Nagle brought me to a house, but I do not know where.—Whom did you see there? A young man was walking up and down the floor before I saw any one; a man who was pointed out to me as the captain came in after.—Did the captain say any thing to you? He shook hands with me, and asked for a pipe and smoked it.—What kind of a man was he? A fair-haired man with beard on his chin.—Do you know what his name is? I understood it was Stephens.—What did he say to you? He brought me into another room and asked me how things were going on in Clonmel. I said they were going on slack, and that that was what brought me up. He then wrote a letter, gave it to me, and told me to read it for a number of B's in Clonmel.—Did you say any thing to him? I told him that there were some presents expected by me.—Did you say what they were? I said either rifles, pikes, or pistols.—What did he say? He said he would give an order for fifty.—Do you know what was in the letter? I do not; I never opened it.—When he said he would give you fifty did he do any thing? He gave me the order for fifty. After that I went with Nagle to Moore's house in Great Britain-street, where there were two men, one of whom was a man named Morris.—Did you get any thing there? I did; I got fifty pikes, which I took to Clonmel.—When you



saw the man pointed out to you as the captain, did you drink any thing that evening? I did, I was drunk afterwards.

Cross-examined by Mr. O'Loughlen.—I was sworn in by Sweeny in either February or March, 1865, in Burke's house, Clonmel; there was no one present at the time. Sweeny is now in prison in Dublin. I first came to Dublin on the 4th of September. There was no one with me then.

Mr. O'Loughlen.—Did you know what you were doing the evening you saw Stephens? I did not after twelve o'clock. I first knew Nagle when he was teaching school in Powerstown about three years ago.—What time did you get drunk on that Friday evening? From about nine until twelve o'clock.—Were you put to bed that night? I was not, but I was some time during the next day.—What were you doing in the mean time? Walking about the streets by myself.—Where did you meet Nagle before you went that evening to Moore's house? In the "Irish People" office; he told me to meet him there.—Where did you first lose the letter you got from Stephens? Not until I gave it to Nagle; he never took it from me, but he took another paper out of my pocket.—Did he take it without your knowledge? He did.—What became of the box when you were put to bed? It was in the house where I stopped at Essex-bridge.—Before you were arrested had you any communication with the police? I had not.—When did you first tell them of the information you could give? I was a week in Clonmel gaol at the time.—Whom did you first tell it to? To Sub-Inspector Kelly.—Did you ever tell it to any one before him? No, I did not.—Did Nagle ever speak to you about the police? He did not.—Did he ever tell you to recollect what you were doing, and not to forget it? He did not.

The Solicitor-General then read a letter, in the handwriting of John O'Mahony. It was directed to the Brethren of the C. E. I. R., and presented by P. W. Dunne, of Illinois, and C. J. Mehan, of New York, delegates from the organization to the I. R. There was the following postscript: "I enclose herein 500*l.* sterling." The bill enclosed was payable to the order of George Hopper, on Messrs. Rothschild, of London. He read another letter which was proved to be in the handwriting of John O'Mahony, although it was signed James Matthews. It was addressed to James Power. It expressed regret at the absence of "our friend O'Donovan," and concluded with—"Send him back at once in view of prompt and cordial work." Counsel then read the resolutions that were found in the "Miss Frazer" letter, and which were proved to be signed by John O'Mahony. The first was a pledge on the part of the American Fenians to procure the acknowledgment of the Irish Republic by every free Government in the world. The second set forth "that the national organization at present existing on the Irish soil is almost entirely owing to the devoted patriotism and indomitable perseverance of its Head Centre," and acknowledged that officer as the representative of the Fenian Brotherhood and head of the Irish Republic. The third entrusted these resolutions to C. J. Kickham, to be forwarded to J. Stephens, and pledged the Central Executive with their support and confidence. Counsel then read from a pamphlet which purported to be a record of the proceedings of the first native convention of the Fenian Brotherhood, held at Chicago, November, 1863. Counsel then proposed to read another letter, also in the writing of O'Mahony, dated 12th of April, 1864. It was from the officials of the organization at Chicago, and was addressed to the State Centres, calling on them to receive Mr. Daly (one of the assumed names of Stephens), with every respect and honour, because he came to them accredited by the fellow-workers of the cause, and stating that his services, his devotion to the brotherhood, and his talents,

claimed for him the foremost place among the Irish patriots. Stephens was designated in this document the C. E. of the I. R. B.

Launcelot Dawson, one of the officers of the detective force, deposed that he had observed the house No. 4, in Halston-street. He saw persons entering it, generally between seven and half-past eight in the evening; had sometimes seen forty persons enter; the house was supposed to be unoccupied. O'Mahony was among them. The parties generally remained till half-past ten or eleven. Had heard inside the sound of clapping several hands together, as if a number of men got the word, "Stand at ease." Could see them standing two deep along the floor. They used to leave the house every night in batches of two and three, and sometimes half-a-dozen. Had observed the house every night from the 14th of November to the 19th of December. He also knew the house, 16, Palmerston-place; Luby lodged there. Heard voices debating about the condition of Ireland, and the most convenient place to land troops on the Irish coast. One of the voices mentioned "Galway," and said that if he had 5000*l.* he would land 8000; these were the only words he heard distinctly. Had no doubt at the time the voice of the principal speaker was Luby's.

The Solicitor-General handed in a letter from Luby, dated the 30th of March, 1865, from London, with the following:—P.S. Direct to Thomas Clarke, Red Lion-square," &c. He also offered in evidence a letter found with Luby, from O'Keeffe, about the aristocracy.

This closed the case for the prosecution. Mr. Butt then addressed the jury in an able speech on behalf of the prisoner, but called no witnesses. Mr. Justice Keogh then summed up the evidence with great minuteness, and in a very lucid manner, prefacing his observations with the following remarks:—"I would say to you not to be over nice in your criticisms upon any such publications, so long as they do not overpass the limits of fair discussion, no matter how intemperately carried on. So long as they do not travel into the region of absolute force and violence, a British jury cannot be too indulgent. But if, transcending those limits, not alone by the violence of expression, but by the matter and substance of their suggestions, they assail the time-honoured fabric of our Constitution, aiming with parricidal hand to destroy the ties which bind in one family these British Isles—*sceleris crimen parricidii furoris*—then, not only would you be justified, but imperatively bound, in the conscientious discharge of your duty, to attach to the publication the criminal intent which the indictment charges, and so to find a true bill and send the case forward for further investigation. So, too, as to any other overt acts or deeds. They may consist of a variety of matters—conspiracies to carry out the treasonable designs; meetings for the purpose, purchases of arms, preparation of weapons, collections of money to be applied in aid of the design, administering oaths binding parties to the common object. To all these, or any of them, or the like, which may be charged in the indictment, you will apply yourselves in a firm, but, at the same time, a fair and liberal spirit, and say, if they are proved and brought home to the accused, do they or any of them indicate the intention with which the prisoners are charged? and if they do, it will be your duty to find the bill; but, if not, it will be equally your duty to ignore it."

The jury, after deliberating nearly two hours, brought in a verdict of "Guilty" on all the counts. On being asked what he had to say why sentence should not be passed upon him, the prisoner addressed the Court in a calm, collected manner, with much force and propriety of language. He emphatically denied and repudiated the allegations of assassination which had been urged against him

and his fellow-prisoners. He admitted that according to the British law he was guilty. Although it was of no practical utility now, still he believed that his words would carry conviction, and carry it much surer than any words of the Crown prosecutors, to 300,000 men of Irish race in England, Ireland, Scotland, and America. He believed that if his guilt or innocence were to be tried according to the higher standard of eternal right, and if the issue were put to the country, the majority of his countrymen would pronounce that he was not a criminal, and that he deserved well of his country.

Mr. Justice Keogh, in most impressive and feeling terms, addressed the prisoner, deploring that a person in his social position should occupy that place, and pointing out the destructive consequences of a revolution in the country. The sentence of the Court was penal servitude for twenty years.

The prisoner was then transmitted under military and police escort to Mountjoy Convict Prison.

## VI.

### THE RAMSGATE MURDERS.

#### TRIAL OF ERNEST SOUTHEY FOR THE MURDER OF HIS WIFE AND CHILD.

At Maidstone Assizes, on the 22nd of December, Stephen Forwood (alias Ernest Southey), baker, 35, was indicted for the murder of his wife and child at Ramsgate on the 10th of August. The prisoner seemed quite calm and collected. On the indictments being read, giving his name as Forwood, he said he had, eight years ago, taken the name of Ernest Southey, and two members of Parliament told him that it was quite legal to do so. The indictment was amended accordingly.

The prisoner then said: Before I plead I wish to make a statement.

Mr. Justice Mellor: I can hear no statement until you plead to the indictment.

After a pause, the prisoner pleaded Not Guilty, and then said he wished to show that Mrs. Forwood's death was owing to another cause than that stated in the indictment. She was dead before the wounds were inflicted upon her.

Mr. Justice Mellor: After counsel has opened the case, your defence can be made.

The prisoner: It is impossible that justice can be done if the case proceeds at the present assizes.

The learned judge ordered the indictment to be read, charging him with the murder of Jemima Forwood, the daughter.

This having been done, the prisoner proceeded to talk in the most extravagant manner, and on being again asked to plead he entered into irrelevant observations.

His lordship ordered a plea of Not Guilty to be recorded.

The prisoner said, "I protest against these proceedings;" and he placed his papers on the floor of the dock. On being given in charge to the jury, he objected to the jurors, and demanded a special jury.

His lordship: You cannot have a special jury.



Mr. Poland, for the Crown, then stated the case.

William George Tapanden, porter at the Camden Arms, Ramsgate, deposed to the prisoner having, on the 9th of August, inquired for Mrs. Forwood, and he went to the dyer's in King-street, and Mrs. Forwood gave him a paper, which he gave to the prisoner, who wore a beard and moustache, and he went away.

Wm. Ellis, of King-street, Ramsgate, dyer, at whose house Mrs. Forwood and her daughter resided, deposed to the prisoner having called there on the evening of August 9. The prisoner's wife asked him why he had left her, and said she would have perished but for her kind friends. He said he had saved up 1172*l.*, but had been done out of it all. The witness proceeded to describe the particulars of the murder, as to which it appeared that the prisoner had come down from London, where he bore the name of Southey, and went about without beard, moustache, or spectacles, disguised with false beard and moustache, and a pair of green spectacles, and provided with a pistol revolver, with five chambers, all of which were loaded with ball; and that after shooting both his wife and child (firing all five barrels), he was taking off his disguise, when, before he had time either to reload his weapon or to depart, he was seized by one of the bystanders until the police arrived. The revolver with which the murder had been committed, also the false beard, moustache, and the spectacles worn by the prisoner, were produced.

Mr. Smith, the prisoner's counsel, proceeding to cross-examine the witness, the prisoner said he would ask a question.

His lordship: You had better communicate with your counsel.

The prisoner said he could not conscientiously allow any one to plead for him.

His lordship: Am I to understand that you decline the assistance of counsel?

The prisoner: In consequence of the trial being forced on, I cannot defend myself, nor be defended by any one else. I am unable to authorize any one to act for me.

His lordship: But you seem to have authorized counsel by your attorney.

The prisoner: No, my lord.

Mr. Smith: I should state, my lord, that the attorney who instructs me has been in daily communication with the prisoner. Several doctors have also been with him, and they are opinion that he is not in a state either to give or withdraw an authority.

His lordship: If you had suggested that before, I would have had the jury empanelled to try the question of sanity. If you wish, however, I will direct the jury to be sworn now to try that question.

Mr. Poland objected to this course, as unusual and inconvenient.

After some consultation with counsel respecting the sanity of the prisoner, the learned Judge said, that under the 39th and 40th George III., c. 94, the proper course would be to have the case proved, and then take the opinion of the jury as to the sanity.

Robert Hicks, of Ramsgate, surgeon, deposed to having examined the bodies of the deceased wife and child. The deaths were caused by gunshot wounds from a revolver.

Wm. Drayson, policeman, deposed that he was called into the house of the witness Ellis, and he found the child lying dead in a back room. He then went upstairs, and found the wife lying on the floor dead, amidst a pool of blood. The prisoner was sitting in the room. A pistol, quite warm, was handed to witness. The prisoner, when descending the stairs, touched the body of his child, and burst into tears. He had shown no emotion in the room above, but pointed to

his wife's body, and said something which witness could not hear. He spoke in a low tone.

Lewis Arthur Hill, governor of Sandwich Gaol, was questioned as to the prisoner's sanity, and he said that he saw nothing to lead him to think that the prisoner was of unsound mind.

Charles Emerson, surgeon to Sandwich Gaol for the last twenty years, said he had treated many cases of insanity in his general practice. He had occasionally seen and spoken to the prisoner in the gaol, and he had seen nothing to lead him to think that the prisoner was not sane.

Cross-examined.—Witness had not spoken frequently to the prisoner, but only occasionally. (During the cross-examination of this witness the prisoner became apparently convulsed, and showed symptoms of hysteria. He writhed as if in pain, and said, "I feel just as if a galvanic battery were playing over my body." After a short time the violent symptoms subsided into sobs and weeping.)

Cross-examination continued.—The witness said that as he found the prisoner's bodily health to be good, his visits to the prisoner were fewer than to other prisoners.

By the Judge.—When I saw him in the prison I never witnessed any of those violent convulsions such as he exhibited in the dock yesterday and to-day.

Mr. Hill, governor of the gaol, recalled, said: During the time the prisoner has been in gaol he had signs of hysteria or convulsions, such as he had yesterday and to-day. He once had them in consequence of the visiting magistrates refusing him a light at night. He also had them one time that he expected to hear from his attorney and was disappointed. These symptoms continued from two to five minutes. He appeared to be depressed at the time of these fits and afterwards.

Chas. Wm. Bannister, governor of Maidstone Gaol, said: The prisoner has been in my charge some days. I have observed his manner and demeanour. He has expressed himself in an intelligent manner. I observed no trace of want of memory. He has behaved himself in a perfectly coherent and rational manner. Up to the time of his going into the dock yesterday, when he left my custody, he seemed to perfectly appreciate and understand every thing that was passing.

Cross-examined.—On Sunday last he objected to going to chapel, alleging that he had not settled on any faith. When he was taken to chapel he rose and protested against being brought there, but kept quiet during the service. He has often commenced to state some theories about his case, but I stopped him, saying "I do not want to hear any thing about your case."

Mr. Joy, assistant-surgeon at Maidstone Gaol, said the prisoner seemed to be perfectly well able to understand the proceedings in court. His fit of hysteria on the preceding day was from over-excitement. Witness was led from his conversation to think that the prisoner wished to produce an impression on witness that he was not of sound mind.

Here a document on behalf of the prisoner—the reading of which had previously been objected to—was read. It was a printed paper found under the body of Mrs. Forwood, being a narrative of the prisoner's career, and of his winning 1100*l.* from the Hon. Dudley Ward, who, he alleged, had repudiated the debt.

The case for the prosecution having closed, Mr. Smith addressed the jury for the defence, and then called

James Dulney, of New Brompton and Chatham, physician, who said he had,

at the request of the prisoner's attorney, visited the prisoner, and conversed with him for three-quarters of an hour, and he formed the opinion that his mind was completely unhinged. There was a wildness about his eye, and his pulse was very quick, which denoted great constitutional irritability. Assuming what had been stated about the demeanour before and after the murder at Ramsgate to be true, it indicated symptoms of insanity.

Frederick Fry, examined, said: I am a surgeon practising in this town for thirty-six years. I have been connected with the Union. I have been twenty-seven years senior surgeon in the West Kent Hospital. I conversed with the prisoner about half an hour yesterday, from nine to half-past. The conclusion I came to from that interview was that he is of unsound mind, and not responsible for his acts. I formed that opinion from his appearance and from his discourse, and from an extraordinary delusion he seemed to have. He said in reference to the murders, that the occasion required them.

Cross-examined.—It is very difficult to distinguish between real and pretended insanity. I only saw him once.

Henry Grant Sutton, of Sittingbourne, surgeon and general practitioner, said: I saw the prisoner yesterday, and noticed his demeanour. I concluded that he was subject to a delusion, and that at the time of the committal of the crimes imputed to him he was not in a sound state of mind. The witness went on to give opinions almost identical with those of the other medical witnesses for the defence.

This closed the case for the defence, and Mr. Smith having addressed the jury for the prisoner, Mr. Poland replied on behalf of the Crown. His lordship then summed up, and the jury, after a few minutes' consultation, returned a verdict that the prisoner was of sound mind, and that he was guilty of murder.

The prisoner, on being asked what he had to say why sentence should not be passed, said: My Lord: I am asked if I have any thing to say. I would like to know what are my privileges.

His lordship: You may state any point of law in arrest of judgment, but you must not say any thing to question the verdict of the jury.

The prisoner said he had written upon two slates the heads of his defence, and they would be necessary for his statement.

His lordship: Are these heads points of law?

The prisoner said he could not say whether they were or not till he saw the slates.

After some further discussion with his lordship the prisoner became silent, and his lordship, after some observation on the nature of the crimes, passed sentence of death.

The prisoner, who listened attentively to the remarks of the Judge, but did not exhibit the slightest concern, was then removed. He was executed in due course at Maidstone.



# APPENDIX.

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## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND STATE PAPERS.

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### I.

#### THE CATTLE PLAGUE.

*The first Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the origin and nature, &c., of the Cattle Plague, dated October 31, 1865:—*

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

YOUR Majesty was pleased, by your Commission dated the 29th day of September, 1865, to entrust to us the task of investigating the origin and nature of a disorder which now prevails among the cattle of Great Britain, and is generally designated the Cattle Plague, and of ascertaining as far as possible the mode of treatment best adapted for the cure of the affected animals, and the regulations which may, with the greatest advantage, be made with a view to prevent the spreading of the said disorder, and to avert any future outbreak of it. Your Majesty was at the same time pleased to ordain that we, or any five or more of us, might have liberty to report to you our proceedings under the Commission from time to time, should we judge it expedient to do so.

The terms of the Commission therefore authorize us, if we think fit, to report specially to your Majesty on any part of the subject committed to us, reserving other parts of it for further investigation. The nature of the calamity under which England and Scotland are at present suffering, and which may at any moment attack Ireland, the extensive growth of the disease, its destructive character, and the imperfect success which has hitherto attended all endeavours to arrest its progress, make it clearly our duty to take this course, and to lose no time in humbly presenting to your Majesty such recommendations as, after careful consideration, we believe the emergency to require. We

shall introduce them with a brief statement on the history of the disease and on its general character.

I. The disease which is the subject of this inquiry was first observed and recognized in Great Britain towards the close of the month of June. Two English cows had been purchased on the 19th of June, in the Metropolitan Cattle Market, by a cowkeeper residing in Islington, in whose sheds they were when the symptoms of disease attracted, on the 27th, the notice of the veterinary surgeon in charge. Similar symptoms were observed on the 28th by the same surgeon in a cow belonging to a dairyman in Hackney, which had been purchased in the same place and on the same day. Two Dutch cows in a Lambeth shed, likewise bought in the market on the 19th, were attacked on the 24th. The malady broke out immediately afterwards in many London dairies, and spread with extreme rapidity, destroying great numbers of animals. The Islington cowkeeper lost her whole herd of 93; she afterwards bought more, and lost them also, making 106 or 107 in all. An inspector who had charge of a great part of the north and north-east of London states that in his own district more than four-fifths have either died or been slaughtered, and the general average within the precincts of the metropolis is probably at least as high. Very early in July it appeared in Norfolk; a little later in Suffolk and Shropshire; then in one county after

another, and before the end of the month it had invaded Scotland. In all the earlier cases, at least, it seems to have been directly traceable to purchases made in the Metropolitan Market; but Norwich-hill and other country markets speedily became, in their respective districts, subordinate centres of infection. On the 14th of October it had extended into twenty-nine counties in England, two

in Wales, and sixteen in Scotland, and was still advancing.

The subjoined tabular statement, prepared by the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council Office from such official information as that department has received from inspectors throughout the country, has already appeared in the public papers:—

Census Divisions.	Attacked.			Total Cases reported from the Commencement of the Disease.				
	Week ending October 14.	Week ending October 21.	Week ending October 28.	Attacked.	Killed.	Died.	Recovered.	Remaining.
1. Metropolitan Police District . . .	158	194	158	5773	2557	2529	202	485
2. South-eastern Co. . .	225	154	205	3284	1169	1667	197	251
3. South Midland Co..	73	94	230	833	373	282	42	136
4. Eastern Counties .	141	183	335	3081	1051	1482	161	387
5. South-western Co..	17	11	3	116	51	45	7	13
6. West Midland Co..	31	9	31	214	74	112	4	24
7. North Midland Co..	8	32	18	109	54	41	6	8
8. North-western Co..	28	39	42	176	55	75	6	40
9. Yorkshire . . .	26	39	113	253	66	126	11	50
10. Northern Counties.	47	86	34	472	212	201	24	35
11. Monmouthshire and Wales . . .	43	60	38	180	51	110	4	14
12. Scotland . . .	257	828	666	3182	1153	1241	184	604
Total . . .	1054	1729	1873	17,673	6866	7912	848	2047

It must be remarked, however, that such statements as this cannot be accepted as accurate accounts—which, indeed, they do not profess to be—of the real state and progress of the disease. They represent such cases only as the several inspectors have been able to detect since they were respectively appointed. But information reaches the inspector indirectly, by accident, or by common report; and a butcher, jobber, dairyman, or farmer has strong motives for not disclosing to the inspector any thing that he can easily hide. We were told by a London cowkeeper that, of forty-one cows which died or were slaughtered on his premises, the inspector got only the knacker's receipt for the eleven that actually died of the disease. It must therefore, we fear, be assumed that the cases reported form but a small proportion of those which have actually occurred; and it would be unsafe to draw from them any inference as to the amount of loss actually incurred by the plague.

Meanwhile, from the same general centre, the Metropolitan Market, it appears to have crossed the sea to Holland with some Dutch oxen which had been shipped from Rotterdam to London, had been exposed during three successive market days, and, not finding a sale at an adequate profit, had been re-shipped from London to Rotterdam. The disease broke out among them soon after their return, when they were pasturing at Kethel, near Schiedam, in a long strip of meadow on which other strips abutted, each occupied by stock. It spread at once in many directions, and soon overran the whole province of South Holland, and thence, we believe, it has been from time to time re-imported into this country. The measures adopted in the Netherlands seem to have been at the outset less stringent than was desirable; too much discretion was left to the local authorities; but the provinces of North Holland, Utrecht, and Guelderland have, by strictly

guarding their respective frontiers, protected themselves in a great measure from the contagion.

In both France and Belgium importation from England has been prohibited, and stringent and minute regulations have been issued by the Government of each country with a view to extinguish the disease wherever it might break out. These measures appear to have been successful. Only a few isolated and somewhat doubtful cases have been hitherto reported from each of these countries.

Twenty-three days at least before the first outbreak in London, a parcel of Russian bullocks, the first, it is asserted, that were ever brought direct from that country to England, were sold in the Metropolitan Market by the importer, a London cattle salesman. They had been shipped at Revel and landed at Hull; part of them had there been sold, and sent to various places in the north of England, and the rest despatched to London. The southern provinces of Russia are, if not the birth-place, the constant home of a disease which, as we shall hereafter show, is identical with the Cattle Plague, and to this cargo the introduction of the plague into England has been often and confidently ascribed. Some obscurity hangs over the earlier history of the transaction. That the province of Esthonia, where the cattle were contracted for, and where the bulk of them, at least, were collected, was at and before the date of the shipment free from the plague, is certified by authority which we should be reluctant, and have indeed no ground, to question. But it is alleged by the importer's agent, who procured and shipped the animals and had charge of them on the voyage, that a few (13 out of 321) were not Esthonian, but part of a larger lot brought in vans from the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg to make up the number required; and he further alleges that out of this lot two were ill at Revel with a disease which he believes to have been the Cattle Plague. This part of his story is flatly contradicted by his principal, as his assertion that the animals were not examined on landing is by the Customs Inspector at Hull<sup>1</sup>. It must be added that he does not know the disease otherwise than by description—

<sup>1</sup> It is proper to add that we have been furnished with the original certificate, dated the 29th of May, and signed by the two veterinary surgeons who were charged with the examination of the cargo, that they had examined it, and that it was sound and free from disease, as well as with a subsequent declaration by them to the same effect.

that of the 321 imported none appear to have shown any signs of the disease, except one, which was ill on the voyage, but looked well when it reached London—and that no animal is proved to have contracted the disease in the Metropolitan Market from the 1st (the date of its supposed introduction) to the 19th (that of its supposed transmission to the Islington, Lambeth, and Hackney cows), a negative circumstance of no great weight, since an early case of the malady may easily have been mistaken for one of pleuro-pneumonia, but not to be left out of consideration. The facts then, though by no means inconsistent with the theory which attributes the appearance of the plague in England to the Revel cargo, fall far short of establishing that theory, unless we assume that the event cannot possibly be accounted for in any other way. Further inquiry may throw new light on the question. At present we are not able to pronounce a decided opinion on it; nor, for the practical conclusions which we are about to offer, is it material on which side the truth lies.

Another explanation has been suggested in the following extract of a letter from Her Majesty's Consul-General at Hamburg:—

“Mr. Schrader, an intelligent veterinary surgeon, who is specially employed by the Hamburg Government to examine cattle and sheep shipped for foreign ports, has informed me he thinks it most probable that the murrain has been introduced into England by importation from Holland. He states that in the course of the last spring a considerable number of Hungarian cattle were conveyed from Vienna into Holland through Germany by land carriage and river navigation; that at the same time the rinderpest had broken out in the neighbourhood of Vienna, particularly in the village of Florisdorf; and that in the month of May a number of cattle at or near Utrecht, in Holland, had been attacked by it. Although, therefore, the murrain in Holland broke out with much greater violence at a later period of year, it would be quite possible that it passed from the Dutch ports into England so early as the month of May last. With respect to the rumour of diseased cattle having been imported into England from the Russian port of Revel in Esthonia, either directly or by way of Lubeck, no credit is attached to it here; and indeed the great distance of Revel both from Great Britain and from the cattle districts in Southern Russia, seems to render it unlikely that diseased cattle should have reached England from that port without any observation.”



One fact mentioned in this letter, and which has also been elicited in evidence, deserves particular attention, since it is of more than historical importance. Hungarian and Galician cattle now undoubtedly come in considerable numbers to the English market. "Large quantities," says one dealer, "are sent every week." Hungary and Galicia, from their neighbourhood to the steppe country of Russia in Europe, are often attacked by the plague, and Hungary at least has suffered severely from it during the present year. The completion of the two great lines of railway which, traversing central and Southern Germany, now connect Hamburg and Rotterdam with both Vienna and Lemberg, have opened to us these new supplies. Respecting the average duration of the transit we have no precise information, nor do we at present know how far it may be abridged in particular cases, nor by what regulations it is guarded at the beginning or end of the journey. We may have occasion to recur to this point hereafter; at present we advert to it only as suggesting a possible solution of the question how the Cattle Plague reached England.

II. That the disease in question is contagious, that the contagion is extraordinarily swift and subtle, and that it is most destructive in its effects, there can be no doubt whatever. The manner in which it has spread, travelling perceptibly, for the most part, in the track of animals brought from some centre of infection, and establishing a new centre wherever it has been suffered to effect a lodgment—the very difficulty that has been often found, even where the fact of infection was certain, in tracing the exact means by which the infection was conveyed—the havoc it has made in open pastures not less than in the London cowsheds, and against which fresh air, wholesome food, and careful tending seem to have afforded no defence, would be quite enough to establish these conclusions, even if no light were thrown upon them by past history, or by the experience of other countries. Of the witnesses, indeed, whom we have examined, even those who believe it to have been spontaneously generated here, acknowledge that it is contagious, and (with hardly an exception) admit that it is new in England.

But we see no reason to question the evidence which has been produced before us proving that it is the same disease as that which has been long known under the name of the *Rinderpest* (Cattle Plague), or *Steppe-murrain*. The symptoms during life, the results of post-mortem examination, and the whole train

of general characteristics, are precisely the same, or varied only by such minute shades of differences as we might expect to find in different breeds and climates. A comparison of what we see with the full descriptions contained in foreign medical works, leaves on this head no doubt at all; and no doubt is entertained by competent and trustworthy witnesses who have had and used opportunities of personal observation both here and abroad. The whole experience gained of it in countries where it is not, as here, a stranger—countries frequently infested by it, where its effects are perfectly well known, its nature has been carefully studied, and the strictest measures have been devised and are enforced by law to detect and extirpate it as often as it crosses the frontier—becomes, therefore, at once available for our guidance. These measures are wholly based on the view that the disease propagates itself by contagion, and by contagion alone, and the extreme stringency of them proves in the most forcible manner the virulence and activity of the evil which they are designed to keep at bay. They are measures indeed which never could be enforced—they involve sacrifices to which no people could be reasonably asked to submit—unless in the presence of a dreaded enemy, and under a sense of overwhelming necessity. The same view is, we believe, universally held among the eminent veterinarians of Germany, men of high education and intelligence, and it has recently been endorsed by the Congress of veterinary surgeons held at Vienna in August last, which was attended by members of the profession from almost every country in Europe.

This is not, however, the first time that this plague has visited England. Fatal murrains among cattle, analogous to, if not identical with it, have at various times appeared here. In 1348—9, after the Black Death had produced great mortality among men, a grievous plague attacked cattle, which perished by thousands. A great rise in the price of food followed, notwithstanding an abundant harvest. The diseased cattle were slaughtered, and infected herds were as much as possible separated from those which were sound, while the herdsmen who attended the former were not allowed to come in contact with the latter. About a century later, in 1480, a second murrain of the same kind committed great devastation. There is no accurate account of the symptoms exhibited by cattle attacked during these murrains, and we are therefore unable to ascertain whether they were different from or identical with the

present disease; but there is every reason to believe that the distemper which in 1715 made a brief inroad but was promptly expelled, and which in 1745 renewed the attack and held its ground till 1757, was exactly the same as the present plague. Of this we have proof in the descriptions extant of the symptoms then observed, and of the morbid appearances after death. In a paper communicated to the Royal Society in January, 1746, by Dr. Mortimer, he ascribes the origin of the murrain to two calves imported from Holland by a farmer living near Poplar, early in 1745. The spring and summer had been very wet, the autumn dry and cold, the early winter cold and damp. The disease communicated to the cows of this farmer spread through Essex, reached London, and was propagated in various directions from the metropolitan markets. It entered Berkshire, however, by two cows bought at a fair in Essex. Almost simultaneously with its appearance in London, a violent distemper broke out among the horned cattle of Argyleshire, sweeping off 6000 beasts; but there is no exact information as to the nature of the Scotch murrain. The disease for some time advanced in a manner which appeared to justify the Government in treating its attacks as mere local outbreaks, and it was nearly a year after its first appearance that the country became sufficiently aroused to use national measures for the repression of it. But by this time it had taken too deep root for these to be effective. A Commission for Middlesex was appointed on the 25th November, 1745. The Commission, with the short experience of 1715 to guide them, appointed various cowkeepers and butchers as inspectors of cattle, and instructed them:—

1. To inspect cowhouses and to separate sick from sound cows.

2. To see that all cowhouses and yards were kept thoroughly clean.

3. To kill all sick cows and calves, to slash their hides so as to render them useless, with several cuts from head to tail and round the body, and then to bury them in graves ten feet deep, with two bushels of unslacked lime to each cow.

4. To certify to the destruction of cows, for each of which the Treasury gave 40s.

5. To see that proper returns were made by cowkeepers as to their losses.

The disease having spread beyond Middlesex, an Act was passed and received the Royal Assent on the 13th February, 1746, empowering the Crown to issue, through the Privy Council, rules and directions in order to prevent the distemper spreading amongst horned cattle.

On the 12th March, 1746, an Order in Council was passed in which the incurable nature of the malady is set forth and the following regulations appear:—

1. Cowkeepers must shoot infected beasts, and bury them entire with slashed hides, four feet deep covered with lime. (The direction as to the use of lime was subsequently revoked.)

2. All hay and litter used by diseased animals must be burned. No herdsman who has attended a diseased beast is to go near a sound one without changing his clothes.

3. Infected sheds must be thoroughly washed all over, then disinfected with burning sulphur, &c., again repeatedly washed with vinegar and water, and not used for two months.

4. Convalescent animals are not to be mixed with sound ones for one month, and not then till they have been well curried and cleansed with vinegar and water.

5. Flesh and entrails of diseased cattle are not to be given as food to other animals.

6. No man whose herd is infected is to be allowed to drive any cattle, whether diseased or not, beyond the boundary of his farm. And even when disease has disappeared, his herd is to be held infected for a month.

7. Local authorities, such as churchwardens, overseers, constables, or cattle-inspectors who may be appointed, are charged to see to the execution of this Order. They are to report to each meeting of justices and make exact returns.

8. These local authorities are to persuade owners to divide up their herds into separate parts; they are not only to see to the burying of diseased cattle, but also the burial of all infected dung.

9. Cattle travelling on roads are to be stopped and examined.

10. Houses, buildings, or yards used for cattle, sound or diseased, are to be carefully kept clean.

11. Compensation for slaughtered cattle is to be paid at the rate of 40s. per head; for calves 10s.

Towards the end of the year the Government found that the local authorities had not assisted them vigorously in the execution of the first Order, and they issued a second to the effect that from the 27th December, for three calendar months, no person shall send to fairs or markets any cattle except for immediate slaughter, or "buy, sell, or expose for sale" any cattle except those which are ready for immediate slaughter. Nor is this privilege of selling fat cattle permitted to any one whose herd is infected. Therefore all

beasts going to fairs or markets must be provided with passes from a Justice, or, failing him, from other competent local authorities, given on the owner's oath that his cattle are and have been for a month free from the plague.

No raw hides shall be sold or allowed to be transported without like passes, but hides and horns of diseased beasts must absolutely be destroyed, and a compensation of 10s. per hide is given.

A third Order in Council was issued, proscribing the district from the Humber and Trent, and not allowing cattle to be driven out of it northwards from the 19th December, 1747, to the following 27th March.

On the 13th February, 1747, an Act to amend and extend the powers of the previous Act was passed; and this was followed, up to 1757, by various continuing and enlarging Statutes. In addition to the measures before specified, these Statutes also provided that sales of cattle should only take place when the seller had had them in his possession for forty days; calves were not allowed to be sold, in order that they might be preserved for breeding purposes, and severe restrictions were put on the sale of the hides of diseased animals.

Various Orders were issued during the year 1747, stopping local fairs, and empowering local authorities to do so when they found it expedient.

The plague, in consequence of these Orders, was extinguished where the local authorities acted with vigour, but lingered in other places, from whence it spread after a time as rapidly as ever. In consequence of this, in September, 1747, there is a new suspension of all fairs and markets and of all movements of cattle, except for slaughter, throughout the kingdom for three months. This was modified afterwards, sound lean cattle being allowed to be changed to clean pastures, and cows being allowed to go to bull when both were sound.

The same result followed this new Order as its predecessors. The disease was extinguished in many counties, but lurked in others where the local authorities had been lax in looking after the execution of the Order. Hence in December, 1749, the Council admits its failure in putting down the disease, and now again prohibits all movement of cattle except for slaughter, and the place of slaughter must be within two miles of the spot where the cattle are on the 14th December, 1750.

The requirement that cattle should be slaughtered only within two miles of their stalls was found very grievous by London and Westminster, and the outcry raised

against it by these influential places produced a revocation of it within a month of its issue.

"Unfortunately," says Mr. Youatt, in his well-known work, "the restrictions with regard to the sale or removal of cattle, and communication between different districts were so frequently evaded, that it was either impossible or impolitic to exact the penalties." (Youatt, *Cattle, their Breeds and Diseases*, p. 391.) The system of compensation was carried on for some years, until the Government found it produced serious frauds. Every animal that was ailing, or had diseases of any kind, was killed and charged to the Government as having died by the plague, and in consequence of these frauds compensation was abandoned. One cause of the ill success of the repressive measures adopted, is thus described in the words of Layard, who, writing even in 1757, says: "The disease, thank God, is considerably abated: and only breaks out now and then in such places where for want of proper cleansing after the infection, or carelessness in burying the carcasses, the putrid fumes is still preserved, and is ready, at a proper constitution of the air, or upon being uncovered, to disperse such a quantity of effluvia, that all the cattle which have not had it will be liable to infection." (Layard, *The Distemper among Horned Cattle*, p. xx.)

For some time after the revocation of the Order of 1749, each county proscribed neighbouring infected counties, and refused to receive their cattle. The roads from one county to another were strictly guarded, and cattle, hides, carcasses, and tallow from any infected counties were carefully excluded. These measures, however, had but a very partial effect. Cheshire lost in the first half of 1757, and three months of the preceding year, about 30,000 head of cattle, and many other counties in proportion. For the next two or three years this local war against the disease was allowed to be waged, the Government occasionally interfering when the magistrates permitted fairs in places likely to be injurious to neighbouring counties. It continued up to 1756 with considerable variations, the plague being intense in some counties, milder in others, and absent from many, until it wore itself out. There is no accurate record within our knowledge of the mortality produced by it. In the third year of the attack 80,000 head were slaughtered under the Orders in Council, and a far larger number perished by the disease. During its course it must have destroyed several hundred thousand cattle.

There was some dispute as to the means



by which England received its infection in 1715 and 1745, but it is certain that the plague was raging in different parts of western Europe at that time. Wherever, during war, Russian and Austrian parks of cattle followed the movements of armies, the Cattle Plague appeared, and spread gradually to the adjacent countries. France in this way received it at least half a dozen times in the last century<sup>2</sup>. From 1711 to 1714 foreign authors state that western Europe lost 1,500,000 head of cattle by the plague; while from 1745 to 1748 (a period which includes three years of the great English attack) 3,000,000 are believed to have perished in western and central Europe. These figures are probably not exaggerated, considering the great losses sustained by particular States. Thus the Danish monarchy, in the four years from 1745 to 1749, lost 280,000 head, and Holland, in the three years beginning with 1769, lost 395,000 head. These disasters attracted the attention of Governments and scientific men; and the long peace which began in 1816 permitted the adoption of those careful and systematic measures of precaution which, in the countries bordering on Russia, have been maintained ever since with various modifications, and on the whole with considerable success. It was ascertained that Europe usually received the infection through Russian steppe cattle sent into Poland and Hungary. These cattle feed in vast numbers on the luxuriant herbage of the steppes in the Russian provinces watered by the lower part of the Dnieper and its tributaries. Large herds of them are annually driven to different parts of Russia, to Poland, Galicia, and Hungary, and often carry the seeds of disease in their train. In 1862 the number attacked by the plague in the Austrian dominions was 296,000, of which 152,000 died. In 1863 it again invaded and overran not only Galicia but the whole of the kingdom of Hungary and its dependencies, the Bukowina, Dalmatia, Carniola, Lower Austria, Moravia, and Styria. Fourteen per cent. of the cattle in these countries took the infection, and the average mortality, as stated in Schmidt's *Jahrbuch der Gesammten Medicin*, 1865 (p. 95), was as follows:—

Hungary . . . . .	65 per cent.
East Galicia . . . . .	77 "
Croatia and Slavonia . . . . .	81·6 "
Military Frontier . . . . .	83 "
Moravia . . . . .	88 "
Lower Austria . . . . .	92 "
West Galicia . . . . .	94 "
Bukowina and Styria . . . . .	100 "

It should be added, that the number attacked in the last two provinces was small.

III. Our present experience then, our past experience, and the experience of foreign countries, coincide so far as they respectively go; they identify the English Cattle Plague of 1865, the murrain of 1745, and the *Rinderpest* of eastern Europe, as the same disease, and they yield some clear and well ascertained results, which may be briefly stated as follows:

The Cattle Plague is, in the language of medicine, a specific disease, belonging to the class of contagious fevers. The contagious matter is subtle, volatile, prolific, in an unexampled degree. It is conveyed in a most virulent form in the excretions from the diseased animal. Any particle of those excretions may serve as a vehicle for it. We know not the limit of time within which it disengages itself from them, nor to what distance it may not be diffused. It may travel, we know, in the hide, horns, hoofs, and intestines of the dead animal; the offal, therefore, is highly dangerous. It lurks undeveloped in the system for a period about which some difference of opinion exists, which certainly is not less than five days, usually is seven or eight, but appears to be more prolonged in some cases. Towards the end of this period of incubation, but at what precise point we do not know, it becomes capable of diffusing itself by contagion. A diseased animal may therefore be infectious before it shows any signs of disease, or at all events before the malady betrays itself to any but a very close and very skilful observer. The proportion of cases in which it is fatal is extraordinarily large. No specific has been discovered which neutralizes or expels the poison: judicious treatment may enable nature to resist till the virus has spent itself; injudicious treatment may have a contrary effect; but that is all. The practical conclusion, therefore, at which foreign physicians and foreign Governments have arrived—the conclusion that it is better always to kill a diseased animal, or a few diseased animals, where by so doing you can kill an isolated germ of disease, instead of suffering that germ to linger and fructify whilst you are attempting a cure, for the precarious

<sup>2</sup> Much interesting information on this part of the subject is contained in a memoir by M. Renault, President of the Veterinary School of Alfort, transmitted to the French Minister of Agriculture, and published in several French and English newspapers.

prospect of an insignificant saving—is justified by reason; it is also directly justified by experience, which shows that, whilst the plague propagated from a single germ speedily becomes unmanageable, spreads from herd to herd, from province to province, and from country to country, multiplies in a continually increasing ratio, and exhausts itself only after ruinous havoc and a long course of time, it may be effectually eradicated by prompt and unsparing measures. The experience of Prussia is especially valuable in this respect. The plague has often appeared, says Professor Gerlach, in the provinces bordering on the Russian Empire, in East Prussia, Posen, and Silesia, but it has never, since 1815, penetrated eastwards, even so far as Brandenburg. Lastly, we must add, it has not been found to give way before cold weather or rain. The reverse seems to be the case. It is worse, Professor Gerlach informs us, “in cold and wet weather, and better in warm and dry weather.” “It spreads,” says Mr. Ernes, “as fast in a cold as in a hot season.” The murrain of 1745 broke out here in early spring, the temperature of the preceding year having been low; and it is stated to have raged most violently during the winters, and to have diminished in intensity with the advance of summer.

These conclusions, which are all that for our present purpose it is necessary to state, are far, of course, from exhausting all that is known upon the subject. Beyond what is known, however, there is a large field of inquiry which may be usefully explored. To observe carefully the premonitory and progressive symptoms of the disease under various conditions,—to determine precisely the period of incubation, the effect of remedial and of preventive agencies, (including under the latter head disinfectants, therapeutical measures, and inoculation,)—to ascertain within what range, and under what modifications, the poison may be communicated from a diseased cow to other animals of the same or different species,—these are branches of investigation practically important, but which will take time. With a view to the thorough examination of them, we have obtained the assistance of men eminent in various departments of science, and we hope to be able to report on them hereafter. But we have now to deal with more pressing questions. Are the measures hitherto adopted to stifle the plague at home, and stop its entrance from abroad, effectual for the purpose? If not, what other measures are likely to be effectual? To these questions, having early satisfied ourselves of the general

character of the disease, we at once directed our attention; and the evidence which we have received has been chiefly taken with a view to them.

IV. The preventive measures hitherto adopted by Your Majesty's Government may be briefly stated.

By an Act of Parliament, passed in 1848, and continued by several subsequent Acts to the present time, the Lords and others of Your Majesty's Privy Council, or any two or more of them, are authorized to make from time to time such Orders and Regulations as to them may seem necessary for the purpose of prohibiting or regulating the removal to or from such parts or places as they may designate in such Orders, of sheep, cattle, horses, swine, or other animals, or of meat, skins, hides, horns, hoofs, or other part of any animals, or of hay, straw, fodder, or other articles likely to propagate infection; and also for the purpose of purifying any yard, stable, outhouse, or other place, or any waggons, carts, carriages, or other vehicles; and also for the purpose of directing how any animals dying in a diseased state, or any animals, parts of animals, or other things seized under the provisions of the Act are to be disposed of; and also for the purpose of causing notices to be given of the appearance of any disorder among sheep, cattle, or other animals, and to make any other Orders or Regulations for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of the said Act, and again to revoke, alter, or vary any such Orders or Regulations; and it is enacted that all provisions for any of the purposes aforesaid in any such Orders contained shall have the like force and effect as if the same had been inserted in the Act; and that all persons offending against the Act shall for each and every offence forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding twenty pounds, or such smaller sum as the Council may in any case by such Order direct.

Under the powers conferred by this Act, several Orders in Council have been issued, dated respectively the 24th July (fourteen days after the first notice of the outbreak was given by Professor Simonds to the Privy Council Office), the 11th, 18th, and 26th of August, 1865, the substance of which was afterwards embodied in a Consolidated Order, dated the 22nd September, 1865. This Consolidated Order contains the regulations now in force relating to England, Wales, and Scotland. Some further Orders have been made prohibiting the importation of horned cattle and sheep, and regulating the importation of hides from Great Britain into Ireland, and likewise prohibiting

importation into the island and barony of Lewis.

(a.) Under these Orders inspectors have been appointed by the Clerk of the Council for the Metropolitan Police District; as to all the rest of Great Britain, the appointment of inspectors is discretionary in England with the Justices of each Petty Sessional Division, in Scotland with the County Justices in Sessions; within municipal boroughs the power is vested in the Mayor or Provost. The discretion, however, may only be exercised where the local authorities are satisfied of the existence of the disease in, or have reason to apprehend its approach to (this was added on the 26th August), the district over which their jurisdiction extends.

(b.) Every inspector is empowered to enter and inspect all premises within his district in which any animal (this word is defined as including neat-cattle, sheep, goats, and swine) may be found, to seize, slaughter, and bury animals diseased, and to disinfect the premises, and to order the separation of animals suspected of being diseased.

(c.) Owners of diseased stock are forbidden, absolutely, to send to market or expose for sale, to send by highway, railway, or coasting vessel, or, lastly, to turn out on common or unenclosed land any diseased animal: if within an inspector's district, they are also forbidden, without the inspector's leave, to remove from their premises any animal which is diseased or has been in the same shed or herd, or in contact, with a diseased animal, or to place any diseased animal in any field or pasture where, in the inspector's judgment, it would be likely to propagate the disorder.

(d.) The local authorities may, by published notice, exclude all animals, or any specified description of them, from any fair or market within their jurisdiction; and no animal is to be sent to the Metropolitan Cattle Market, so long as the plague exists within the Metropolitan Police District, "except for the purpose of being there sold for immediate slaughtering, and every such animal, as soon as sold, shall be marked for slaughter in the same manner in which cattle are ordinarily marked for slaughter in the Metropolitan Cattle Market." The two latter provisions date from the 22nd September.

Inspectors have been appointed under these orders in a large number of districts. Cattle landed at the port of London or at any of the outports are inspected on landing by inspectors appointed by the Board of Customs, who are now veterinary surgeons, except in a very few cases where no veterinary surgeon can be procured.

These Orders have not arrested the march of the plague, nor can we persuade ourselves that they will materially serve to arrest it, now that it has spread so widely.

Inspection is the instrument on which the chief reliance is placed. But it is not enough to clothe an inspector with the most ample powers, as to diseased cattle, if he cannot certainly know whether a beast is diseased or not. During the period of incubation, as the evidence shows, even a skilful practitioner may be at fault. Nor are we by any means sure that in all the infected districts a sufficient number of competent persons have been found, skilled in the diseases of cattle. The demand has been sudden; we have reason to doubt whether it has called forth an adequate supply. At any rate, many cases have been brought to our notice, in which tradesmen or others without professional qualification have been charged with this office. It must be added that an inspector, set to fight single-handed in his own district against this insidious enemy, with a private practice, and among farmers and butchers to whom he looks for employment, has a hard task to perform, and is likely to find their motives and opportunities for concealing the disease more than a match for his means of detecting it.

An important step was taken by prohibiting stock from being sent to the Metropolitan Market, except for immediate slaughter. But how is this prohibition enforced? The beast, if sold, is marked by clipping the hairs of his tail, and this is understood to mean that he is marked for the butcher. But such a mark is sure to lose its significance as soon as the regulation becomes notorious; and, significant or not, there is nothing in it to prevent him from being carried into the country, turned out to graze, or re-sold, while unsold animals are not marked at all. Cases of this kind, where the animals carried infection with them, have been brought to our notice. In fact, of all the cattle which are sent from the country into London, about one-third, after having stood in the market, are distributed again from London over the country.

The discretionary power given to local authorities of closing wholly or partially fairs and markets is still more important, provided it be exercised generally, promptly, and firmly. But, in the first place, such a power is not proper to be entrusted to Mayors of Boroughs and Justices of Petty Sessional Divisions. Wider interests are concerned than these little circles enclose. The Mayor of a



town, to which its market brings large and regular profits, is not the fittest judge of the expediency of closing that market before it becomes a source of infection to the surrounding rural district. All Justices are not equally firm, equally ready to do an unpopular thing, equally convinced of the magnitude of the calamity. A large number of markets and fairs have, it is true, been closed, one by one, against lean or store cattle; the example once set has been gradually followed. But what has been done has not been done uniformly. In some places all fairs and markets for both store and butcher's stock have been stopped; in others those for store stock only. The periods of stoppage also have been very various. Here, however, uniform action is every thing. Restraints on the ordinary course of business and traffic must be of brief continuance if they are to be strictly enforced; they must be sharp and sweeping if they are to be brief. What is necessary to be done should be done at the same time, wherever it is necessary, or it might almost as well not be done at all. In the second place, the prohibition is easily evaded, and does not go far enough for even its limited object. It is evaded (this also has been repeatedly urged on us) by auctions and other public but unauthorized sales, conducted without even those imperfect checks and safeguards which exist at a market or fair<sup>3</sup>. Small jobbers too, we are informed, are beginning to roam the country with droves, out of which they supply customers who are not nice as to what they buy. It would be difficult to invent means better adapted to sow infection broadcast.

We are convinced then that other measures are required. We proceed to consider what those other measures should be. In doing so we shall endeavour to point out clearly the general course which we think should be pursued, without entering into details, which more properly belong to Your Majesty's Government.

V. We are perfectly sensible that this is a question of extreme difficulty. The difficulty lies in the magnitude of the sacrifices we have to call for, the inadequate notion which prevails of the extent of the evil to be subdued, the facilities

for dishonest evasion and the risks from inadvertence which spring up with every attempt to mitigate those sacrifices. For it must be observed that we have not merely to guard against criminal or unscrupulous acts: nothing is easier than for a man, without being guilty of so much as gross negligence, to become the means of spreading infection over a whole county.

Let us first say a word about the system employed with so much success in Prussia; we mean the system of *Corröns* by which infected places are isolated, and the disease either suffered to exhaust itself or stamped out by indiscriminate slaughter. Nothing can be more efficacious where the disease is confined to a very few points; but in order to be efficacious the isolation must be complete and must be soon over, and slaughter (as the Germans themselves hold) is merely wasteful where the number of animals is large. When the disease has widely diffused itself, and disappears at one point only to appear at another, the difficulties of isolation become greater, and the chances of its being efficacious less. We need hardly add that in countries accustomed to a strict half-military police and the constant presence of soldiery, where men and cattle are lodged in close-packed villages encircled by tracts of open ground, and where the system itself is well known and the necessity for it felt, it finds facilities which would be wanting among our lanes and scattered homesteads, with a people to whom it was novel and who are unused to restraints and jealous of interference. These considerations are by no means conclusive against the application of it, with some modifications, to England, far less against resorting to it in Ireland, but they warn us against expecting too much from it, or relying on it alone.

Against a disease which is highly contagious, undiscoverable at a certain stage, and too widely diffused for an army of inspectors to cope with it, there is clearly but one remedy which would be certainly and absolutely effectual. That remedy is, to prohibit every where for a limited time any movement of cattle from one place to another. Enforce this, and, within a time which cannot last very long, the disease is at an end. It must stand still, and it must starve for want of nutriment. This great sacrifice would certainly eradicate the evil; we cannot say so of any sacrifice less than this.

<sup>3</sup> A later Order, issued on the 31st October, prohibits, wherever fairs or markets have been closed by the local authority, the "bringing or sending" of animals to any place for the purpose of exhibition or sale, and the receiving, exhibiting, buying, or selling of animals so brought or sent.

We are perfectly sensible of the vast train of losses and inconveniences, public and private, which must attend upon such a measure; and the possibility of

mitigating them by circumscribing the prohibition in different ways, without rendering it ineffective, is a point to which we have given the most anxious consideration.

The distinction which may be drawn between lean and fat stock, or rather between cattle moved from place to place for the sake of grazing or fattening, and cattle moved with a view to immediate slaughter, here suggests itself at once. In the case of store stock, the risk of propagating infection is on the whole great, and the evil of stopping circulation is less. The farmer who has lean animals to dispose of, and the farmer who has winter food for them to consume, must undoubtedly suffer; and there might be reason to apprehend some diminution in the supply of winter-fed stock for the spring and early summer of next year. But it must be remarked that the fear of infection now deters many farmers—in infected counties, indeed, all but the very needy or the imprudent—from buying at store markets; and that the persons who would lose most by the application of the remedy are also those who are most deeply interested in the matter, and will be the greatest losers if no effectual remedy is found. We have little difficulty, therefore, in arriving at the conclusion, not only that public sales of lean stock should be suspended for a time, but that private sales, over which it is impossible to exercise an effective control, should be stopped likewise.

On the other hand, to interfere with the circulation of fat stock, is to interfere directly with the meat market; and to embarrass it is to raise, for a time at least, the price of meat. To require that every bullock sold for slaughter shall be slaughtered on the premises of the seller, will undoubtedly in a multitude of cases be inconvenient to both farmer and butcher. There will be difficulties about the actual slaughtering, about the disposal of hides and offal, about transport; and these difficulties appear still more serious when we consider the manner in which the live-meat trade is now carried on, through salesmen and jobbers, and the vast quantities of fat cattle continually in motion to and from London, and from one market to another. A large system of trade and transport will have to be deranged, and many new arrangements to be made, and the cost of effecting these changes on the spur of the moment must fall to a considerable extent on the consumer of meat.

If the distinction be admitted, however, many other questions arise. In the first place, how is it to be enforced? If a

privilege is conceded to cattle destined for the butcher, how are we to make sure that a particular animal is really destined for the butcher, or that he will be slaughtered immediately, or slaughtered at all; or that he will not scatter infection on his road? May he be driven home by the nearest country butcher who will buy him, or must he be sent to market? May he go to any market, or only to one where conveniences for slaughtering and for careful inspection are or can be provided? May he, if unsold, be sent home again, or transported from one market to another, or if not, what chance will the seller have, should the market be over-stocked, of making a fair bargain? In considering these points, it must be borne in mind that a butcher has, as some witnesses have remarked to us, facilities which a farmer has not for concealing the presence of the disease; and that he has not those motives for being on his guard against it which the farmer has. A farmer who brings home a diseased animal may probably lose his whole herd. But it is often the butcher's interest to ask no questions.

Answers more or less complete may be furnished on all the points above enumerated, and precautions may be devised with a view to each of them. In general terms it may be stated that such precautions must in the main rest on some or all of the following expedients:—On a modified adoption of the *Cordon* system; on the imposition of new and peculiar legal obligations upon butchers, and probably upon drovers, railway companies, and the authorities in charge of markets; lastly, on a system, more or less extensive, of permits, certificates, or declarations. We ought not, however, to shrink from distinctly saying that no answers can be given which, in our judgment, are perfectly satisfactory, and no precautions invented on which it is possible entirely to rely; and that we believe it to be best for the country, and even for the interests which will suffer most in the first instance, that the prohibition against the circulation of cattle should be maintained in its integrity.

We have stated frankly the difficulties and sacrifices for which the country must be prepared, should this proposition be carried into effect. Of these difficulties the one which will probably be felt most strongly relates to the supply of food to the great towns. Fears have been expressed that to close the Metropolitan Market, for instance, against the influx of cattle from the country, would create a famine. We have already seen that the attempt to restrict the market

of London and Westminster during the plague which raged here in the reign of George II. was given up on account of the clamour which it created; and it may be argued that the same thing would happen now. Circumstances, however, have widely changed. In the days of George II., meat could only be transported to London alive; even the roads along which the cattle travelled were what we should now think few and bad; there was little importation from abroad, and some difficulty must have been often found in supplying the wants of the metropolis by the ordinary means of communication. Now, every place where fat cattle are fed in large numbers is approached by railways, which can transport dead as well as live meat; and it seems no unreasonable demand to require that, for the sake of averting a calamity of almost incalculable magnitude, London should be content to be supplied with dead meat from the provinces, instead of constituting herself a hotbed of infection by receiving twice a week great throngs of living cattle. This change is indeed in itself economical and advantageous, and appears to be gradually taking place as a natural consequence of the extension of the railway system. There is obviously an immense waste of labour in bringing the live animal to London in order that certain portions of its carcase may be consumed as human food; dead meat is more easily carried than the living creature, and it seems quite as reasonable to carry the butcher to the ox as to bring the ox to the butcher. We are informed that from Aberdeen alone upwards of 1000 carcasses are sent up weekly to the English metropolis during eight months of the year, and 300 or 400 during the remaining four months, and that special dead-meat trains leave Aberdeen on this errand five days in the week. Nor is it to be forgotten that London is at the present moment fed in a great measure with foreign cattle. From the 16th September to the 18th October last, both inclusive, the number of English beasts in the market was but 14,645 to 20,185 foreign. It must further be observed—and this is the most important point—that a general prohibition is capable of being thoroughly enforced. The mere presence of a beast on any highway will be sufficient to prove the infraction of the rule. Any plan which, while laying down the general prohibition, admits exceptions in favour of cattle removed to particular places or for particular purposes, must rest upon the ascertainment of facts more or less

complicated, to be proved by certificates from local authorities, upon the accuracy of which, experience warns us, little reliance can be placed. The liberty to remove cattle for particular purposes is sure to be extended and abused for other purposes. A man has only to profess an intention in accordance with the law in order, by a little dexterity, to obtain under such a system the utmost facility for violating the law. It will be a long time before the rules are understood, and the period in which they are violated through ignorance will be succeeded by the period in which they are evaded by design. England is probably the worst country in the world for the working of a system of certificates, permits, licences, and passports; and the temptation to violate the rules will be very great, for the thought that naturally occurs to every one whose herd is attacked is to conceal the existence of the disease until he has got rid of those animals which do not yet show symptoms of its presence. To the objection, true as far as it goes, that the embarrassment thus thrown in the way of trade will probably tend to raise the price of meat, it may be answered, first, that such a rise in the price of meat will afford, at the expense of the community, the means of reimbursing the trade for the sacrifices it has made for the common benefit; and, secondly, that the immense destruction of cattle which such a measure is alone calculated to prevent, is likely to raise the price of meat to a higher point and for a longer time, than a regulation which really does little more than change the place of slaughter from large towns to country districts and places of importation. In the period from 1745 to 1757, almost every measure, short of the one which we are considering, was tried in vain. The disease at first advanced slowly, but it lasted 12 years, and then died out, apparently for want of animals susceptible to its influence, although the difficulty of communication from one part of England to another offered at that time the fairest chance for the success of palliative measures. England has now to contend with the plague under disadvantages never experienced by any other country. The density of her population, the large quantity of her horned stock, and, above all, the enormous facility of communication by railroad, make her peculiarly liable to the ravages of a contagious disorder, and render the prospect of eradicating it within any reasonable time, either by slaughter or by curative and disinfecting measures, almost hopeless.



## RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. *Suspension of Cattle Traffic in Great Britain.*—For the reasons stated above, we feel ourselves compelled to recommend to your Majesty that such measures shall be taken as may be requisite to invest, with as little delay as possible, some high officer of your Majesty's Government with the power of suspending for a limited time the movement of cattle from one place in Great Britain to another, for extending or shortening such period, and for renewing the prohibition as often as circumstances may render necessary.

1a. *Suggested Regulations as to Cattle Traffic, should Recommendation 1. not be adopted.*—We believe that this measure offers, as we have already said, the only certain means of eradicating the disease, and we conceive that the end amply justifies us in proposing to the nation so great a present sacrifice. In submitting this, however, as our First Recommendation to Your Majesty, we are well aware that it is likely to excite much opposition; that the difficulties to which we have adverted may to some appear insurmountable; and that to those who do not regard the Cattle Plague in so serious a light as we do, the remedy may seem worse than the evil. This view may possibly be shared by Your Majesty's Ministers; we think it right, therefore, to go further, and to indicate the measures which might, in our opinion, be advantageously adopted, should an absolute suspension of the movement of cattle in Great Britain not be enforced.

a. For a period to be fixed, and which might, if necessary, be extended, no lean or store stock should be permitted to be sold at any fair or market, and sales of such stock by auction or advertisement, or in any other manner whatever, should be prohibited.

b. Cattle might be moved for immediate slaughter to a market or a slaughter-house licensed for use, but only under a licence for transit granted by the magistrates in Petty Sessions. The licence for transit should certify to the healthiness of the district from which the cattle come. With this exception, and except in the case of cattle driven from one part of the same farm to another, the transit of any cattle over any public road (including railways) or in any coasting vessel should be absolutely prohibited.

c. Precautions should be taken that every animal sold for butcher's meat be slaughtered within a short and fixed period. It may be convenient for this purpose that no slaughter-house should

be used without a licence from the local authorities, and no such licence given except on the butcher's undertaking to have all cattle which may be sold or consigned to him driven direct to the slaughter-house or premises attached to it, from whence they are not to be moved alive. Cattle sold at a fair or market should not be allowed to leave the precincts of the borough or other place where the fair or market is held (in the case of London, the Metropolitan Police District) alive. To ensure this object, it might be required that cattle entering a fair or market should be branded or marked on entrance, and cattle sold elsewhere to a butcher similarly marked at the time of sale, and that it should be penal for any one but a butcher to have a marked animal in his possession. If any regulation of this kind is adopted, it would be advisable that in every place where a public market is held, lairs should be provided in which unsold animals could remain from one market day to another.

d. It would be desirable to draw some more distinct line between infected and uninfected districts than is at present traced by the Orders in Council. For this purpose, whenever a case of infection is discovered, or is known to have existed within a certain period before the time when these measures may come into operation, the district should be "proclaimed" as infected in the *Gazette* and the county papers. The egress of live cattle from a proclaimed district should be strictly prohibited, but cattle slaughtered within it and certified by the district inspector to be fit for food might be sent out of it, under proper safeguards for disinfection. Provision should be made for enabling districts which had been proclaimed to be publicly set free, on proof being furnished that all risk from infection was at an end.

This latter proposal would, if adopted, strengthen the inducements of the inhabitants of infected districts to rid themselves of the disorder, and those of their neighbours to watch vigilantly against its approach.

2. *Powers of Inspector.*—We are of opinion that the power to seize and slaughter vested in inspectors by the Consolidated Order may properly be withdrawn; or, that, if retained, it should be exercised only in cases where the inspector's directions as to the separation of sound from diseased stock, &c., or any general preventive or sanitary regulations issued by the Government, are not complied with. This power is right and useful when the disease has appeared only at isolated spots and attacked a few animals;

the public benefit is then very great, and the private sacrifice small; but in proportion as it extends, the hope of thus arresting its march diminishes, the inevitable waste increases, and the sense of hardship tends to become insupportable. In principle, a system of compulsory slaughter should be complemented by a system of compensation, and the objections to promising compensation to individuals out of the public treasury on an extensive scale appear to us insurmountable.

3. *Foreign Cattle.*—No reference has hitherto been made to cattle imported from abroad. Should our first recommendation be entertained, and an absolute embargo placed on all traffic in cattle within Great Britain, we think that imported cattle should be slaughtered at the ports of landing. We are further of opinion that cattle should be allowed to land at certain ports only, where proper facilities can be afforded for inspection and transport. In the other alternative, it will be sufficient to say that foreign cattle, if passed by the Customs inspectors, and not coming from an infected district, may be sent by railway to any market in Great Britain, but shall be then subject to the same regulations as British cattle.

4. *Unenclosed Lands.*—During the period of prohibition, whether absolute or limited, no cattle should be allowed to be turned on common or unenclosed land.

5. *Periodical Returns.*—It is highly desirable that steps should be taken for obtaining periodical returns of the horned cattle and sheep within the area of every parish of Great Britain, and of their sanitary condition with especial reference to the present disease.

6. *Ireland.*—Before this Report is concluded some reference should be made to the peculiar circumstances of Ireland. The disease not having as yet broken out in that country, there is no necessity for the measures which have been recommended for Great Britain. It is still possible, by the adoption of suitable precautions, to avert the calamity from Ireland altogether. The importation of cattle into that country has already been prohibited for some weeks past. Considering, however, the destructive character of the disease, it will not be judicious to rely upon that precaution alone for escaping it. The evidence which has been laid before us leaves little doubt that it can be conveyed by persons who have been in contact with infected animals, as well as by the animals themselves. In case it should, by any accident, be carried over, the Government should be in readiness to eradicate it from any spot in

which it may appear; and unless preparations are made for doing so before the plague shows itself, the authorities will hardly be in a condition to act with the necessary speed and vigour when the emergency arises. In Prussia, upon whose eastern frontier the disease frequently appears, the system of precautions has been adopted for stopping its further progress, which have hitherto met with invariable success. It would probably not be difficult to make provision for the application of similar measures to Ireland, and so to secure to it a permanent immunity from the calamity under which Great Britain is at present suffering. But the extreme rapidity with which the disease spreads makes it important that all arrangements for stamping in out, in case of its possible appearance, should be made without delay.

We append to this Report a short series of practical suggestions, drawn up by those members of the Commission who are professionally qualified to deal with sanitary subjects, and which may be useful at the present time to owners of cattle.

(Signed) ROBERT LOWE.  
LYON PLAYFAIR.  
RICHARD QUAIN.  
E. A. PARKES.  
THOS. WORMALD.  
ROBERT CEELY.  
CHARLES SPOONER.

MOUNTAGUE BERNARD.  
31st October, 1865.

SEPARATE REPORT OF EARL SPENCER, VISCOUNT CRANBORNE, MR. READ, AND DR. BENICE JONES.

We are unable to join the other members of the Commission in recommending the total stoppage of all movement of cattle in Great Britain. It is true, that, if such a measure were practicable, it would be more effectual than any other in extirpating the disease. But we do not believe it to be practicable. It would involve an interference with the course of trade at variance with our national habits; and it would demand sacrifices from large numbers of people, who are removed from the presence of the disease, and who will therefore not see the necessity for so stringent a measure. The sudden transformation of the enormous cattle trade by which the large towns are supplied into a dead meat trade, would involve difficulties and dangers of the most formidable kind. The foreign trade,

which at this moment furnishes a considerable proportion of the meat consumed in the large towns, would also be seriously interfered with. The price of meat would, in consequence, rise materially and suddenly.

These difficulties would lead to the evasion of the prohibition. And if it is largely evaded, as we think probable, it will be worse than useless.

We prefer, therefore, the measures of a less stringent character, which are recommended as an alternative in the above Report. They demand no greater sacrifice than will readily be made to arrest the progress of so serious an evil; and therefore we believe that they are likely to be thoroughly carried out.

In the other recommendations of the Report we heartily concur.

(Signed) SPENCER.

CRANBORNE.

CLARE SEWELL READ.

HENRY BENCE JONES.

We are of opinion, however, that store animals may be permitted to move from the farm of the seller to that of the buyer, provided they have a certificate from a Justice of the Peace acting in the district where the sale takes place, showing that they are free from disease and that they have been located for a certain time on the farm of the seller.

(Signed) SPENCER.

CLARE SEWELL READ.

31st October, 1865.

#### SEPARATE REPORT OF MR. M'CLEAN.

I dissent from the Report on the following grounds:

I consider that the magnitude of the calamity against which it is intended to guard, in no way justifies the interference with the traffic in cattle which the Commissioners in their Report recommend, and that the evils which would arise to the community from even a limited prohibition of the movement, or of the importation of foreign cattle, would far exceed the losses which may arise from the prevailing disorder.

By the last return issued by the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council Office—which, as regards the number of animals which have died of the Cattle Plague, is correct, and although not strictly accurate in other respects may be considered fairly to represent the progress and present extent of the ravages of the disease—it appears that up to the 21st of October, 1865, a period of

rather more than four months from the time when the disease first appeared in Islington, 14,083 animals had been attacked, that of these 6711 had died, 5119 had been slaughtered, 707 had recovered, and 1546 remained under treatment.

The estimated number of horned cattle in Great Britain is about seven millions, so that less than 1 per 1000 of such cattle have died of the disease in four months, or about one per day for every 116,000 head.

During the same period of four months, sound and healthy cattle of the average value of (say) 15*l.* 15*s.* per head, have been imported from foreign countries at the average rate of 1000 per day, so that by the operation of the present system, involving careful inspection at the ports of landing, the gain to the country has been 16·6 sound cattle for each one that has died of the disease.

The growing necessities of the community in the matter of animal food, and the comparatively trifling extent of the injury hitherto inflicted by the disease, do not justify any exceptional legislation or any systematic interference by Government with the trade in cattle, a trade which, taking its position amongst the other great branches of national industry, must be subject to its own peculiar risks and liabilities.

The existing Orders in Council, enforced by the exertions of landowners, farmers, and graziers who have embarked their capital in the trade, appear to be sufficient for its protection; while by insurance or otherwise the parties interested should indemnify themselves against loss without appealing to the community to interfere for the preservation of their property by exceptional legislation.

Since the year 1750 the circumstances of the country and of the cattle trade have entirely changed, and no comparison can fairly be instituted between its state at that period and the present time.

In the year 1750 and the subsequent years of the Cattle Plague, the trade in cattle was one of the principal industries of the country, and any loss sustained by the owners was almost irremediable, as there were then no available means of importing cattle from foreign countries for supplying the people with animal food.

In 1864 circumstances were very different. In that year the computed net value of the articles imported into the United Kingdom was nearly 275,000,000*l.*, of which upwards of 40,000,000*l.* was for alimentary supply, exclusive of spirits, wine, tobacco, and other excisable articles.



During the same year the computed net value of the articles exported was 212,656,542*l.*, making a total value of 487,520,468*l.*, while the amount of all descriptions of property and profits assessed to the Income Tax was 326,775,501*l.*, about one-ninth of which was for occupation of land, and probably not so much as one-eighteenth was due to pastoral occupation.

The estimated value of the property which it is proposed to protect by penal laws and quarantine regulations, to be carried out at the expense of the community and to their serious loss, inconvenience, and certain discontent, is about 60,000,000*l.*, or about one-eighth of the annual value of the national imports and exports.

The importance of the cattle trade, as compared with the other branches of national industry, is much less in 1864 than it was in the year 1750, while the numbers of the people, their wealth, and means of purchasing animal food, have greatly increased.

The consumption of animal food is not now confined exclusively to the wealthy, but has become the necessary food for the working classes, and the use of it is so general, that so long as the disease can be discovered at a period when the flesh of the animal is perfectly good and fit for human food, it is impossible in this populous country for the disease to spread to any great extent, as all beasts showing the slightest symptoms of disease would be immediately slaughtered by the owner for his own protection.

As the demand, as shown by our imports of cattle, is greater than the home supply, there would only be partial loss when lean cattle had to be slaughtered.

The opinions expressed by witnesses of experience on the proposal to supply London exclusively with meat killed and brought from a distance, were not favourable to the plan.

It is further to be considered that any prohibition to the importation of foreign cattle would affect and derange the whole of our commercial relations and means of communication with foreign countries.

It would create distrust at home and abroad as to the safety of investing capital in establishing, by steam-boats and otherwise, cheap and regular routes by means of which food is provided for the community.

It would deprive the foreigner of an important exchangeable commodity, in many cases the only one he has to offer, and possibly lead foreign Governments to impose restrictions on the export of any food from their respective countries, that might prove very detrimental to this kingdom.

The farmers of Great Britain cannot produce food enough for the people. Agricultural produce, including cattle, meat, butter, poultry, &c., to the value of more than 40,000,000*l.* sterling, has to be imported yearly from beyond the seas. Any legislation which should interfere with this supply, and the employment of the means which at great expense have been provided for its conveyance to this country, would inflict an incalculable amount of injury, and would occasion great and immediate suffering to the labouring classes, many of whom would be thrown out of work, while the price of provisions would be enhanced, and many of them now able to use animal food would be deprived of it. This would interfere with the value of labour and with our means of competition with other countries, by increasing the cost of our manufactures.

With these facts and considerations before me, and after carefully considering the nature and extent of the present disorder in cattle, I am of opinion that it does not at present justify any further restriction in the movement or trade of cattle, and that the powers now vested in Her Majesty's Privy Council are sufficient to prevent the spreading of the said disorder, and to avert any future outbreak of it.

(Signed) JOHN ROBINSON M'CLEAN.  
31st October, 1865.

## SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT.

### SANITARY RECOMMENDATIONS <sup>4</sup>.

On the subject of preventive and medical treatment the Commissioners have received, both from this country and from abroad, discouraging but decided evidence that all methods hitherto adopted have been found unsuccessful. Nevertheless, being of opinion that medical science may still be able to discover agents capable of mitigating the virulence of the malady, the Commissioners have drawn up a scheme of investigation into the nature of the disease, and have entrusted different inquiries to scientific men of great skill and ability, who will make reports on the subjects entrusted to them at the earliest possible moment.

In the mean time a few sanitary suggestions may be offered which are calculated to be useful to farmers and dealers in cattle. These may be divided into the following heads:—

<sup>4</sup> Suggestions in the sense of many of these recommendations have been already drawn up by Professor Simonds and by Dr. Thudichum for the Privy Council, and have been circulated.

I. The general precautions which should be taken by cattle owners to prevent the spread of the disorder.

II. The special precautions required when the plague is in the neighbourhood.

III. The measures, preventive and remedial, which should be taken when the plague breaks out in a locality.

IV. Measures for disinfecting sheds and cattle which have been infected.

I. *General precautions to prevent the spread of the disorder.*—1. As no successful plan of treatment has yet been proposed, the owners of cattle must, in the mean time, rely chiefly upon those hygienic measures which the experience acquired in other diseases show to be important in preventing the spread of contagion, and in diminishing the intensity and area of an attack, when, in spite of such measures, they invade a locality hitherto uninfected. In the case of the Cattle Plague it is certain that no sanitary precautions can prevent the spread of the disease when it is actually introduced; still, from analogy, we may draw the conclusion that some effect may be produced on the rapidity of the spread, or on the virulence of the disease, by placing cattle in the conditions most favourable to health.

2. With this view it is important to secure strict cleanliness, good drainage, efficient ventilation, and to prevent overcrowding in all cattle-sheds and cowhouses. No accumulations of litter fouled by the voidings of animals should be permitted in, or even close to, the houses or sheds in which cattle are kept. Chloride of lime, carbolic acid, or the powder containing carbonate of lime and sulphate of lime should be used. The latter is probably the best; it contains a well-known disinfecting substance which is formed when sulphur is burned, and also a strongly antiseptic material, creasote, from coal tar. The sheds themselves should be swept and washed daily, and sprinkled with disinfectants. But such purification of the air of cattle sheds or houses will be insufficient to preserve health if the cattle be overcrowded. Pure air and nourishing diet are of great importance in protecting animals from the attacks of disease. Pure water, derived from sources uncontaminated by drainage from surrounding dung-heaps, or from the absorption of vitiated air which hovers around them and in the sheds of cattle, is equally essential.

Every farmer should look to the housing of his cattle in the present emergency, as he would look to the housing of his own family, if cholera or other formidable disease were in his neighbourhood. Thorough cleanliness of his houses, good drainage,

freedom from evil smells, nourishing diet with pure air and water, cannot give immunity from the disease, but they may offer obstacles to its propagation.

II. *Special precautions necessary when the disorder is in the neighbourhood.*—

Whenever the plague is known to be in the neighbourhood, or to be approaching it, the following conditions must be borne in mind:—

1. The natural voidings of a diseased animal, as well as the discharges which come from its mouth, eyes, and nose, during the progress of the disorder, can be carried by men and animals so as to infect sound cattle, and in this way the disease is often propagated. A farmer should therefore at once give orders that none of his own labourers should go near infected beasts, and that none of the labourers working on the farm where there are diseased cattle should approach his stock. Even when veterinary surgeons visit cattle affected with the plague, they should, if they have been with diseased beasts, first thoroughly cleanse their clothes, wash their hands with a solution of chloride of lime, and rub the soles of their shoes with disinfecting powder.

2. Both sheep and dogs can carry the seeds of the disease, so that they should be carefully looked after, lest, in having access to diseased cattle, they may attach to themselves portions of excrement or discharges, and communicate the contagion to sound cattle. The farmer will do well to recollect that both sheep and goats take the plague in a virulent form, although they are not, perhaps, quite so susceptible to the influence of the contagion as horned cattle; but even when they do not take the disorder, the wool of the sheep and the hair of the goats can long retain the morbid matter, and then transfer it to cattle.

3. The particles of the poison can be drifted by the wind to some distance, experience having shown that a space of considerably more than a hundred yards affords no protection; therefore, if a farmer has the opportunity, he should remove his stock to the furthest possible distance from that of his infected neighbourhood.

4. If a farmer have reason to think that some of his beasts may have been near infected animals, he should at once wash them over with the solution of disinfecting soap or with a tepid solution of chloride of lime, carefully sponging out the nostrils and mouth, so as to remove all portions of discharges which may have been collected.

5. He should vigorously attend to the hygienic measures described in the last section.

III. *Preventive and remedial recommendations when the plague has attacked a locality.*—1. Should, unfortunately, the plague reach the farm or cowsheds, it will be the cattle owner's duty to separate without delay the diseased from the sound stock. At once, and before any symptoms of the malady have appeared in the animals which may have been in contact with the diseased beast, he should place them in roomy, well-cleansed and dried, well-aired and disinfected sheds, having previously washed their bodies with water containing disinfecting soap, or with a tepid solution of chloride of lime; he will thus place them in the best condition to resist the further spread of the disease. But if he do not possess the necessary accommodation for the removal of the healthy animals, he ought, after separating the diseased beast, to make a thorough disinfection of the house or shed, in the manner to be described afterwards, before he permits the sound stock to remain in it.

2. The sick beast, if allowed to remain alive, should be well rubbed down and thoroughly cleansed, be kept in a warm but well-ventilated and clean shed, and be covered with a clean horse-rug. The animal will thus be put in a favourable condition to receive such curative treatment as the veterinary surgeon or farmer may consider it expedient to employ.

3. Having failed to obtain any assurance of the existence of effective curative methods, the Commissioners only venture for the present to indicate some general suggestions as to diet and treatment, which may be useful to farmers.

(a.) *Kind of food.*—One of the early symptoms of the disease is, that the appetite fails and rumination ceases. When a dissection is made of an animal that has died of the plague, the stomachs are usually found to contain from one hundred to two hundred pounds of undigested food. This mass of matter interferes with the functions of nutrition in the case of new food, and, further, hinders the action of medicine which may be administered, by greatly retarding its absorption. As soon, therefore, as the beast shows the early symptoms of the disease, its ordinary food should be changed; and, as rumination has stopped, the dry food should be replaced by warm liquid stimulating mash given in moderate quantity.

(b.) *Warmth of the air.*—It is stated that the temperature of the air of the stall should be kept warm, probably not lower than 60 degrees Fahr.

(c.) *Warmth of the skin.*—It is desirable to keep the skin of the animal as

warm as possible, and if it can be done, to promote perspiration. Without expressing any decided opinion as to the exact efficacy of steam or hot-air baths, we yet believe the evidence is sufficient to warrant a fair trial of these measures.

(d.) It is important to lose no time in beginning the treatment of the complaint with salines or diaphoretics, or even stimulants, according to the judgment of the veterinary surgeon as to the state of the disease. Every hour that is lost lessens the chance of a successful result. After cattle have been exposed to infection, some veterinary surgeons consider it useful to give saline and febrifuge medicines at once, even though it is not certain the animal has taken the disease.

(e.) When diarrhoea occurs, there seems little doubt that it should be controlled, and not encouraged.

(f.) The animal must be supported as much as possible by very nutritious food.

(g.) Milking cows should be regularly milked as long as any milk can be got. The milk, of course, should not be used as food.

The general diffusion of the disorder through the system leaves little hope that any local treatment is likely to prove effective.

When the animal shows signs of convalescence, it should only be very gradually restored to the dry food requiring rumination. It may be treated with moderate stimulants and tonics, among which bark and iron are considered to be the most efficacious.

IV. *Measures for disinfecting infected sheds and cattle.*—1. When animals attacked with the plague have become convalescent, they ought to be kept apart from sound beasts for three weeks, and even then not be permitted to associate with them till they have been washed and disinfected as described previously.

2. During all the time that animals suffer from the disease, the litter fouled by them, with the dung and discharge on it, should be burned, and not be allowed to mix with other manure. It contains the poison in a concentrated form, and it is questionable whether it can be disinfected efficiently.

3. The sheds in which the diseased animals have been must be thoroughly purified and disinfected. The roof and walls should be washed with lime. The floor and woodwork, after being thoroughly washed with water containing washing soda, should be again washed all over with a solution of chloride of lime, containing 1 lb. to a pailful.

4. The hides and horns of animals which have died of the disease ought to be buried with the animal, according to



the Orders in Council. But the hides and horns of those which have been killed to escape the spread of the infection must be dipped in, or thoroughly mopped all over, and, in the case of the hides, on both sides, with water containing 4 lbs. of chloride of lime to three pailfuls of water. Unless this be done with care, a most fertile source of contagion will be preserved.

5. The attendants upon diseased beasts should not be allowed to go near the sound animals in the same farm.

6. Every one who has had the plague in his premises should feel the responsibility which rests upon him to destroy, by careful cleansing and disinfection, every

trace of the disorder which may be left on his pastures or stalls, or on his cattle, their horns, hides, manure, and litter. Under favourable circumstances for its preservation, the contagious poison has been kept, with all its virulence unimpaired, for many months. Unless, therefore, each person uses his utmost efforts to extinguish the seeds of the plague which lurk about his farm, they may become a centre of contagion, which will again spread it abroad through the country, and render unavailing the sacrifice necessary for the speedy suppression of this terrible scourge.

## II.

### SECOND REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE ORIGIN AND NATURE, &c., OF THE CATTLE PLAGUE.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

SINCE our First Report was submitted to Your Majesty, the disease has continued to spread, the ratio of its advance fluctuating much in different places, but presenting something like uniformity on the whole. The total number of reported cases from the commencement was—

October 7	.	.	11,300
November 4	.	.	20,897
December 2	.	.	39,714
December 30	.	.	73,549
January 27	.	.	120,740 <sup>1</sup>

It has thus nearly doubled itself at intervals of four weeks.

The figures, however, formidable as they are, by no means represent the real amount of loss and suffering inflicted by a calamity which ravages some districts while it spares others. A pressure which would be less if distributed over a large area, is ruinous and crushing when those on whom it rests are comparatively few. Cheshire, for instance, which depends in great measure upon its dairy stock, has had, up to the 27th January, 17,971 cases of disease, Forfarshire 10,099, Lanarkshire 4371, Cambridgeshire 4364, Lincolnshire 4080, Norfolk 4063, Yorkshire 19,331; and the records of particular villages and farms where the disease has raged would tell a still more distressing tale.

<sup>1</sup> These returns do not profess to give the total number of cases which have occurred in Great Britain, but only those which have been ascertained from the official information received from Inspectors.

The great breeding districts of the United Kingdom, into which in ordinary times cattle are but rarely and casually imported—Ireland, the North and West Highlands of Scotland, including the counties of Argyle, Ross, and Sutherland, and the whole of Wales except Denbighshire and Flintshire—have hitherto enjoyed an entire immunity. The disease has for the most part established itself, by direct importation from London or from Holland, at various centres on the eastern side of the island, and thence has travelled towards the west or south-west, traversing alike low and elevated lands, and not apparently influenced by varieties of soil. It has moved irregularly, leaping not unfrequently from one point to another at a considerable distance, but seems generally to have followed the course of highways and ordinary lines of cattle traffic. A careful observer<sup>2</sup>, who has attentively watched its progress through his own district, states that, whilst it often passes one stock and attacks another at a greater distance from a centre, it invariably returns as it came to the one passed. "This passing," he says, "is only apparent: it is owing to one stock being more predisposed to the disease than the other; that is, the one attacked has less power of resistance to the poison than the one that apparently escaped it." The means by which it has transported itself to new centres can in a great number of instances be traced with certainty, but they often elude detection.

In the contagiousness and the mortality

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Moffat, of Hawarden, Flintshire.

of the disease there has been no abatement, as the subjoined tables, compiled from the weekly returns published by the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council Office, will show.

Of the total number of cattle on farms, in sheds or other places, where the disease has been officially reported to exist (after deducting those slaughtered healthy), there were *attacked* in every 100<sup>3</sup>—

Up to November 4	.	.	44
„ „ 11	.	.	43
„ „ 18	.	.	44

Up to November 25	.	.	44
„ December 2	.	.	44
„ „ 9	.	.	50
„ „ 16	.	.	51
„ „ 23	.	.	51
„ „ 30	.	.	51
„ January 6	.	.	51
„ „ 13	.	.	52
„ „ 20	.	.	53
„ „ 27	.	.	54

Of the total number of cattle known to have been *attacked* by the disease, there were in every 100<sup>4</sup>—

		Killed.	Died.	Recovered.	Unaccounted for.
Up to November 4	.	36	43	5	15
" 11	.	34	44	5	15
" 18	.	32	46	6	14
" 25	.	29	48	7	15
Up to December 2	.	27	50	7	15
" 9	.	24	51	7	15
" 16	.	22	53	8	15
" 23	.	20	54	9	15
" 30	.	18	56	9	15
Up to January 6	.	17	57	10	14
" 13	.	16	58	10	14
" 20	.	15	59	11	14
" 27	.	13	61	11	13

Taking actual numbers instead of percentages, there were, out of the 120,740 cases of disease reported up to the 27th January—

Killed diseased.	Died.	Recovered.	Unaccounted for.
16,742	73,750	14,162	16,086

From the above figures it will have been observed that as the number of diseased animals *killed* has diminished, the percentage of *attacks* among the animals exposed to infection has increased, whilst the percentage of *deaths from disease* among the animals attacked has risen still more steadily, and in a greater proportion. Were slaughtering entirely abandoned, the recoveries would probably not exceed fifteen per cent.

All breeds of cattle appear to be subject to the disease; but the more highly bred the animal, the sooner, generally speaking, it succumbs. English stock, compared with foreign breeds, seem to have less power of resistance. Of the Dutch, it has been observed in this country, that although not perhaps less liable to be

attacked than other varieties, they survive the first attack longer, and more of them recover. Animals in good condition, says another observer, resist the longest; but, if they become diseased, the disease runs its course in them more rapidly.

Of the influences of weather and temperature nothing definite can be said. The long drought of the summer has been followed by copious and almost incessant rains, with continued south-westerly gales. The disease increased in intensity with the advance of winter, and it has travelled commonly in a direction counter to that of the prevailing winds. It is proper to add that the year has been peculiarly favourable to the spread of zymotic diseases generally, and to the rapid decomposition of organic matter.

We have endeavoured, but without success, to obtain specific information as to the introduction of the disease into this country. Inquiry has been made, with this object, of the several persons through whose hands the cargo of bullocks im-

<sup>4</sup> Decimals are omitted. The sum of the figures, therefore, in each horizontal line will not be exactly 100.

<sup>3</sup> Decimals are omitted.

ported from Revel in May passed after their arrival at Hull. This cargo, it will be remembered, was divided, on landing, into two portions: part were disposed of through salesmen in different towns in the North of England, and the rest sent to London and sold to butchers in small lots, a lot of twenty being bought and sent to Gosport by a Government contractor. Questions have been addressed to all these persons, and from their answers we have no reason to doubt that all the animals were bought and slaughtered, so far as the purchasers could judge, in a perfectly healthy state. With respect to the diffusion of the disease in the Russian Empire itself (setting aside the steppe provinces in Europe and Asia), we have no satisfactory evidence. In the Baltic provinces it does not seem to have shown itself last year. There were many scattered outbreaks (which indeed are frequent) in Central and Western Russia; and it raged with considerable violence between January and May in the Government of Kowno, which is very near to the port of Memel<sup>5</sup>, and between January and July in that of Volhynia, which borders on the Galician frontier, and from whence cattle may be easily driven to the eastern terminus of the Vienna and Lemberg Railway. A subsequent outbreak occurred in Kowno in November, and led to the immediate enforcement by the Prussian authorities of the stringent regulations which the law of Prussia orders to be applied to the frontier of an infected district. The theory that the disease originated in the London cowsheds is inconsistent, not only with the evidence appended to our First Report, but with that which we have since received. The careful observations made by Dr. Ballard, Medical Officer of Health for St. Mary's, Islington, confirmed by those of the Medical Officers for Marylebone and St. Pancras, and the experience of other metropolitan districts, are in direct conflict with this theory, and point distinctly to contagion as the means by which the plague was originated and propagated in London.

II. We adverted in our First Report to the outbreak of the plague in Holland. Weekly returns of its progress in the Province of South Holland, to which until recently it was practically confined by strict measures of police strengthened by a military and naval cordon, have been published by the Dutch Government, in a form closely resembling those issued here by the

Veterinary Department of the Privy Council. From these returns it appears that the total number of cases, which was 4084 on the 7th October and 6744 on the 4th November (the attacks having diminished in the intervening weeks), rose by the 2nd December to 11,348, and by the 30th December to 21,437, nearly doubling itself in each month. The increase is attributed to the removal of the cattle from the pastures to their stalls, the close contact causing the infection to run its course more rapidly. During the last three weeks there has again been a gradual decrease. "In one respect, however," says Mr. Ward, Secretary to Your Majesty's Legation at The Hague, in his report on this subject, dated 10th January, 1866, "the last return presents an unfavourable appearance. Out of the seven places in which the breaking out of the plague is reported for the first time, it is stated that the origin of it cannot be traced to any contagious medium, contrary to the opinion of high authorities upon the subject, that every case would be found so traceable. Again, though in the original focus of the disease a diminution is announced for the first time since the commencement of it, yet in other cases where it has long raged, it has assumed a more aggravated character. The area over which it has spread is also increasing. Returns have been made for the province of Utrecht, in which a few isolated cases in the early part of the season had been followed by an entire cessation of the scourge, showing, for the week ending December 30, 349 new cases, 165 deaths, 2 slaughtered, and 146 recovered; making a total of 1104 cases, 394 deaths, 27 slaughtered, 316 recovered, and 367 still under treatment. The provinces of North Brabant and North Holland have also been invaded, according to the latest accounts, though no official returns of the extent of the visitation have yet been made." The rate of mortality in Holland, we must add, is considerably lower, as Mr. Ward observes, than in this country. The latest returns issued since the date of his Report show that out of 29,031 cases, the total number in South Holland, 7410 were slaughtered, 8966 died, and 9896 (or about 34 per cent.) recovered; and these proportions have not very materially varied since the commencement; whilst in Utrecht, where the number slaughtered has been inconsiderable, there have been 926 recoveries to 790 deaths. The Dutch Government appears to have placed its chief reliance on the maintenance of the cordon drawn around the most infected province, which permits no egress, nor, except under most

<sup>5</sup> No cattle, however, were imported into the United Kingdom in 1865 from any Prussian port.



stringent restrictions<sup>6</sup>, any ingress of cattle. A further exception, however, is made in favour of through traffic, and the Dutch-Rhenish Railway, which conveys weekly large quantities of cattle for exportation to England, passes through the heart of the enclosed district. The enforcement of other internal regulations has been left to the local authorities, except that the Government has interfered to close markets where the authorities of the commune had refused to do this. Some difficulty seems also to have been experienced in inducing the people to submit to restraint. We are told that "in the Province of Utrecht the action of the authorities is resisted by force, and has to be supported by military detachments. There are cases in which the troops are beaten off by large bands of peasants, and have to take the cow-sheds by regular siege<sup>7</sup>."

The Cattle Plague in Belgium has been made the subject of a careful and interesting Report by Mr. Barron, your Majesty's Secretary of Legation at Brussels. The energetic measures adopted by the Belgian Government have been completely successful. The total number of cases in that country has not exceeded 306, of which 17 died and all the rest were slaughtered. "The localities," says Mr. Barron, "where it was at first mistaken or concealed, are those which have had to struggle the longest to dislodge it. On one farm at Lefvinghe, the whole herd of 40 were killed between November 23rd and December 8th. Three weeks after, on December 30th, the same disease broke out among the sheep, and the whole flock of 112 were sacrificed, 11 as diseased, and 101 as suspected. The carcasses of the latter, being perfectly sound, were sent

for sale to England." One case lately occurred at Antwerp, on a milkman's premises, and was traced to a smuggled cow. The market was at once closed, and all egress of cattle from the town prohibited until further orders. The ravages, however, which the plague continues to make in South Holland, and its threatened advance into North Brabant, naturally excite great apprehension in Belgium; and a short Bill has just been introduced by the Government, which, if passed, will vest in the Executive powers virtually unlimited over both internal traffic and foreign commerce<sup>8</sup>.

Nor has the disease been suffered to gain a footing in France. An animal bought at Malines, immediately before the promulgation of the decree of the 5th September, had been the means of introducing it, but it was promptly suppressed, at a total cost, says the Minister of the Interior, in an official report to the Emperor, of not more than 43 head. It reappeared in November, in the *Jardin d'Acclimatation* of the Bois de Boulogne, having been carried thither by two gazelles brought from India, which had been for three or four days in London. From them it rapidly spread to yaks, zebus, goats, and fallow deer, and the sacrifice of about 35 of these animals was necessary to arrest its progress.

III. As the disease has extended itself in this country, several Orders in Council have been issued. The general result of these Orders has been (1) to circumscribe the powers of the inspectors; (2) to enlarge those of the local authorities; (3) to replace the latter by new local authorities, with a new sphere of jurisdiction. The

<sup>6</sup> The whole Bill is as follows:—

"Art. I. Le Gouvernement est autorisé à prescrire par arrêté royal les mesures que la crainte de l'invasion ou l'existence de maladies épidémiques, peut rendre nécessaires, tant dans l'intérieur du pays que sur les frontières, en ce qui concerne les relations de commerce avec l'étranger.

"Art. 2. Un règlement déterminera les conditions et le taux des indemnités qui pourraient être accordées aux détenteurs d'animaux malades ou suspects dont l'abattage serait ordonné.

"Art. 3. Les infractions aux dispositions prises en vertu de l'article 1er., seront punies d'un emprisonnement de trois mois à deux ans et d'une amende de cent francs à mille francs, soit cumulativement, soit séparément.

"Art. 4. S'il existe des circonstances atténuantes, les peines d'emprisonnement et d'amende pourront être réduites à celles de police."

<sup>6</sup> Under an order in the *Nederlandsche Staats Courant* for 30th November, 1865, no animal is to be introduced without (1) evident need, (2) a licence granted by the burgomaster of the place of destination, and (3) *visé* by the burgomaster of the place of despatch, who must have satisfied himself by (4) a declaration of some competent person (*bevoegd deskundige*) that the beast is sound and from an uninfected place; and the licence must also be (5) approved by the Royal Commissary for South Holland. The animal must (6) be accompanied by a person appointed by the burgomaster, and (7) given in charge, on arrival, to one or more appointed persons, and (8) slaughtered within a short fixed period.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Barron's Report. This is confirmed by the last Report of the Minister of the Interior.

inspectors were deprived of the power to slaughter, except in cases where the owner had disobeyed the inspector's order for the separation of sick animals from sound; the local authorities were armed with power to prohibit animals from being brought within their jurisdiction, except under such conditions as they might think fit to impose; and the Secretary of State was empowered to close a fair or market in any district where the local authority had refused to do so, on a complaint from the local authority of a neighbouring district. Finally, for the Justices of Peace in each petty sessional division of a county were substituted the Justices of Peace for the county in General or Quarter Sessions assembled; the area of jurisdiction being enlarged accordingly, and the power of restraining traffic so extended, as to restrain the movement of cattle within each area as well as ingress into it, but not mere transit or egress by railway.

Under the powers thus created, Orders of Quarter Sessions have been made in every county of England and Wales, prohibiting or restricting generally the movement of cattle into and within the several areas of jurisdiction. These Orders, however, exhibit many varieties of detail. By some, all movement is stopped, even from one part of a farm to another, if a public road intervenes. Movement on farms is permitted by others, sometimes with permission granted by a justice or justices, provided the extent of highway traversed do not exceed a space varying from 100 to 440 yards, whilst occasionally the freedom of the farm from disease for a given but not uniform period must be proved before the highway is crossed at all. In most counties, cattle may be moved for slaughter, or for breeding purposes, under licence, which may be granted, in some, by one justice, in others by two; but, in the nature of the declaration on which the licence is founded, the signatures by which that declaration is to be attested, the time for which the licence is to hold good, the facts to be proved, there is remarkable diversity. The animal must have been on the farm, generally speaking, for a period varying from 14 to 30 days; the farm must have been free from disease for a period varying from 14 days to two months; and, in some cases, no disease must have occurred within a certain distance, varying from a quarter of a mile to five miles, of the farm itself, or of the route to be travelled. In one or two instances, it is further required that the beast should not have been brought into contact with newly purchased stock, or exposed in a market, within a given period. In the majority, all removals between

sunset and sunrise are forbidden. Some Orders include cattle, sheep, and swine; some cattle and sheep; some horned cattle only. These examples by no means exhaust all the diversities discoverable in this mass of local regulations—diversities doubtless justified here and there by the varying circumstances of different counties, but evidently arising in a very great measure from mere want of concert, and probably destined, if they are maintained, to beget considerable dissatisfaction and inconvenience.

IV. In our first Report we humbly submitted to your Majesty the conclusions at which we had arrived respecting the general character of the disease, and the measures which should be adopted with a view to arrest its progress. We agreed (Mr. M'Clellan dissenting) in the opinion that the only reasonable hope of effecting this object lay in imposing, for a limited period, restrictions of a very stringent kind on the movement of cattle, and that these restrictions should be uniform, and should be carried into effect at a time when the disease had not spread to an unmanageable extent, and when they would be attended with fewer difficulties, and with far less of loss and inconvenience, than must necessarily surround them towards the approach of spring. We differed in some degree as to the amount of stringency which we might reasonably venture to recommend. We think it right to say (Mr. M'Clellan still dissenting) that the opinions in which we then concurred not only remain unshaken, but have been materially strengthened and confirmed by the deplorable experience of the last three months.

After laying before Your Majesty our Recommendations on this head, it remained for us to pursue the investigation which we had already begun into the nature of the disease, with a view to ascertain how far it could be combated by curative or preventive treatment. This investigation included a thorough and minute observation of the symptoms and progress of the disorder, and careful inquiries into its general and chemical pathology and morbid anatomy, a microscopical examination of the tissues and fluids of the bodies of diseased animals, a trial of various methods of treatment, experiments on disinfection and ventilation. It was further desirable to ascertain by actual experiments to what other animals it was communicable.

These inquiries were committed, under the general superintendence of the medical and scientific members of the Commission, to the following gentlemen:—

1. Nature, Propagation, Progress, and

Symptoms of the Disease; J. B. Sander-  
son, Esq., M.D.

2. General Pathology of the Disease,  
and its Relation to Human Diseases;  
C. Murchison, Esq., M.D.

3. Chemical Pathology of the Disease;  
W. Marcet, Esq., M.D.

4. Morbid Anatomy of the Disease;  
J. S. Bristowe, Esq., M.D.

5. Microscopical Researches on the  
Disease; Lionel S. Beale, Esq., M.D.

6. Treatment of the Disease; George  
Varnell, Esq., M.R.C.V.S., and William  
Pritchard, Esq., M.R.C.V.S.

7. Disinfection and Ventilation; R.  
Angus Smith, Esq., Ph.D.

On several of these heads no definite conclusions could be formed without long and laborious inquiry. On most of them we have already received Reports, and all the Reports will very soon be completed. We shall then lose no time in laying them before Your Majesty, together with a brief general account of the results reached by the different lines of investigation. This will form our Third and last Report.

An experimental investigation of the nature and treatment of the disease was commenced at an early period by several gentlemen of high professional and scientific eminence at Edinburgh, and a valuable Report by them has been already published. These gentlemen are continuing their researches, and have undertaken to place in our hands a further report upon the subject.

A large mass of statistical information respecting the progress of the disease has been collected by the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council Office; and the Department has also obtained, by printed forms very extensively circulated, information respecting the various modes of treatment which have been practised in different parts of the country, and their respective results. A comprehensive digest of the information so procured under both heads is being prepared under the direction of the Secretary of the Department, and we hope to be enabled to append this digest, with some illustrative maps, to our Third Report.

Some further evidence, oral and documentary, respecting the progress of the disease, the condition and inspection of cow-sheds and slaughter-houses in the metropolis, the precautions enforced and accommodation provided at the various landing-places for foreign cattle, and the provision made for the proper transport of live stock on the railways of the United Kingdom, is appended to this Report.

V. We shall abstain in our present Report from entering into the results of

the scientific inquiries to which we have referred. There are, however, some points of more or less practical moment, to which, in closing our inquiry, we think it right to advert.

All endeavours to discover a method of treatment on which some reliance could be placed, have entirely failed. Innumerable suggestions of this kind have been made or communicated to us, to none of which any substantial value could be assigned, and the knowledge and ingenuity of practitioners, in every part of the United Kingdom, have been exerted for this object in vain. The experience of the Dutch physicians and veterinary surgeons during the present outbreak, appears unhappily to coincide on this point with our own.

Vaccination is not a protection against Cattle Plague. Careful experiments, conducted at our desire by the most experienced operators, have shown that an animal successfully vaccinated, and in which cow-pox has been fully developed, may, within a few days after exposure to the infection of Cattle Plague, contract that disease and die of it. We have, at present, no evidence that vaccination fortifies the system against this new assailant in any degree. The experiment, however, is now being made on so great a scale (upwards of 27,000 having been vaccinated in Cheshire alone), and under such a variety of circumstances, that, should this statement require any material qualification, the public will soon have full information on the subject.

The possibility of mitigating the virulence of the disease by inoculation with the matter of the disease, is a subject of much interest, and has engaged our attention. Such inoculation has been tried repeatedly, and on a considerable scale, by the Russian Government, and the effect of a long series of transmissions has been carefully noted and recorded; but the experiment has not been very successful, and it has for the present been abandoned. The Dutch Government, though much pressed to introduce it in South Holland, has refrained from doing so for fear of the consequences. ("Rapport aan den Koning," 23rd January, 1866.) Whether modes of inoculation may not yet be found which will effect the desired object, is a question which can only be solved by various and repeated trials. Further information on the subject will be given in our Third Report. It is obviously inadvisable that any experiments of this kind should be tried, unless by persons of competent scientific knowledge, and under the strictest precautions to prevent the spread of infection.



The only means of combating the disease which remain, consist in the stoppage of the movement of stock and of things likely to be vehicles of infection, in the isolation and slaughter of infected cattle, and in the use of disinfectants.

The careful and thorough use of disinfectants, which attack and neutralize the poison either when floating in the air or when adhering to solid or liquid substances, cannot be urged too strongly. In every locality, measures should be taken to circulate information as to the best disinfectants, and to insure their being used. Some ready and effectual compounds for disinfecting the air, for cow-houses, waggons, ships, and moveable articles, especially of metal, and for fresh hides, horns, and hoofs, are described in a note<sup>9</sup>; but we hope to supply more detailed information on this subject in our Third Report.

But it is still necessary, and it will not cease to be necessary, to insist on the measures on which so much stress has already been laid—and of the importance of which the country is now fully aware—on the restriction of movement, and on isolation. Recent experience appears to indicate further the expediency of slaughtering infected cattle, provided this can be done without injustice to the owners. By what means this can be best accomplished,—whether by voluntary associations, such as that in Aberdeenshire, or otherwise,—what may wisely be done by the Legislature or the Executive to promote and encourage such associations, or to assist in other ways the desired object, are questions on which this Commission possesses no special information, and

which will soon, no doubt, be discussed in Parliament.

We have one thing to add. The subtle poison of this disease has now diffused itself through the country, and our principal danger is at home, and not in importations from abroad. But the question, what permanent regulations must be made to prevent the re-importation of it hereafter from infected countries, is one which must be considered sooner or later.

The importation of foreign cattle is large, and largely increasing. It is found profitable to bring them from countries where this disease is a frequent guest, and in the near neighbourhood of which it commonly dwells. Hungarian bullocks fetch in the English market a price sufficient to repay the importer. The time required for transit is not well ascertained, nor is it very important to ascertain it, for it is always liable to be shortened by improved arrangements; and an animal which has travelled in a drove, truck, or ship-load, may well be diseased on its arrival here, without having been so when it started on its journey. As to the countries from which cattle come, there can often be no certain knowledge; they are sent, for the most part, to England by foreign dealers resident in German towns, are consigned to salesmen here, and sold on commission. Hamburg and Rotterdam, from which the chief importations come, are the terminal stations of the great network of German lines, branches of which run into Hungary, Poland, and Galicia, and will soon be pushed up to the Bessarabian frontier. The Dutch ports alone have sent us not less than 150,000 cattle and 250,000 sheep in a year. Cattle which have stood in the markets of Magdeburg or Berlin have undoubtedly undergone inspection, and, if brought from an infected district, quarantine. But we think it useless to trust to any inspection or other precautionary measures which foreign Governments may be induced to apply to cattle leaving their own ports or frontiers, or in the case of through traffic. Such precautions may be desirable, but no real reliance can be placed on them. We must be prepared to meet the danger when it reaches our own shores. We receive, during several months in the year, from 5,000 to 10,000 animals a week, which are landed at a few ports, and thence dispersed all over the country. More than half of the entire number land at London; upwards of six-sevenths at the three ports of London, Harwich, and Hull. Against the peril which must lurk in these great importations mere inspection will always be a very imperfect defence, even if conducted

<sup>9</sup> The experiments of Dr. Angus Smith show that the best disinfectants are carbolic acid (or M'Dougall's powder) and chloride of lime. Both of these should be freely used in all sheds, and for waggons and trucks, not only in infected districts, but throughout the country; the walls, floors, and roofs being all well washed. Some of the carbolic acid passes into the air, which it purifies. Hides should have common salt spread over them for twelve hours, and afterwards be washed in a solution of carbolic acid and water (two ounces of acid to the gallon), or be laid in a solution of chloride of lime (half a pound to a gallon of water) for ten minutes. Manure should be burnt, or, if this be impracticable, should be disinfected with carbolic acid, and deeply buried. For washing purposes, Dr. Angus Smith recommends M'Dougall's disinfecting soap, which contains crude carbolic acid.

with greater local facilities, and under more careful supervision, than seems to have been the case hitherto. There is, in fact, but one class of precautions likely to be effectual—viz., to restrict importation absolutely, except in case of stress of weather, to a certain number of ports, where proper accommodation could be provided; to cause all fat cattle to be slaughtered at the ports, and all store cattle to undergo a period of quarantine. Hides and skins from any part of the Continent, not dried as well as salted, ought to be disinfected at the port of importation.

The evidence which we have received on some other points on slaughter-houses and cow-sheds in the Metropolitan District, on the substitution of dead meat markets for live cattle markets, on the inland conveyance of cattle by railway, and on the cleansing and regulation of sea-going cattle boats—we lay before Your Majesty, without founding any recommendation on them. The present calamity has shown

how defective are our general precautions—if any precautions can be said to exist—for the detection and prevention of contagious cattle diseases, and we trust that it will give an impulse to improvement in these respects, and that the subject will be reconsidered hereafter. It lies, however, beyond the scope of our commission, and we content ourselves with directing attention to it.

(Signed) SPENCER.  
CRANBORNE.  
ROBERT LOWE.  
LYON PLAYFAIR.  
CLARE SEWELL READ.  
HENRY BENICE JONES.  
RICHARD QUAIN.  
E. A. PARKES.  
J. R. MCLEAN<sup>10</sup>.  
THOS. WORMALD.  
ROBERT CEELEY.  
CHARLES SPOONER.

MOUNTAGUE BERNARD.

February 5, 1866.

### III.

## PAPERS RELATING TO THE INSURRECTION IN JAMAICA.

### DESPATCHES FROM GOVERNOR EYRE.

No. 1.

*Governor Eyre to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P.*—(Received November 16.)

(No. 251.)

King's House, October 20, 1865.

Sir,

It is my very painful duty to inform you that a most serious and alarming insurrection of the negro population has taken place in this colony, and been attended with great loss of life and destruction of property. The outbreak commenced at Morant Bay, in St. Thomas in the East, and rapidly spread through the contiguous parishes.

2. A succinct statement of the occurrences will perhaps best enable you to comprehend the very imminent jeopardy in which the colony has been placed, and the nature of the steps taken to put down the rebellion.

3. I may premise that there were three principal objects to be attained:—

First. To save the lives of the ladies, children, and other isolated and unprotected persons in the districts where the rebellion existed.

Secondly. To head the insurrectionary movement, and prevent the further spread

of the rebellion in its progress along and around the east end of the island.

Thirdly. To punish the rebels and restore peace to the disturbed districts.

4. On the morning of Wednesday the 11th instant, 8 A.M., I received at Spanish Town a letter from the Baron von Ketelhodt, Custos of St. Thomas in the East, written the previous evening from Morant Bay, to inform me that serious disturbances were apprehended, and to request that troops might be sent.

5. The circumstances stated in the Baron's letter were to the effect that on Saturday the 7th October, whilst a black man was being brought up for trial before the justices, a large number of the peasantry, armed with bludgeons and preceded by a band of music, came into the town, and, leaving the music at a little distance, surrounded the Court-house, openly expressing their determination to rescue the man about to be tried, if convicted. One of their party having created a considerable disturbance in the Court-house, was ordered into custody, whereupon the mob rushed in, rescued the prisoner, and maltreated the policemen in attendance.

<sup>10</sup> Subject to views appended to First Report.

No further injury appears to have been done at this time, and the magistrates seem to have thought so little of the occurrence that no steps were taken to communicate with the Executive.

6. On Monday the 9th October, the justices issued a warrant for the apprehension of twenty-eight of the principal persons concerned in the disturbance of Saturday, and confided it to six policemen for execution.

Upon the arrival of the police at the settlement where the parties lived (called "Stoney Gut," and about three or four miles from Morant Bay) a shell was blown, and the negroes collected in large numbers, armed with guns, cutlasses, pikes, and bayonets.

They caught and ill-treated three of the policemen, putting them in handcuffs and administering to them an oath upon a Bible, which they had ready, binding them to desert the whites and join their (that is, the black) party.

7. Up to this period (Monday night) the Custos had not been in the parish. He arrived on Tuesday the 10th October, about noon, but did not seem, as I am informed by Mr. Stephen Cooke, Clerk of the Peace and Magistrates, even now to think much of what had taken place, and it was only at the urgent entreaty of Mr. Cooke that he was induced to write the letter to which I have already adverted.

8. Upon receiving this communication at 8 A.M. I immediately sent for the Executive Committee, and after a hurried consultation with them and with the Attorney-General, an express was sent over to Kingston, requesting the General commanding Her Majesty's troops to get ready 100 men for immediate embarkation, and an express was also sent off to Captain De Horsey, of Her Majesty's ship "Wolverine," and senior naval officer at Port Royal, to request that if possible a man-of-war might at once be sent up to Kingston to receive the troops and take them to their destination.

9. Unfortunately, the only man-of-war besides the "Wolverine" had left Port Royal for Vera Cruz on this very morning.

Captain De Horsey, however, at once got ready his own ship, the "Wolverine," took her up to Kingston by 5 o'clock, and by 6 P.M. the troops were embarked and away to Port Royal, where the ship was at anchor till daylight and then run down to Morant Bay.

A letter was sent by this opportunity to Baron Ketelhodt, conveying general instructions for his guidance.

10. Having thus done all in my power at the time and without the least delay,

I returned to my temporary residence at Flamstead, in the mountains, to be present at a dinner party which was to meet there the next day.

11. On that day (Thursday, the 12th), about half-past 4 P.M., I received a private letter from a Mr. Davidson, a magistrate of St. David's, which had been sent across the country, stating that it was reported the blacks had risen and murdered the Baron, two sons of the rector of the parish (Mr. Cooke), and several other persons; and stating that it was expected the rebels were coming along the line of the Blue Mountain Valley to destroy the properties contiguous thereto, and to murder the white and coloured inhabitants.

12. Upon receiving this communication I wrote a hasty application to the General for 200 more troops, and then at once got upon my horse and set off for Kingston. When about half-way down the mountain I met a messenger from the Custos of Kingston corroborating the intelligence I had already received. Upon arriving at the residence of General O'Connor, about 7 P.M., I found the news of the massacre had reached Kingston about 2 P.M. The General at the time was absent at Port Royal reviewing the troops, but an express was sent to him by the Custos of Kingston. This express met him about 3 P.M. as he was returning in a small gun-boat from Port Royal. He at once put back to Port Royal, and directed the embarkation from thence of another 100 men on board the gun-boat "Onyx" to proceed to the scene of the disturbance. By 6 P.M. they were on board, and all ready to sail at daylight next morning.

13. Finding that the General had thus promptly and judiciously anticipated to a considerable extent the requisition I had written, it appeared to me that the only additional step to be taken immediately was to detach a company of white troops from Newcastle, to proceed along the line of the Blue Mountain Valley, and try to intercept the rebels who were said to be coming up in that direction, whilst a party could be detached from Morant Bay to meet and co-operate with them. This was accordingly done. By midnight the order was sent off to Newcastle, and soon after 3 A.M. the company was under arms marching to execute the service; a letter having been written by me to General Jackson, an old Indian officer, of ability and experience, requesting him to attach himself to the party in his capacity as a Justice of the Peace, and to afford the benefit of his local information and general experience.

14. The Executive Committee met me in consultation at the residence of General



O'Connor, and expresses were sent out to collect the Privy Council, which was assembled a little before midnight. The result of the deliberation was, that it was considered expedient at once to declare martial law, and notices were forthwith sent out to the members of Privy Council and members of Assembly to meet at 8 A.M. next morning to hold a Council of War, this being the legal formality required by the 9th Vict., cap 35, secs. 95—98.

15. Considering the extreme urgency of the case, and the magnitude of the interests at stake, I considered it my duty to make preparations for proceeding in person to the scene of disturbance, to superintend and direct the operations which might be necessary, and as there was no man-of-war in port, or English steamer, I chartered the "*Caravelle*," one of the French line-of-packet ships, which fortunately happened to be in port, and was most considerately placed at my service by Captain Burat.

16. About half an hour after midnight, I got away with my aide-de-camp, Colonel Hunt, and drove over to Spanish Town. Here I had the Governor's Secretary and his clerk at once called up, and the requisite proclamations for establishing martial law prepared. By half-past 6 A.M. on Friday the 13th I had completed my arrangements, and returned to Kingston by 8 A.M., where I met the Council of war, and, with their concurrence, at once declared the county of Surrey, excepting Kingston, to be under martial law.

17. Having requested the General to send an officer to accompany me to take command of the troops, he named Colonel Nelson, the Adjutant-General, upon whom I at once conferred the local rank of Brigadier-General in the Militia, in order to give him seniority over all other officers of Militia or Volunteers who might be present. A detachment of fifty additional troops was at once put on board the "*Caravelle*," and I also invited to accompany me a Member of Council, Mr. A. Fyfe; two Members of Assembly, Mr. Peter Espeut and Mr. Andrew Lewis; the Attorney-General, and a Mr. Henry Hutchings, all in their capacities as officers of Militia and Volunteers.

18. By 10 A.M. we embarked. Whilst proceeding down the harbour we met Her Majesty's ship "*Wolverine*" from the scene of action, bringing up the ladies, gentlemen, and children who had escaped, and some few prisoners who had been captured.

19. The accompanying Report was also received from the senior naval officer, conveying an account of the sad scene which

had presented itself on the arrival of the "*Wolverine*" at 9 A.M. on Thursday morning (12th October).

The shocking tale was still more harrowing as related by those who had escaped, and some of whom appeared to have got away in a most wonderful and almost miraculous manner. No less than sixteen gentlemen were known to have been killed, and eighteen others wounded.

The most frightful atrocities were perpetrated. The Island curate of Bath, the Rev. V. Herschell, is said to have had his tongue cut out whilst still alive, and an attempt is said to have been made to skin him. One person (Mr. Charles Price, a black gentleman, formerly a Member of Assembly,) was ripped open, and his entrails taken out. One gentleman (Lieutenant Hall of the Volunteers) is said to have been pushed into an outbuilding, which was then set on fire, and kept there until he was literally roasted alive. Many are said to have had their eyes scooped out; heads were cleft open and the brains taken out. The Baron's fingers were cut off and carried away as trophies by the murderers. Some bodies were half burnt, others horribly battered. Indeed the whole outrage could only be paralleled by the atrocities of the Indian mutiny. The women, as usual on such occasions, were even more brutal and barbarous than the men. The only redeeming trait being that, so far as we could learn, no ladies or children had as yet been injured.

20. I append a narrative by Mr. Stephen Cooke, Clerk of the Peace and Magistrates, one of the survivors, of the circumstances immediately preceding the massacre, and so far as he knows of the occurrences of the massacre itself; but it is obvious, from the nature of the case, that it can only be a most imperfect and incomplete account. The true and full story can now never be hoped for. All the principal inhabitants of the district had been killed, and the entire Volunteer force (with the exception of a few who escaped) consisting of twenty-two officers and men, nobly died at their posts, gallantly doing their duty.

21. Having sent a requisition by the "*Wolverine*" for another company of white troops, we proceeded on our way and arrived at Morant Bay (the scene of the murders) at about 7 P.M. (13th October).

22. Upon landing and inspecting the position and arrangements, we found that about 100 blue-jackets and marines and some 80 men of the 1st West were encamped, whilst a detachment of about 120 of the 1st West, under Captain Luke, had proceeded on towards Bath, to reconnoitre

and protect the ladies and children said to be in that district.

23. Having landed the 50 men brought in the "Caravelle," orders were issued for 50 blue-jackets and marines to start at daylight on the 14th for Easington, in St. David's, to meet and co-operate with the party of the 2nd battalion 6th Regiment which had been detached from Newcastle, as already stated, to work up along the line of the Blue Mountain Valley to the same locality (Easington).

24. It was now about 9 o'clock P.M., but Brigadier Nelson and myself at once embarked on board the gun-boat "Onyx," Lieutenant Brand, for Port Morant, where we arrived a little after midnight.

25. Here we learnt that Captain Luke, the officer in charge of the party from Morant Bay, had again sent on in advance, as far as Bath, a detachment of thirty-five men, under Ensign Cullen, for the purpose of protecting women and children. We ascertained also that some of the rebels were in the immediate vicinity of our camp, and a party of twenty-five men was sent out at 2 A.M. in the morning, to try and surprise some in their huts. Two men and some women were thus captured. One of the men was a principal in the disturbances, of the name of Flemming; he was tried by court-martial and at once hung. The second, quite a young man, was flogged. The women were released.

26. Early on the 14th October, having made arrangements for the remainder of the party at Port Morant to march to Bath, to co-operate with the detachment of thirty-five already there, and under the guidance of several settlers of the district, who had come up with us for the purpose, to collect and bring down the ladies, children, and other refugees to Port Morant, we returned in the gun-boat to Morant Bay, arriving about 9 A.M.

27. Soon after we reached Morant Bay the "Wolverine" came in sight, having on board another company of the 2nd battalion 6th Regiment. The day was intensely wet, and as the encampment was not very well protected from the weather, the troops and sailors were subjected to much discomfort and exposure.

28. The prisoners on board the "Wolverine" were landed, and five of them tried by court-martial, four of whom were hung on the stone archway of the burnt Court-house near to which all the massacres had taken place on the 11th. One prisoner was flogged. The Attorney-General of the Colony, in his capacity as a Captain of the Militia, sat as a member of the Court.

29. Having made all the necessary ar-

rangements, we got under weigh to leave Morant Bay about 4 P.M., the gun-boat having already been despatched to Port Morant to take in the refugees collected by the troops.

30. As we were leaving the Bay, the "Urgent," troop-ship, was signalled in sight making for Port Royal to effect changes of the troops from one West Indian island to another. She was at once signalled to come up to us, and on my application was ordered by Captain De Horsey to go in to Port Royal to coal, and then at once to proceed to Barbadoes for troops, for which I wrote the accompanying letter to the officer administering the Government.

31. Having made this arrangement, we steamed again to Port Morant, and found the gun-boat had already taken on board the ladies and children and other refugees (numbering about 100) collected from the Bath, Plantain Garden, and contiguous districts, many of these unfortunate people had suffered great hardships and run great risks, some having been days and nights in the cane fields or in the woods, without food or clothing save what they had on, and subject to all risks which exposure at night in a tropical country entails.

All were come away without any other possessions than the things they had on. The weather was extremely wet, and the little gun-boat, though a refuge from the rebels, could not afford to such a crowd either adequate shelter from the weather, or accommodation of any kind suited to the requirements of delicate women and children. Lieutenant Brand, and those acting under him, were most kind and zealous in doing all they could. And Captain De Horsey assisted by sending his medical officers to visit and cheer, and supply cooked medical comforts to the invalids. Still the night spent on board the gun-boat, and the subsequent voyage to Kingston, must have been one of great trial and suffering to the unfortunate refugees. Eventually, they were all landed safely on the afternoon of the 15th.

32. All having been done for the refugees in the gun-boat that was practicable, the troops, through whose exertions they were collected and brought in in safety, were re-embarked on board the "Wolverine."

Both vessels remained at anchor for the night.

33. At daylight on the 15th October, the "Onyx" started for Kingston, and the "Wolverine" for Port Antonio, where we arrived about 11 A.M., just in time to save this settlement from the rebels, who were burning buildings and destroying

property about twelve miles to the eastward, and had already threatened to come in and destroy Port Antonio this very day.

34. A large number of the principal inhabitants had taken refuge on board the American barque the "Reunion," Captain Tracey, who had taken them out to sea since Friday evening, and only returned to port and anchored just before we arrived. It will be my duty to bring Captain Tracey's kindness under your notice in a separate despatch.

In the town a large number of special and rural constables had been collected by the authorities, and some of the Maroons had come down from Moore Town to assist, but all were without arms or ammunition, beyond a few old guns or swords that were of little value for any purpose.

The joy and relief of the inhabitants, therefore, at the arrival of the "Wolverine" may be more easily imagined than described.

35. No time was lost in disembarking the troops, and by noon a strong detachment consisting of 100 from the 2nd battalion 6th Regiment and of 1st West India Regiment (many on horseback), were on their way, under Captain Hole, 6th Regiment, to meet the rebels, reported to be at Long Bay (twelve or fourteen miles to the eastward), and to protect the women and children and other refugees in that district, and in that of Manchioneal, to which they were to remove in accordance with an arrangement concerted between myself and Brigadier Nelson.

36. Having made all necessary dispositions for the occupation of Port Antonio, expresses were sent off to Kingston and Morant Bay with information, and the party stationed at Morant Bay was ordered, in co-operation with the party expected from Newcastle up the line of the Blue Mountain Valley, at once to march by night upon the stronghold of the rebels at Stoney Gut, about four miles inland from Morant Bay, so as to arrive about daybreak, and, if possible, destroy the stronghold, and capture or cut off the rebels.

37. I personally inspected the Maroons, a fine body of about 150 men, who in the most loyal spirit had come down on the day preceding our arrival, ill-armed as they were, determined to protect Port Antonio. They were unbounded in their devotion and loyalty, and were beyond measure delighted to see again their former captain, the Honourable A. G. Fyfe, whom I had brought with me in the "Wolverine," and under whose orders they at once placed themselves.

A party of Maroons had already been of

great service in protecting Bath, and the fact of this singular and isolated people proving faithful is one of incalculable value to the Government in the emergency which exists. I shall address you separately in reference to the Maroons when I am less pressed for time.

38. It was now clear that by the rapidity of our movements we had got ahead of the rebellion, which, breaking out at Morant Bay, had proceeded rapidly along the south-east, east, and north-east corner of the island.

By occupying Port Antonio in time, we not only saved that district from destruction, but we met and stopped the further progress of the rebellion twelve miles east of it.

We had indeed accomplished some most important results in a singularly brief space of time.

A military post was established at Morant Bay and another at Port Antonio, whilst the centre of a line connecting the two was occupied by the friendly Maroons.

39. The greater portion of the rebels were therefore hemmed in within the country east of this line. The spread of the rebellion westward was stopped; and if no independent outbreak occurs in any other part of the island, we shall have the disturbed districts under control, and can at leisure deal with and punish the insurgents.

At the same time all the helpless and unprotected ladies, children, and other refugees have been got in and saved.

40. All our most important work being thus done, and the troops comfortably established in their barracks, we had for the first time a night of quiet and rest on the night of Sunday the 15th October.

41. At daybreak on Monday the 16th October a court-martial sat to try prisoners, and twenty-seven were found guilty and hung.

Despatches arrived from Kingston from the Executive Committee and from the Custos and Justices, expressing a desire for my return, and urging me to proclaim martial law in Kingston.

42. As there was no pressing necessity for my stay at Port Antonio, I left the Brigadier-General Nelson to complete his military arrangements, and about 5 P.M. on the 16th set off in the "Wolverine" for Kingston, considering that my personal presence and the information and explanations I could give would do more to allay anxiety and calm apprehension than any thing I could write.

There would also be the advantage of communicating personally with the General and with the Executive Committee, as well as of procuring and bringing back



arms for the Maroons, without obtaining which we could not make their services fully available.

43. Having left Port Antonio on the evening of the 16th October, we dropped a Maroon messenger in a canoe off Morant Bay as we passed, with orders, and arrived off Kingston by 7 A.M. on the 17th October, almost before any one had any idea of our coming.

44. I at once communicated with the General, with the Executive Committee, and with the Civil Authorities of Kingston. Considerable apprehension seemed to be entertained that a rising might take place in Kingston, and reports were brought in that disturbances were apprehended at Linstead in St. Thomas in the Vale, about fourteen miles from Spanish Town. To guard against this last contingency, I requested the General at once to send off the troops that were in Spanish Town to Linstead, and then later in the day to replace them by troops to be called in from Rock Fort, four miles east of Kingston.

45. During my absence the General had, in concert with the civil authorities, taken all measures and precautions in their power by increasing the number of Volunteers, both infantry and mounted, calling out the Pensioners, and making such other arrangements as were practicable. The General had also sent a detachment of the 2nd battalion 6th Regiment from Newcastle across the country to Buff Bay (not a disturbed district) as a precautionary measure. The party sent out originally, at my request, from Newcastle, under Captain Field, to follow up the line of the Blue Mountain Valley, had been strengthened and placed under command of Colonel Hobbs in person. From this officer a report had been received, stating his progress up to a place called Mocklands, and a subsequent one announcing his intention to move on Stoney Gut and take that stronghold.

46. I found also that the General, in addition to the troops written for by me from Barbadoes, had made arrangements for recalling about 200 men from Nassau.

47. Having thus discussed and settled with the General all that could be at present accomplished, I met, at 9 A.M., the Custos, Mayor, and Magistrates of Kingston, to whom I explained what had been accomplished, and the present state of affairs, and I succeeded in satisfying them that, under existing circumstances, it would not be expedient at present to extend martial law to Kingston.

48. There was one very important point to be decided upon. Throughout my tour in the "Wolverine" and "Onyx" I found

every where the most unmistakable evidence that Mr. Geo. Wm. Gordon, a coloured Member of the House of Assembly, had not only been mixed up in the matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentation and seditious language addressed to the ignorant black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion. Mr. Gordon was now in Kingston, and it became necessary to decide what action should be taken with regard to him. Having obtained a deposition on oath that certain seditious printed notices had been sent through the Post Office directed, in his handwriting, to the parties who have been leaders in the rebellion, I at once called upon the Custos to issue a warrant and capture him. For some little time he managed to evade capture; but finding that, sooner or later, it was inevitable, he proceeded to the house of General O'Connor and there gave himself up. I at once had him placed on board the "Wolverine" for safe custody and conveyance to Morant Bay.

49. Great difference of opinion prevailed in Kingston as to the policy of taking Mr. Gordon. Nearly all coincided in believing him to be the occasion of the rebellion, and that he ought to be taken, but many of the inhabitants were under considerable apprehension that his capture might lead to an immediate outbreak in Kingston itself. I did not share in this feeling. Moreover, considering it right in the abstract, and desirable as a matter of policy, that whilst the poor black men who had been misled were undergoing condign punishment, the chief instigator of all the evils should not go unpunished, I at once took upon myself the responsibility of his capture.

50. Having placed Mr. Gordon on board the "Wolverine," and having obtained a supply of arms and ammunition from General O'Connor for the use of the Maroons and others, I at once set off again in the "Wolverine," about noon on the 17th of October, on my return back to Morant Bay.

51. In leaving Port Royal we encountered Her Majesty's ship "Steady" coming in, and directions were at once given to her to coal, and then proceed westward round the island, calling in at the various ports, and taking arms for St. Elizabeth's.

52. The weather being very stormy, with strong wind and head sea against us, we were unable to get into Morant Bay that evening (17th October), and anchored outside, rolling heavily all night.

53. At dawn of day on the 18th of October we entered Morant Bay, and, upon landing, learnt that nothing had been

heard of Colonel Hobbs or his party, but that detachments from the party of sailors and marines left on shore by the "Wolverine" since the 12th instant, and from the Royal Artillery, had proceeded about 3 A.M. this morning to attack Stoney Gut.

54. Being anxious to obtain some information as to the result of the expedition, I detained the "Wolverine" for a few hours whilst some mounted policemen followed after the expedition to procure intelligence. A hurried pencilled report from Lieutenant Oxley stated that they arrived at Stoney Gut about daybreak, but that the rebels had disappeared, and the place was deserted.

55. At 11 A.M. (18th October) we weighed anchor, and steamed for Port Antonio, where we arrived a little after dark.

All was going on well. The Reports from Captain Hole's party at Manchioneal were satisfactory, and at Port Antonio itself more volunteers had been enrolled, and more Maroons had come down and offered their services. Many rebels had been captured, and several courts-martial had been held, and capital punishment inflicted.

56. Finding that nothing had occurred or was likely to occur to disturb the suitability of the military arrangements which had been made by Brigadier Nelson, in accordance with my request, I decided upon returning to Kingston, first leaving a Memorandum with the Brigadier, specifying the several stations which I desired to be kept up, and the movements which I wished to be made. We remained at anchor in Port Antonio on the night of the 18th of October, and on the following day, after landing and distributing arms to the Maroons, and getting on board the Morant Bay prisoners, who had been landed here, we left about noon on the 19th October for Morant Bay; Brigadier-General Nelson accompanying me to make Morant Bay his head-quarters for directing further operations from.

57. All was going on well at the camp. The parties from Stoney Gut had returned; more rebels had been captured or shot, and a report had also been received from Colonel Hobbs, who, after reaching Stoney Gut and finding it occupied by the Morant Bay detachment, had retired again towards Mocklands, a position some distance inland on the line of the Blue Mountain Valley. Colonel Hobbs had seen and shot a good many rebels, as well as captured some prisoners.

On the morning of the 20th October, having landed Brigadier Nelson and the

Militia officers who aided as members of courts-martial, and having put on shore the prisoners, including G. W. Gordon, I again proceeded in the "Wolverine" to Kingston, reaching that city about 2 P.M.

58. The gun-boats the "Onyx" and the "Nettle" were left under the orders of Brigadier Nelson at Morant Bay.

59. At Kingston all was quiet, though apprehension of an outbreak is still entertained, and all practicable precautions against it taken.

Many political characters suspected of being implicated in the rebellion have, under the authority of the Executive Committee and the civil authorities, been apprehended. So also have various Haytian refugees suspected of being mixed up with the leaders of the insurrection.

60. In the country districts rumours of disaffection exist, and threatening letters are received, but no outbreak has taken place; and as the "Steady" has already gone round to visit the outposts, I trust that the evil spirit which evidently pervades a large portion of the peasantry of this island will be kept under and subdued.

61. General O'Connor and the Executive Committee had also, in my absence, arranged that Her Majesty's ship "Lily," which came into port on the 20th instant, should likewise proceed westward round the island, calling at the various ports, conveying a few troops for Vere, where the expectation of an outbreak had been reported, and taking arms for several of the more distant parishes.

62. Such is a general and hurried outline of what has taken place up to this evening, 20th October. The narrative has been hastily drawn up at sea, in such intervals as I could obtain from other avocations, and amidst the inconveniences of board ship; I must therefore claim your indulgence for any imperfections or omissions. Up to the present time no reasonable or intelligible cause has been assigned as the origin of this most wicked and wide-spread rebellion.

63. I cannot myself doubt that it is in a great degree due to Dr. Underhill's letter and the meetings held in connexion with that letter, where the people were told that they were tyrannized over and ill-treated, were over-taxed, were denied political rights, had no just tribunals, were misrepresented to Her Majesty's Government by the authorities and by the planters; and where, in fact, language of the most exciting and seditious kind was constantly used, and the people told plainly to right themselves, to be up and doing, to put their shoulders to the wheel,

to do as the Haytians had done, and other similar advice.

64. The parties who have more immediately taken part in these nefarious proceedings are; firstly, G. W. Gordon, a member of Assembly and a Baptist preacher; secondly, several black persons, chiefly of the Baptist persuasion, connected with him; thirdly, various political demagogues and agitators who, having no character or property to lose, make a trade of exciting the ignorant people; fourthly, a few persons of better information and education, who find their interest in acquiring an influence amongst the black people by professing to advise them, whilst in reality they are but exciting and stimulating their evil passions; fifthly, a few Baptist missionaries, who like Messrs. Henderson, Reid, Dendy, Hewitt, and Maxwell, endorse at public meetings or otherwise, all the untruthful statements or innuendoes propagated in Dr. Underhill's letter; and lastly, a section of the press, which, like the *Watchman* and the *County Union* is always disseminating seditious doctrines, and endeavouring to bring into contempt the representative of the Sovereign and all constituted authority.

65. Whilst it is my duty to point out how mischievous has been the influence of a few of the Baptist ministers and of various members of that persuasion, it is equally my duty, and a pleasure to me, to state that I believe the large majority of the Baptist ministers have been most anxious to support the authorities, to teach their people to be loyal and industrious, and to endorse the advice given to the peasantry by Her Most Gracious Majesty.

66. In reporting the occurrences of the outbreak of the rebellion and the steps taken to put it down, it is my duty to state most unequivocally my opinion that Jamaica has been, and to a certain extent still is, in the greatest jeopardy.

67. Humanly speaking I believe that the promptitude and vigour of action which has at once grappled with and punished the rebellion, has been the saving of Jamaica. The whole colony has been upon a mine, which required but a spark to ignite it. Disaffection and disloyalty still exist in nearly all the parishes of the island, and had there been the least hesitation or delay in dealing with them in the parishes where they became developed in rebellion, I confidently believe that the insurrection would have been universal throughout the entire island, and that either the colony would have been lost to the mother country, or an almost interminable war and an unknown ex-

pense have had to be incurred in suppressing it.

68. In many previous despatches I have pointed out the pernicious efforts and influences of the so-called Underhill meetings, and not long since I called your attention to the necessity I was under in August last of sending men-of-war to the parishes of St. James, Trelawney, St. Elizabeth, Hanover, and Westmoreland to intimidate the malcontents, and prevent an expected rising. These measures were then successful. In the recent case of St. Thomas-in-the-East, the Government had not a sufficient warning, and our precautionary measures were too late.

69. I trust, Sir, that you will fully bear these circumstances in mind, and that, in doing so, you will not regard the just severity which has been exercised otherwise than as a merciful substitute for the much larger measure of punishment which would have had to be executed had the rebellion been allowed time to gather head and extend itself.

70. I regarded it not only as desirable, but a positive duty to be personally present to direct and superintend the military movements in the disturbed districts. From the first moment of the outbreak up to the date of my return to Kingston this afternoon (October 20), every disposition of the troops and every movement has been made by Brigadier Nelson under my own personal instruction and approval.

71. The whole responsibility of what has been done, therefore, rests upon me. At the same time I beg to express my own deep obligation, and the obligation of the whole community, to the military and naval authorities for the promptitude, energy, and zeal with which they have responded to my wishes, and at great personal inconvenience, risk, and hardship, have successfully carried out my requirements.

To Major-General O'Connor I am indebted for the extremely ready and rapid manner in which my applications for troops or arms were met, as well as for the able and zealous manner in which, during my absence, he co-operated with the Executive Committee and the Custos of Kingston in initiating or organizing various measures for the protection of the city and parishes.

To the senior naval officer, Captain De Horsey, I am under great obligations, not only for placing his ship, the "*Wolverine*," at my disposal, but for going in command of her in person, and for the cheerful readiness with which he kept his ship at work almost night and day, from



the first outbreak of the rebellion until his return to port to-day.

To Lieutenant Brand, of the small gun-boat "Onyx," I cannot sufficiently express my thanks for the indefatigable and untiring manner in which he kept his vessel plying day and night in a most unpleasant and arduous service.

To Brigadier-General Nelson I owe it that all my wishes as regarded military arrangements in the disturbed districts were carried out with the utmost promptitude and efficiency. We never had a difference of opinion, even upon the propriety or policy of a single act or movement, and the public service was consequently conducted, not only satisfactorily, but pleasantly.

72. I would therefore respectfully ask you to bring to the favourable notice of his Grace the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief the meritorious conduct and services of Brigadier-General Nelson; and to the favourable notice of the Lords of the Admiralty, the meritorious conduct and good service of Captain De Horsey, of Her Majesty's ship "Wolverine," and of Lieutenant Brand, of Her Majesty's gun-boat "Onyx." I append a copy of a Report, by Lieutenant Brand, of the proceedings of the "Onyx" between the 12th and 18th of October, showing the amount of work, and hard work too, performed in that period. Lieutenant Brand has also been equally engaged between the 18th and 20th, but I have no official report. The colony is also much indebted to Colonel Hobbs, of Her Majesty's 6th Royal Regiment, commanding the expeditionary force on the line of the Blue Mountain Valley; to the Militia officers who accompanied me in the "Wolverine;" to Inspector Ramsay, of the police force, whose daring and activity have been most conspicuous; and generally to the troops, sailors, volunteers, and others engaged in the undertaking. My aide-de-camp, Colonel Hunt, of the Royal Marines, rendered very zealous and efficient service, both to myself and to Brigadier-General Nelson.

73. The exertions of the Executive Committee, and the untiring energy and zeal of the Custos of Kingston, Dr. Bowerbank, are beyond all praise, and justly entitle them to the good opinion, gratitude, and confidence of the colony.

74. It is impossible for me to narrate all the various subordinate arrangements or movements of the respective military corps in the field, or of the several detachments sent out from them on special service. It may suffice to state generally that a large number of rebels have been shot with arms in their hands; that a great many

prisoners have been tried and hung, shot, or flogged; and that a considerable number of prisoners are still on hand awaiting trial by court-martial.

75. It is difficult to arrive at any correct estimate of the number of people engaged in the rebellion. The districts where it broke out and into which it spread, are fertile and very populous.

76. Different persons have reported seeing from several hundreds to as many thousands at a time; and Colonel Hobbs reports, on the 19th instant, that there were still thousands of rebels around him. No stand has ever been made against the troops; and though we are not only in complete military occupation of, but have traversed with troops, all the disturbed districts, not a single casualty has befallen any of our soldiers or sailors, and they are all in good health; they have, however, suffered much inconvenience and hardship from the state of the weather, which has been extremely wet and inclement, the month of October being the period when what are called the "season rains" usually fall.

77. We have been singularly fortunate in capturing or shooting a large number of the principal ringleaders in the rebellion, and many of whom were personally concerned in the atrocious butcheries on the 12th of October, at the Morant Bay Court-house, or in the subsequent destruction of life and property further to the eastward, as the rebellion extended in that direction. Very many acknowledged their guilt before execution.

78. It is a remarkable fact, that, so far as we can ascertain, the rebels at Morant Bay did not proceed in any considerable numbers to the adjacent districts, but the people of each district rose and committed the deeds of violence and destruction that were done within it. This fact shows how widespread the feeling of disaffection is, and how prepared the people of each parish were to catch the spirit and follow the example of their neighbours. It shows, too, the extreme insecurity which yet exists in nearly all the other parishes of Jamaica, where the same bad spirit prevails. In the lately disturbed districts the rebellion is crushed; in the others, it is only kept under for the present, but might at any moment burst into fury.

79. I append various military reports and some other papers bearing upon the rebellion, or upon the state of other parishes.

It has been impracticable to obtain a correct list of all the Europeans or coloured persons who have been killed or wounded.

80. I append the names of those at

present known, but there were some burnt in the Court-house, and others are missing, and nothing certain known about them. Even thus, however, the list is a very long and sad one, and comprises many persons of station, education, and weight in the community, whose loss is irreparable in a colony like Jamaica.

81. Copies of a letter taken at Stoney Gut, and of threatening letters which have since been received, either here or at Kingston, are attached.

I also add copies of the local newspapers.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) E. EYRE.

P.S. October 23.—Having kept my despatch open, I am enabled to add that Mr. George William Gordon has been tried by court-martial, at Morant Bay, and sentenced to be hung. The execution was to take place this morning, at 8 A.M.

I have seen the proceedings of the Court, and concur both in the justice of the sentence, and in the policy of carrying it into effect. It is absolutely necessary for the future security of Jamaica, that condign punishment should be inflicted upon those through whose seditious acts and language the rebellion has been originated.

2. I enclose copies of the report from the General, and of my letter in reply.

I have omitted to state that, during my absence, the Executive Committee caused the Haytian refugees in this island, and various other persons who were suspected of being mixed up with or of encouraging seditious movements, to be taken into custody. I quite concur in the propriety of this step.

3. If no further outbreak occurs, I hope to be able, in a short time, to proclaim a general amnesty, except to actual murderers, upon the rebels coming in and submitting to the Queen's authority, and I yet hope, that the disturbed districts will be sufficiently quieted in time for the sugar crops, now nearly fit for cutting, to be reaped.

October 24, 1865.—I would particularly call your attention to the fact stated in Colonel Hobbs' Report of the 15th of October, that the rebels are not the poor or the starving, but persons who are well off and well to do in the world, and better educated than the lower class of negroes generally are; an experience abundantly confirmed from many other quarters.

E. E.

Inclosure I. in No. 1.

*The Custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East to the Governor's Secretary.*

Morant Bay, October 10, 1865.

Sir,

I deeply regret that it is my duty to bring to the notice of his Excellency the Governor, that a serious outbreak among certain of the labouring population in this neighbourhood is threatened, and, in fact, has already commenced.

The facts are briefly these:—

A number of over 150 men, armed with sticks, and preceded by a band of music, came on Saturday, the 9th October, with the openly expressed intention to rescue a man, who was that day to be tried for some offence, if found guilty; leaving the band of music outside the town, they proceeded to the square in front of the Court-house. A man having been ordered into custody on account of the noise he was making in the Court-house, a rush was made by a body of the men referred to, and the man rescued from the hands of the police, one of whom was left with his finger broken, and several others beaten and ill-treated.

In consequence of this outrage, warrants were issued yesterday against twenty-eight individuals who had been identified, and the warrants placed to-day in the hands of six policemen and three rural constables for execution.

On, however, the attempt being made by this force to arrest one Paul Bogle, I am informed by the policemen, who have just returned, that, on a signal being given, a body of over 150 men, armed with cutlasses, bayonets, and pikes, appeared and made prisoners of three of the policemen, on two of whom they placed handcuffs, and only suffered them to leave after having obtained an oath from them that they (the police) would join them.

The oath was administered by Paul Bogle, on a Bible he had at hand.

The statement of all the policemen, is to the effect that the people openly declared that they would come to Morant Bay to-morrow.

I have, under these circumstances, thought it my duty to direct the Inspector of Police to assemble here to-morrow the whole of the men of whom he can dispose in this parish and St. David—the latter through the Custos of that parish; and I have also despatched an order to Captain Hitchins to attend here, with the St. Thomas-in-the-East No. 1 Company.

But as the policemen thus procurable amount to only thirty men, and the company of Captain Hitchins consists of only about twenty men, and the Morant Bay

Company can turn out at most twelve efficient men, I very much fear, and my fears are shared by the Inspector of Police and magistrates, and other respectable inhabitants residing on the Bay, that this force will be utterly incapable to cope with the body of men who have committed this gross outrage on the authority of the law.

I may add that, for fear of overstating the case, I named 150 as the number of the men engaged in the outrage of this day; but the evidence I have received while writing this despatch, leaves no doubt in my mind that the number was far greater.

The police and the Morant Bay Volunteers have no powder.

I cannot hesitate, under these circumstances, to submit that it is very probable that without some military aid, the force at the disposal of the authorities will, in the event of the people carrying out their threats, be insufficient to uphold the law, and, in that case, the worst consequences must be anticipated.

I have, &c.

(Signed) M. A. VON KETELHODT.

P.S.—6 P.M.—The shells are at this moment blowing to collect men all through the Blue Mountain Valley and through John's.

I am of opinion that no time ought to be lost in despatching a sufficient military force.

M. A. VON K.

## DESPATCHES FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 1.

*The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., to Governor Eyre.*

Downing Street, November 17, 1865. (No. 341.)

Sir,

By the mail from the West Indies, the arrival of which did not take place till yesterday, I have received your despatch No. 251<sup>1</sup> of the 20th October last, reporting the breaking out of a rebellion of the negroes in the eastern districts of Jamaica, which has involved the cruel massacre of many of the principal white and coloured persons in that part of the island, and acquainting me with the measures which, in concert with the officers in command of Her Majesty's military and naval forces, you have taken to suppress the insurrection, and to prevent its spreading to other parts of the island.

I have been greatly shocked at the barbarities which you describe, and I wish you, in the first place, to inform the inhabitants of Jamaica how deeply Her Majesty's Government deplore the losses which the colony in general has sustained, and how sincerely they sympathize with those who have to lament family bereavements incurred under circumstances so distressing.

I have next to convey to you my high approval of the spirit, energy, and judgment with which you have acted in your measures for repressing and preventing the spread of the insurrection.

I have also to express my gratification at the clear and succinct manner in which, under all the great difficulties of your position, you have been enabled to communicate to Her Majesty's Government the narrative of the transactions.

It was the first duty of your Government to take, as you did, effectual measures for the suppression of this horrible rebellion, and I congratulate you on the rapid success by which those measures appear to have been attended.

Time has not sufficed for any adequate examination of the reports which you have been able to send me by this mail; and no doubt you will have much further intelligence to communicate to me hereafter on the subject of the measures of severity to which you have felt it to be necessary to have recourse. If you had time in forwarding those inclosures to make yourself acquainted with all their contents, it will have been evident to you that they contain many passages which will require to be explained as soon as there shall be sufficient leisure for the writers to explain fully the proceedings to which they relate. In the mean time I rely on your high character and on the character of the officers by whose efficient aid you have repressed rebellion and restored safety, and receive with much satisfaction your assurance that these measures will prove to have been a merciful substitute for the much larger measure of punishment which would have had to be executed had the rebellion been allowed time to gather head and extend itself.

I entirely agree with you that measures of severity, when dictated by necessity and justice, are in reality measures of mercy, and do not doubt it will appear that you have arrested the course of punishment as soon as you were able to do so, and have exerted yourself to confine it meanwhile to ascertained offenders and to cases of aggravated guilt. I observe with pleasure the hope you express that if no further outbreak occurs you will, in a short time, have been able to

<sup>1</sup> Vide page 277.



proclaim a general amnesty except to actual murderers.

I will not fail to bring under the notice of the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief and the Lords of the Admiralty the high sense you entertain of the services rendered by Major-General O'Connor and Captain De Horsey, R.N., and the other officers of the army and navy whom you mention, and of the soldiers, sailors, and marines under their orders. And it is with the greatest satisfaction that I receive the high and, I doubt not, deserved commendation which you bestow upon the members of the Executive Council, the Custos at Kingston, Inspector Ramsay of the police, the volunteers, and the militia officers who accompanied you in the "Wolverine."

I recognize with great satisfaction the alacrity with which the well-affected subjects of Her Majesty placed themselves at your disposal, and I shall bring under Her Majesty's special notice the loyal and gallant behaviour of the Maroons.

The "Constance" frigate will sail for Jamaica in a few days, and will call at Barbadoes on her way out.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 2.

*The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P.,  
to Governor Eyre.*

(No. 343.)

Downing Street, November 23, 1865.

Sir,

I avail myself of the sailing of the "Constance" frigate to address you on the subject of those enclosures in your despatch of the 20th of October<sup>2</sup> to which I referred in my last despatch as requiring explanation, but which there was not time adequately to examine during the brief interval of the mail.

I rely on the assurances conveyed to me in your despatch, and do not doubt that no time will have been lost in checking at the earliest possible moment those measures of instant severity which only an overwhelming sense of public danger justifies, and in returning to the ordinary course of legal inquiry, and of the judicial trial and punishment of offenders. It remains, therefore, now to examine the statements contained in those inclosures; and in doing so I shall bear in mind the pressure under which they were written, and the great probability that much remains to be said in those cases which, so far as they are yet before me, require explanation; cases in which, without such explanation, the severity

inflicted would not appear to have been justifiable. In calmly reviewing, when the danger is believed to be over, all the occurrences of an outbreak in which the spread of the insurrection over the whole island was apprehended, with the massacre of all the principal inhabitants, great allowance must be made for acts which have resulted from that apprehension. Her Majesty's Government will not fail to bear this consideration in mind in the judgment which they will ultimately form upon all the circumstances of the present case.

I have to request that you will furnish me with copies of the proceedings of the courts-martial, and of the evidence taken in the several cases. These documents are referred to in your despatch and the inclosures, but it was no doubt impossible that you should have been prepared to forward them by the last mail.

On the case of Mr. Gordon I have addressed you in a separate despatch.

That your attention may be drawn to the nature of the cases which require explanation, I have caused several passages from the reports of the military officers to be extracted and copied in the enclosed memorandum. I request that you will furnish me with all the particulars in your power on the subjects to which they relate, and with any other information which may tend to elucidate the whole course of these proceedings. It is my earnest hope that they may be capable of full explanation, and that I may be able to express, as I should desire, without qualification or exception on account of these circumstances, the commendation to which the officers and men are entitled at the hands of Her Majesty's Government for the promptitude and vigour with which they suppressed the insurrection, and prevented its extension to the other districts of the island.

In conclusion, I have to assure you that Her Majesty's Government will await the explanations for which I have called with all the confidence to which your high character fully entitles you, and with the greatest consideration for the painful anxieties and difficulties of the position in which you have been placed. I have also to repeat the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that long before this despatch or that which I addressed to you by the mail can have reached you, the colony will have been restored to safety, and you will have been able to return to the ordinary course of public justice and to the regular administration of the law.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) EDWARD CARDWELL.

<sup>2</sup> Vide page 277.

Inclosure in No. 2.

*Memorandum of passages referred to in the preceding Despatch.*

In his report to Major-General O'Connor, dated 15th October, 1865, Colonel Hobbs writes: "We, however, secured six persons, whom I would have shot but from the fact of their being unarmed. I now regret I did not do so, as they are no doubt rebels. We have, however, killed between fifteen and twenty of them at extraordinarily long distances, having discovered since several groups of them on the hill-sides, and in trees."

Again, in his further Report, dated 19th October, Colonel Hobbs says: "I have reached Stony Gut from my Head-quarters, Moncklands, having shot a number of rebels on the way. I have directed this rebellious settlement to be utterly destroyed."

In his report dated 19th October, midnight, he writes: "I found a number of special constables, who had captured a number of prisoners from the rebel camp. Finding their guilt clear, and being unable to either take or leave them, I had them all shot. The constables then hung them up on trees—eleven in number. Their countenances were all diabolical, and they never flinched the very slightest. From this we at once went to Stony Gut, and to be brief, can only say that had the rebels been brave and met us there, not a man of the 6th Regiment would have returned to tell the tale." Again, he speaks of having utterly destroyed "this (Bogle's) vile and rebellious settlement."

Further in the same despatch: "I have in my possession the most conclusive proof of Mr. G. W. Gordon being a chief mover in this rebellion, and have sent an express to Morant bay requesting him to be sent to me (if there) for execution, and request you to give this publicity." And again, "I must not forget to tell you that I have Paul Bogle's valet for my guide, a little fellow of extraordinary intelligence; a light rope tied to the stirrup, and a revolver now and then to his head, causes us thoroughly to understand each other, and he knows every single rebel in the Island by name and face, and has just been selecting the captains, colonels, and secretaries out of an immense gang of prisoners just come in here, whom I shall have to shoot to-morrow morning."

Captain Hole reports on 17th October, 1865: "On arriving yesterday at Long Bay I found the huts full of plunder. I had every house within a quarter of a mile of the road in which plunder was found fired, and in doing so upwards of twenty of the rebels were killed. After remaining about an hour I pushed on

for Manchioneal. The rebels were firing some of the houses in front, and every where fled at our approach. A house called the Cottage was in flames. Within a mile of us every black man who did not stand at our approach to give an account of himself was shot." . . . "I am of opinion that upwards of sixty rebels were killed yesterday by the troops under my command, among whom I hear there are some ringleaders." . . . "I intend to have destroyed all houses in which proved rebels have resided."

In his subsequent report of 19th October, he states that "three men of the 1st West India Regiment<sup>3</sup> got separated from this party and proceeded as far as the Plantain Garden River District, and from their reports I learn a great number of rebels are lurking in that district. They informed me on their return last evening that they had shot about ten rebels, three of whom were concerned in the murder of Mr. Hire. They brought back with them two cartloads of recovered property, some of which belonged to Mr. Hire (as in one of the pockets of a coat I discovered the two accompanying letters) and some to Mr. Shortridge (the same being discovered by the crest on two plated teapots). They also brought in various other articles not yet identified. I consider that these three men have done good service."

No. 3.

*The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P.,  
to Governor Eyre.*

(No. 344.)

Downing Street, November 23, 1865.

Sir,

In Brigadier Nelson's despatch to Major-General O'Connor, of which a copy was transmitted in your despatch 20th—24th October<sup>4</sup>, it is stated that documents are enclosed proving the guilt of G. W. Gordon, the member of the Assembly who was tried by court-martial and executed. Colonel Hobbs also states in his despatches that he was in possession of additional evidence of Gordon's guilt. And in your own despatch (paragraph 48), you state that throughout your tour in the "Wolverine" and "Onyx" you had found every where the most unmistakable evidence that Gordon had not only been mixed up in the matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentations and seditious language, addressed to the ignorant black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion, and that you had there-

<sup>3</sup> Privates Beckley, Bates, and Moody.

<sup>4</sup> Page 277.

fore obtained a deposition on oath that certain seditious printed notices had been sent through the post-office, directed in his handwriting to the parties who had been leaders in the rebellion, and had thereupon caused him to be arrested and conveyed to Morant Bay, where he was tried and executed. You add that great difference of opinion prevailed in Kingston as to the policy of taking Mr. Gordon; that nearly all coincided in believing him to be the occasion of the rebellion, and that he ought to be taken, but many were apprehensive that his capture might lead to an immediate outbreak in Kingston itself. You state, however, that you did not share this feeling, and that you considered it right in the abstract, and desirable as a matter of policy, that whilst the poor black men who had been misled were undergoing condign punishment, the chief instigator of all the evil should not go unpunished, and you therefore at once took upon yourself the responsibility of his capture.

In your letter to Major-General O'Connor of the 22nd October, you approve the execution of Gordon, which had taken place under the orders of Brigadier-General Nelson, stating in this letter that you had little doubt that whatever Gordon's intentions might have been, the rebellion was entirely due to his agitation, bad advice, and seditious language.

It is necessary that Her Majesty's Government should be, as speedily as possible, placed in a position to understand the proceedings at every point, and that you should send me all documents and evidence which, though adverted to in your own and in Brigadier-General Nelson's and Colonel Hobbs' despatches, were not transmitted with the despatches adverting to them, or (in the case of Brigadier Nelson's despatch) purporting to inclose them.

I wish to know whether your approval of Gordon's execution rested on evidence of his participation in the insurrection itself, or the actual resistance of authority out of which it rose, or, as your letter to Major-General O'Connor might give occasion to suppose, on evidence of the lesser offence of using seditious and inflammatory language, calculated indeed to produce resistance to authority and rebellion, but without proof of any deliberate design of producing that result.

It is matter of obvious remark that Gordon was arrested at Kingston, to which martial law did not extend, and taken to Morant Bay for trial, under martial law. Her Majesty's Government await with much anxiety your explanation on this subject.

I desire also to see it clearly established that he was not executed until crimes had been proved in evidence against him which deserved death; and that the prompt infliction of capital punishment was necessary to rescue the colony from imminent danger, and from the horrors of a general or wide-spread insurrection, and the repetition elsewhere of such a slaughter of the white and coloured colonists as had taken place in the eastern part of the island.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 59.

*Governor Eyre to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P.—(Received December 30.)*

(No. 329.)

King's House, Jamaica,  
December 8, 1865.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 341 of the 17th ultimo in reply to mine, No. 251 of the 20th October, reporting the breaking out of a rebellion of the negroes in the eastern districts of Jamaica and the steps taken to repress and punish it.

2. It is very gratifying to me to learn that you approve of the course pursued by me under this great and painful emergency, and that the narrative I was enabled to give amidst the interruptions and pressure of the circumstances under which I was placed, has conveyed to you a clear idea of the occurrences which took place.

3. I shall have much pleasure in making known to the inhabitants of Jamaica the feeling expression conveyed in your despatch of the sympathy entertained by Her Majesty's Government towards those who have sustained family bereavements in the late distressing events, and with regard to the losses which the colony in general has been subjected to. I feel assured that this sympathy will be highly valued by the unfortunate sufferers.

4. It will be an agreeable duty to me to inform the parties interested of your intention to bring under the notice of the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-chief and the Lords of the Admiralty the services rendered by Her Majesty's military and naval forces, and your appreciation of the good conduct of the well-affected subjects of Her Majesty and of the Maroons.

5. With regard to the various letters which accompanied my despatch and to certain passages in some of them which you say call for further explanation and



justification, I have to remark that whilst all the general arrangements for the suppression and punishment of the rebellion were made under my own immediate direction, the subordinate details and the internal management of the districts under martial law, including the appointment of courts-martial, the trial of prisoners, the approval of sentences, and the carrying out of such sentences, vested entirely with the military authorities, were reported to the General in command, and only partially came under my notice in a general manner through the letters to which you refer.

Many of these letters I only obtained a hurried glance at when overwhelmed with the labour and anxiety of the most pressing events; and although copies were eventually furnished to me, most of these only reached me just in time to be appended to my despatch without my being enabled to have other copies made for my own use.

6. After despatching the October mail, the thought, work, and anxiety entailed in arranging for the safety and protection of the western districts of the colony absorbed my attention from a very early hour in the morning to a very late one at night, and even during the few brief hours that I attempted to obtain rest there was rarely a night during which I was not called up at all hours, one, two, or three times, by expresses from one place or another, requiring me to get up at once and reply to, or give directions connected with, such communications.

Added to this was the ordinary work of the colony, the correspondence with the subordinate Governments, and the preparation for and the current work of a most important legislative session.

7. I mention these particulars only to show the pressure that was upon me (a pressure which has seriously affected my health), and how impossible it was for me to scrutinize or investigate carefully the details of the enormous mass of papers which were continually coming before me.

As regards those connected with the rebellion, my desire was to place you in possession of the fullest and most complete information with the least possible delay, and in order to effect this I was often obliged to transmit documents which had been but hastily glanced at without analyzing or reporting upon them, and without retaining copies.

I will now endeavour to procure such copies and read through the correspondence with the view of calling for fuller information upon such points as seem to require explanation or justification; but

I should be obliged by your also causing me to be informed of the particulars in regard to which you desire further reports, so that nothing may be omitted which it is in my power to do to place all the circumstances in a clear manner before you.

8. It is very probable that some occurrences may have taken place which cannot be justified during the prevalence of martial law, and where so much was necessarily left to the discretion of, or where an unforeseen responsibility was by circumstances forced upon, subordinate authorities, differing greatly in character, ability, temper, experience, and judgment.

Such cases can only be sincerely deplored. It would have been impossible, under the excitement and urgency of the circumstances attending the outbreak, to have either guarded against or prevented their taking place.

It must be remembered, too, that the threatening accounts received from the other districts of the colony and the limited means of meeting any difficulties which might arise there made it a matter of simple self-defence that the outbreak in the east should both be put down with the least possible delay, and be punished in the most summary manner. The safety, in fact the preservation, of the colony made this imperative.

9. As regards the general features of, and mode of carrying out the retribution which was so necessarily and justly dealt to those who were principals in this most cruel and unprovoked insurrection, I do not doubt but that ample justification will be forthcoming by the officers under whose immediate directions and supervision it took place.

Those officers were Major-General O'Connor in Kingston, Brigadier-General Nelson in the districts east of Morant Bay, and Colonel Hobbs in the district north-west of Morant Bay.

The high rank and character of all these officers is, I think, a full guarantee that nothing improper or unjust took place with their knowledge or sanction; and I do not doubt but that they will be ready and able to afford full explanation and justification upon any points which, without such further information, may at present seem unsatisfactory.

10. If I recollect aright, there was in one of Colonel Hobbs' own letters a statement to the effect that having some prisoners whom he could not take with him, he had found it necessary to shoot them.

I presume this implies after trial by court-martial, and either upon their being taken in arms against the Queen, or upon

direct testimony of their complicity in the rebellion.

It must be remembered that the military officers in the field wrote under great disadvantages, and when worn out in body and mind by the fatigues and anxieties of the day.

Under such conditions their reports could scarcely be expected to contain all the details which it is desirable to know.

With regard to Colonel Hobbs there may also have been circumstances connected with his position which made an immediate decision with regard to his prisoners essential; for I distinctly remember in another of his despatches that he stated he was surrounded by thousands of rebels, that his position was very precarious, and that he required immediate reinforcements.

A copy of this report was refused to me by General O'Connor, as notified in a communication from the Deputy Adjutant-General, which I duly transmitted to you.

11. Since the receipt of your despatch, I have had no time or opportunity to communicate with any of the military authorities, and I am now therefore only writing from the impressions made upon my own mind at the time; but as soon as I can get together fresh copies of the letters which I forwarded to you, I will lose no time in seeking direct explanations upon such points as may seem to require them, through General O'Connor.

Brigadier-General Nelson is now in England, and will be able to afford personally any information required in reference to the occurrences in the eastern districts over which he was placed in command during the prevalence of martial law.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

No. 18.

*The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P.,  
to Governor Eyre.*

(No. 374.)

Downing Street, December 16, 1865.

Sir,

In former despatches respecting the recent troubles in Jamaica, I have called your attention to many important matters on which Her Majesty's Government have desired to be furnished with the fullest information. I have now to state to you that, after taking the case, so far as they are at present acquainted with it, into their mature consideration, they have determined that, in order to the complete investigation of the subject, and in justice to yourself and to all parties, it is right

to institute in the island a full and independent inquiry. The inquiry will embrace the origin, nature, and circumstances of the troubles, and the measures taken in the course of their repression. This determination has rendered it necessary to consider in what manner the Government of Jamaica ought to be administered during the inquiry.

That the peace of the colony may not be disturbed by the means taken for collecting information, and in order also that the investigation may be effective and satisfactory, it seems to Her Majesty's Government that the supreme authority in the colony, military as well as civil, must for the time be vested in the officer who is to preside over the Commission. This must evidently be an officer who has himself borne no part in the proceedings, and whose reputation will be a sufficient guarantee to yourself, and to all whose conduct or whose grievances may in any way come under review, for the perfect fairness and impartiality of the inquiry. As he must combine the military with the civil authority, he must be a soldier. It is very desirable also, upon other grounds, that the Government should for a time, be administered by a soldier, in order to secure unity of view and action in the military precautions which will be necessary to guard the colony against the possible risk of further outbreak.

For these reasons we have selected Lieutenant-General Sir H. Storks, G.C.B., at present Governor and Commander of Her Majesty's forces at Malta, and have requested him to proceed at once to Jamaica to carry these intentions into effect. His appointment will be only temporary, and he will not vacate the appointments which he holds at Malta. It will doubtless be necessary that for at least a portion, if not for the whole, of the time occupied by the inquiry, you should be present in the island. I inclose you a copy of the Commission given to Sir H. Storks, from which you will learn the mode in which we have endeavoured to overcome the difficulties inseparable from the institution of such an inquiry.

In conclusion, I will only repeat on the part of Her Majesty's Government, that while we feel it to be our imperative duty to institute this inquiry, we desire by every means in our power to guard against in any way prejudging its result. Our earnest hope is that the result will be to satisfy us on the points on which it is necessary for us to be satisfied, and at the same time to exhibit the conduct of those whose duty has compelled them to take part in these proceedings, and to whom the repression of the outbreak has been

due, in a light which may show it to have been consistent with their position and character, and especially in your own case, with that high character for courage and for humanity by which you have always been distinguished.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 20.

*The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P.,  
to Governor Sir H. K. Storks.*

(No. 2.)

Downing Street, December 16, 1865.

Sir,

You have received your temporary Commission as Governor of Jamaica.

It is the intention of Her Majesty's Government that you should proceed forthwith to that island, holding for a time not only the office of Governor, but also the supreme military command, and the office of President of a Royal Commission, which will shortly be appointed to inquire into the origin, nature, and circumstances of the recent disturbances, and into the measures taken in the course of their repression.

I inclose, for your information, copies of despatches which have been addressed to Governor Eyre since the commencement of these troubles, in order that you may be aware what information Her Majesty's Government have desired to receive from the Governor of Jamaica. Governor Eyre will now be relieved from any further obligation of replying to those despatches, and the task of investigating the subject will devolve upon you, and upon the Commission over which you will preside.

It has been represented to Her Majesty's Government, that any public inquiry into the state of the island, unless conducted with extreme caution, would have a tendency to unsettle the minds of the negroes. Her Majesty's Government have not been unmindful of this consideration; but by placing the supreme power of the colony, military as well as civil, in your hands, and making you at the same time President of the Commission, Her Majesty's Government feel that they have taken the best security against

any such danger, without compromising the prospect of a full and impartial investigation.

The Royal Commission and Instructions will be issued with the least possible delay. It will be sufficient to say now that Her Majesty's Government desire that the inquiry shall be full, searching, and impartial. You will, I conceive, require statutory powers to enable you to collect the necessary information, and these powers, I do not doubt, the Legislature of Jamaica will readily confer upon you.

By entrusting to you these important duties, Her Majesty's Government evince their confidence in your ability to deal with a subject so painful and difficult. Their first anxiety has been that security should be restored to all, of whatever race or colour, who desire to live in peace and orderly submission to the law, and that any further sacrifice of life by the renewal of these disturbances should be effectually prevented. Those objects attained, they desire to investigate calmly, thoroughly, and impartially, the origin, nature, and circumstances of these lamentable events, and with full information before them to arrive at a deliberate and a just decision upon the whole case.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 33.

*The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P.,  
to Governor Sir H. K. Storks.*

(Separate.)

Downing Street, January 1, 1866.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you a Commission under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, appointing you, together with Mr. Russell Gurney and Mr. J. B. Maule, to be Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring respecting the recent disturbances in the island of Jamaica, and the measures taken for their suppression.

I also inclose a Commission, appointing Mr. C. S. Roundell to be Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD CARDWELL.



In the Year ended the 31st day of December, 1865, and of the actual Issues or Payments within the same period, exclusive of the sums applied to the Redemption of Funded or paying off Unfunded Debt, and of the Advances and Repayments for Local Works, &c.

In the Year ended the 31st day of December, 1865, and of the actual Issues or Payments within the same period, exclusive of the sums applied to the Redemption of Funded or paying off Unfunded Debt, and of the Advances and Repayments for Local Works, &c.

INCOME.		£	s.	d.
Customs . . . . .	.	21,707,000	0	0
Excise . . . . .	.	19,649,000	0	0
Stamps . . . . .	.	9,636,000	0	0
Taxes (Land and Assessed)	.	3,364,000	0	0
Property Tax . . . . .	.	7,603,000	0	0
Post Office . . . . .	.	4,250,000	0	0
Crown Lands (Net) . . . . .	.	314,000	0	0
MISCELLANEOUS :—				
Produce of the Sale of Old Stores, and other Military and Naval extra Receipts . . . . .	£ s. d.	556,965	1	4
Amount received from the Reve- nues of India on account of the effective and non-effective charges of British Troops serving in that country . . . . .		825,000	0	0
Allowance out of Profits of Issue re- ceived from the Bank of England, per Act 24 Vict., c. 3 . . . . .		131,578	0	0
Miscellaneous Receipts, including Im- prest and other Moneys . . . . .		687,301	6	2
China War Indemnity . . . . .		472,634	0	0
		2,673,478	7	6
Total Revenue		£69,196,478	7	6

EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.
Interest and Management of the Per- manent Debt . . . . .		23,589,698	15	0
Terminable Annuities . . . . .		2,359,796	0	3
Interest of Exchequer Bonds . . . . .		65,500	0	0
Interest of Exchequer Bills . . . . .		301,737	2	6
		26,316,731	17	9
CHARGES ON CONSOLIDATED FUND :—				
Civil List . . . . .		406,440	15	1
Annuities and Pensions . . . . .		309,924	10	10
Salaries and Allowances . . . . .		157,785	1	6
Diplomatic Salaries and Pensions . . . . .		172,001	0	0
Courts of Justice . . . . .		667,415	4	0
Miscellaneous Charges . . . . .		196,526	19	11
SUPPLY SERVICES :—				
Army . . . . .		14,319,449	19	1
Navy . . . . .		10,449,788	1	4
Miscellaneous Civil Services . . . . .		7,280,276	3	9
Salaries, &c. of Revenue Departments . . . . .		4,688,514	2	6
Packet Service . . . . .		808,812	13	0
Scheldt Toll Redemption (second moiety)		174,598	16	1
		37,721,439	15	9
Total Ordinary Expenditure		£65,948,265	4	10
Expenses of Fortifications provided for by Money raised per Acts 26 and 27 Vict. c. 80, and 27 and 28 Vict. c. 109 . . . . .		560,000	0	0
		£66,508,265	4	10
Excess of Income over Ordinary Ex- penditure, in the Year ended 31st December, 1864 . . . . .	£ s. d.	3,248,213	2	8
Deduct,—Expenses of Fortifica- tions, as above . . . . .		560,000	0	0
		2,688,213	2	8
		£69,196,478	7	6

## 2.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE BALANCES OF THE PUBLIC MONEY,

Remaining in the Exchequer on the 31st day of December, 1864; the amount of Money raised by additions to the Funded or Unfunded Debt, and the amount applied towards the redemption of Funded or Paying off Unfunded debt in the Year ended the 31st day of December, 1865; the total amount of advances and Repayments on account of Local Works, &c., in the same period, with the difference accruing thereon; and the Balances in the Exchequer on the 31st day of December, 1865.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balances in the Exchequer on the 31st December, 1864 . . . . .	5,388,193	3	10			
At the Bank of England . . . . .						
At the Bank of Ireland . . . . .	1,192,729	10	8			
Money raised in the Year ended 31st December, 1865 :—				6,580,922	14	6
TERMINABLE DEBT :						
By the creation of Terminable Annuities, per Acts 26 & 27 Vict. c. 80, and 27 & 28 Vict. c. 109 (to provide for the Expense of constructing certain Fortifications), to expire on the 5th April, 1885, as follows:						
£						
28th Mar., 1865	7,871			110,000	0	0
				{ Annuity commencing 6 April, 1865		
26th July	"	14,662		{ 200,000	0	0
29th Sept.	"	10,926		{ ditto, 11 Oct.		
				{ 150,000	0	0
Total Annuities created . . . £33,459				460,000	0	0
UNFUNDED DEBT :—						
Exchequer Bonds (Series L.) per Act 27 & 28 Vict. c. 74, dated 18th March, 1865 (payable 18th March, 1869)				600,000	0	0
Excess of Income over Total Expenditure in the Year ended 31st December, 1865 . . . . .				2,688,213	2	8

## PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

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*Jan. 20.* The Right Hon. Edward Berkeley, Baron Portman, to be Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Cornwall and Devon, and Rider and Master Forester of Dartmoor, in the room of the Duke of Newcastle, deceased.

*Feb. 7.* Montague Edward Smith, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law, to be one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, on the resignation of Sir Edward Vaughan Williams, Knt.

*Feb. 10.* General H.R.H. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, K.G., K.S.I., to be an Ordinary Member of the Military Division of the First Class, or Knights Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

*Feb. 28.* The Right Hon. William Nathaniel Massey, to be an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India.

*March 1.* The Hon. Sir Frederick William Adolphus Bruce, K.C.B., H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China, to be H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

*March 7.* Hugh William Hoyles, Esq., to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Island of Newfoundland.

Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, Knt., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Ceylon and its dependencies.

Major-Gen. George Hutt, C.B., to be Secretary and Registrar to the Commissioners for the Government of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea.

*March 17.* The Right Hon. Frederic, Baron Chelmsford; the Right Hon. Richard Southwell Bourke (commonly called Lord Naas); the Right Hon. Robert Vernon, Baron Lyveden; the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole; the Right Hon. William Monsell; the Right Hon. John Inglis,

H.M.'s Justice Clerk in Scotland; the Right Hon. Thomas O'Haghan, one of the Justices of H.M.'s Court of Common Pleas in Ireland; the Right Hon. Sir James Plaisted Wilde, Knt., Judge of H.M.'s Court of Probate; Sir William Page Wood, Knt., a Vice-Chancellor; Sir Roundell Palmer, Knt., H.M.'s Attorney-General; Sir Hugh McCalmont Cairns, Knt.; George Young, Esq., H.M.'s Solicitor-General for Scotland; Travers Twiss, Esq., D.C.L., one of H.M.'s Counsel; and Alexander Murray Dunlop, Esq., to be H.M.'s Commissioners to inquire into and report upon the state and operation of the various laws now in force, in the different parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with respect to the constitution and proof of the contract of marriage, and the registration and other means of procuring evidence thereof, and also into the state and operation of the laws of the United Kingdom in relation to the marriages of European British subjects in India and in the Colonies; and also into the state and operation of such of the laws of the United Kingdom, as relate to the marriages of British subjects in foreign countries.

The Right Hon. Richard Bickerton Pemell, Lord Lyons, and the Right Hon. Sir Edward Vaughan Williams, Knt., to be Members of H.M.'s Most Hon. Privy Council.

*March 24.* David Livingstone, Esq., D.C.L., lately H.M.'s Consul at Quillimane, to be H.M.'s Consul in the territories of all African Kings and Chiefs in the interior of Africa, not subject to the authority of the King of Portugal, or of the King of Abyssinia, or of the Viceroy of Egypt.

*April 8.* General Sir John Fox Burgoyne, G.C.B., to be Constable of the Tower of London, in the room of Field-Marshal Stapleton, Viscount Combermere,



deceased; and General Sir John Fox Burgoyne, G.C.B., to be Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the Tower Hamlets, in the room of Field-Marshal Stapleton, Viscount Combermere, deceased.

*April 11.* Sir Richard Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., now H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul-General in Japan, to be H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and also Chief Superintendent of British Trade, in China; Sir Harry Smith Parkes, K.C.B., now H.M.'s Consul at Shanghai, to be H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul-General in Japan; and Charles Alexander Winchester, Esq., now H.M.'s Consul at Kanagawa, to be H.M.'s Consul at Shanghai.

Lieut. Arthur Balfour Haig, R.E., to be Querry in attendance upon H.R.H. Prince Alfred.

*May 5.* Sir Edmund Hornby, Knt., late Judge of the Supreme Consular Court at Constantinople, to be Judge of the Supreme Court for China and Japan.

*May 12.* The Right Hon. Robert Montgomery, Lord Belhaven, K.T., to be H.M.'s High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

*May 18.* The honour of Knighthood conferred upon Montague Edward Smith, Esq., one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas; and on John Thwaites, Esq., Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works.

*June 27.* The Right Rev. Henry, Lord Bishop of Worcester, to be Clerk of the Closet in Ordinary to Her Majesty, in the room of the Right Rev. John, Lord Bishop of Chester, deceased.

*June 30.* James Spence, Esq., M.D., Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, to be Surgeon in Ordinary to Her Majesty in Scotland, in the room of Dr. David M'Lagan, deceased.

The Hon. Mrs. Arthur Hardinge, to be Bedchamber Woman to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, vice the Hon. Mrs. Robert Bruce, resigned.

The Hon. Mrs. Robert Bruce, to be Extra Bedchamber Woman to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales.

*July 4.* Falconer Atlee, Esq., Attaché, Registrar, and Librarian to H.M.'s Embassy, to be also Her Majesty's Consul at Paris.

Joseph Needham, Esq., to be Chief Justice of the Island of Vancouver.

Robert Ker, Esq., to be Auditor-General for the Colony of British Columbia.

*July 7.* The Rev. George Protheroe, to be one of the Honorary Chaplains in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

At the Court at Windsor. Present,

the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. Her Majesty in Council was this day pleased to deliver the Great Seal to the Right Hon. Robert Monsey, Lord Cranworth: whereupon the oath of Lord Chancellor of Great Britain was, by Her Majesty's command, administered to his Lordship, and he took his place at the Board accordingly.

*July 11.* *Congé d'élire* ordered to pass the Great Seal, empowering the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chester to elect a Bishop of that See, the same being void by the Death of Dr. John Graham; the Rev. Wm. Jacobson, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, recommended to the said Dean and Chapter, to be by them elected Bishop of the said See of Chester.

Miss Mary Louisa Lascelles, to be one of H.M.'s Maids of Honour in Ordinary, in the room of the Hon. Emma Elizabeth Lascelles, resigned.

*August 10.* The Right Hon. Lord Lyons, G.C.B., to be H.M.'s Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte; Edward Thornton, Esq., C.B., now H.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary to the Argentine Republic, to be H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Brazil; the Hon. Richard Edwardes, now H.M.'s Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General to the United States of Venezuela, to be H.M.'s Plenipotentiary to the Argentine Republic; George Fagan, Esq., now H.M.'s Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General to the Republic of the Equator, to be H.M.'s Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General to the United States of Venezuela; the Hon. Francis John Pakenham, now Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Buenos Ayres, to be Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Rio Janeiro; and Francis Clare Ford, Esq., now Secretary to H.M.'s Legation in Japan, to be Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Buenos Ayres.

*August 23.* Major John Clayton Cowell, C.B., Governor to H.R.H. Prince Alfred, and Major Howard Craufurd Elphinstone, V.C., Governor of H.R.H. Prince Arthur, to be Ordinary Members of the Civil Division of the Second Class, or Knights Commanders of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

*Sept. 19.* The Rev. Robert Payne Smith, M.A., to have the office and place of Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, together with the place and dignity of a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Christ, in the said University, properly belonging to the Regius Professor of Divinity in the said University, void by the promotion of

Dr. William Jacobson, to the See of Chester.

*Sept. 22.* Lieut.-Gen. Sir Richard Airey, K.C.B., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the city and garrison of Gibraltar.

William Henry Doyle, Esq., to be Chief Justice of the Bahama Islands.

*Sept. 29.* The Right Hon. John Poyntz, Earl Spencer, the Right Hon. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil (commonly called Viscount Cranborne), the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, Lyon Playfair, Clare Sewell Read, Henry Bence Jones, M.D., Richard Quain, M.D., Edmund Alexander Parkes, John Robinson McClean, Thomas Wormald, Robert Ceely, and Charles Spooner, to be H.M.'s Commissioners for investigating the origin and nature of the Cattle Plague, the mode of treatment best adapted for the cure of the affected animals, and the regulations proper to be adopted for preventing the spread of the said disorder.

*Oct. 20.* Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Fenwick Williams of Kars, Bart., K.C.B., to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia.

Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, Knt. and C.B., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Hong-Kong and its dependencies.

*Oct. 31.* The Most Hon. George Charles, Marquis Camden, K.G., to be H.M.'s Lieutenant of the county of Brecon.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir James Hope Grant, G.C.B., to be Quartermaster-General, vice Lieut.-Gen. Sir Richard Airey, K.C.B., appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Gibraltar.

George Buckley Mathew, Esq., C.B., now H.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republics of Central America, to be H.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of Colombia.

*Nov. 2.* Robert Lush, Esq., one of H.M.'s Serjeants-at-Law, to be a Justice of H.M.'s Court of Queen's Bench.

*Nov. 6.* The Right Hon. George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to be one of H.M.'s Principal Secretaries of State.

Letters Patent, under the Great Seal, constituting and appointing the Right Hon. John, Earl Russell, K.G., the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, Edward Hugessen Knatchbull Hugessen, Esq., Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Luke White, and William Patrick Adam, Esq., to be Commissioners for executing the offices of Treasurer of the Exchequer of Great Britain and Lord High Treasurer of Ireland.

*Nov. 14.* The Right Hon. Thomas Crosbie William, Lord Dacre, to be H.M.'s Lieutenant of the county of Essex.

Thomas Ewing Winslow, Esq., to be one of the Commissioners of the Court of Bankruptcy.

*Nov. 17.* Sir Carlo Arthur Henry Rumbold, Bart., to be President and Senior Member of the Executive Council of the Virgin Islands.

Lord Augustus W. F. Loftus, now H.M.'s Minister at Munich, to be H.M.'s Ambassador at Berlin, in succession to Lord Napier.

Sir Henry Francis Howard, Minister to Hanover, Brunswick, and Oldenburg, to be H.M.'s Minister at Munich.

*Nov. 21.* The Right Hon. Henry Austin Bruce, to be Second Church Estates Commissioner, in the room of the Right Hon. Edward Pleydell Bouverie, resigned.

*Nov. 24.* The honour of Knighthood conferred upon Robert Lush, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law, one of the Justices of the Court of Queen's Bench; Edward Hilditch, Esq., M.D., Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets; and John Campbell Lees, Esq., late Chief Justice of the Bahamas.

*Nov. 28.* The Right Hon. Sir James William Colville, to be a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the room of the Right Hon. Sir Edward Ryan, resigned.

The Right Hon. William Hutt, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, to be an Extra Member of the Civil Division of the Second Class, or Knights Commanders of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath.

*Nov. 29.* The Right Hon. George Joachim Göschen, by Her Majesty's command, to be a Member of H.M.'s Most Honourable Privy Council.

*Dec. 1.* The Right Hon. George Joachim Göschen, to be Vice-President of the Committee of Council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations.

*Dec. 19.* The dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland granted unto the Right Hon. Sir John Romilly, Knt., Master or Keeper of the Rolls and Records in Chancery, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Romilly, of Barry, in the county of Glamorgan.

The dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland granted unto the Right Hon. Sir Francis Thornhill Baring, Bart., and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron North-

brook, of Stratton, in the county of Southampton.

*Dec. 22.* Major-General Sir Henry Knight Storks, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (now Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Malta and its dependencies), to be Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica and the territories depending thereon, during the prosecution of certain inquiries about to be instituted respecting the late disturb-

ances in that island, and for such further time as to Her Majesty may seem fit.

*Dec. 23.* The Right Hon. Granville George, Earl Granville, K.G., to the office of Constable of H.M.'s Castle at Dover, and also the office of Warden and Keeper of Her Majesty's Cinque Ports, and the office of Admiralty within the said Cinque Ports, in the room of Henry John, Viscount Palmerston, deceased.

## THE QUEEN'S MINISTERS AND CHIEF OFFICERS OF STATE.

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*Lord High Chancellor*, Lord Cranworth.

*Lord President of the Council*, Earl Granville, K.G.

*Lord Privy Seal*, Duke of Argyll, K.T.

*Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

*Secretaries of State* :—

*Home*, Right Hon. Sir G. Grey, Bart., G.C.B.

*Foreign*, Earl of Clarendon, K.G.

*Colonies*, Right Hon. Edward Cardwell.

*War*, Marquis of Hartington.

*India*, Earl de Grey and Ripon.

*First Lord of Admiralty*, Duke of Somerset, K.G.

*Pres. Board of Trade*, Right Hon. T. M. Gibson.

*Postmast.-Gen.*, Lord Stanley of Alderley.

*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*, Right Hon. George J. Goschen.

*Pres. of Poor Law Board*, Right Hon. C. Pelham Villiers.

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*Sub-Dean*, Rev. F. Garden.

*Clerk of the Closet*, Bishop of Worcester.

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*cellor of the Exchequer*), E. H. K. Hugessen, Esq., W. P. Adam, Esq., Lieut.-Col. L. White.  
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*Knight-Marischal*, \_\_\_\_\_  
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*Commander of the Forces*, Major-General E. W. F. Walker, C.B.  
*Assistant Adjutant-General*, Colonel Sir J. Douglas, K.C.B.

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*Chief Clerk*, R. N. Matheson, Esq.  
*State Steward*, Viscount St. Lawrence.  
*Private Secretary*, Edward R. Wodehouse, Esq.  
*Chamberlain*, Hon. Henry Leeson.  
*Lord Chancellor*, Right Hon. M. Brady.  
*Secretary*, M. Perrin, Esq.  
*Master of the Rolls*, Right Hon. T. B. C. Smith.  
*Attorney-General*, Right Hon. J. A. Lawson, LL.D.  
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*Military Secretary*, Lieutenant-Colonel E. A. Whitmore.

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<i>Italy</i> .....	Hon. H. G. Elliot	..... Marquis d'Azeglio.
<i>Japan</i> .....	Sir Harry Parkes, K.C.B.	.....
<i>Mexico</i> .....	Hon. P. C. Scarlett, C.B.	..... Senor Duran.
<i>Morocco</i> .....	Sir John H. D. Hay, K.C.B.	.....
<i>Netherlands</i>	.. Sir J. R. Milbanke, Bart.	..... Baron Bentinck.
<i>Persia</i> .....	Charles Alison, Esq. C.B.	..... Mahmoud Khan.
<i>Peru</i> .....	Hon. W. S. Jerningham	..... M. Federico L. Barrera.



BRITISH AMBASS., ETC., ABROAD. FOREIGN AMBASS. IN ENGLAND.

<i>Portugal</i> .....	Sir A. C. Magenis, K.C.B. ....	Count de Lavradio.
<i>Prussia</i> .....	Lord Augustus Loftus, K.C.B. ....	Count Bernstorff.
<i>Russia</i> .....	Rt. Hon. Sir And. Buchanan, K.C.B.	Baron de Brunnow.
<i>Saxony</i> .....	Hon. Chas. Aug. Murray, C.B. ....	Caunt Vitzthum d'Eckstädt.
<i>Spain</i> .....	Sir J. F. Crampton, Bart, K.C.B. ..	Marquis de Molins.
<i>Sweden</i> .....	Hon. G. S. S. Jerningham .....	Count Wachtmeister.
<i>Switzerland</i> ..	Rear-Adm. Hon. E. A. J. Harris, C.B.	John Rapp, Esq. ( <i>Cons. Gen.</i> )
<i>Turkey</i> .....	Right Hon. Lord Lyons, G.C.B. ....	M. Musurus.
<i>Venezuela</i> ....	George Fagan, Esq. ....	
<i>Wurtemberg</i> ..	G. J. R. Gordon, Esq. ....	

## THE NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ELECTED JULY, 1865.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PLACES REPRESENTED, WITH THE  
RESPECTIVE MEMBERS.

FIRST.—As they stood at the dissolution of the late Parliament.

SECONDLY.—The Members elected to the New Parliament, *and the unsuccessful Candidates*, with the Votes polled for each.Members elected are in Roman Type,—*Unsuccessful Candidates in Italics.*ENGLAND AND WALES—500 *Members.*

The Counties are Printed in Capitals.

MEMBERS OF THE LATE PARLIAMENT  
AT THE DISSOLUTION.

*Abingdon*—John Thomas Norris

*Andover*—Hon. Dudley F. Fortescue  
William H. Humphery

ANGLESEY—Sir R. B. W. Bulkeley, Bart.

*Arundel*—Lord Edward G. F. Howard

*Ashburton*—John Harvey Astell

*Ashton-un-Lyne*—Rt. Hon. T. M. Gibson

*Aylesbury*—T. Tyringham Bernard  
Samuel George Smith

*Banbury*—Sir C. Eurwicke Douglas

*Barnstaple*—Lt.-Col. John D. F. Davie  
Richard Bremridge

*Bath*—William Tite  
Arthur Edwin Way

*Baumaris, &c.*—Hon. W. Owen Stanley

BEDFORD—Colonel Richard T. Gilpin  
F. C. Hastings Russell

*Bedford*—Samuel Whitbread  
Lieut.-Colonel William Stuart

BERKS—Hon. P. P. Bouverie  
John Walter  
Richard Benyon

MEMBERS ELECTED TO THE  
NEW PARLIAMENT.

Col. Hon. C. H. Lindsay	137
<i>John Thomas Norris</i>	121
Hon. Dudley F. Fortescue	} No contest
William H. Humphery	
Sir R. B. W. Bulkeley, Bart.	No contest
Lord Edward G. F. Howard	No contest
Robert Jardine	No contest
Right Hon. T. M. Gibson	No contest
Samuel George Smith	} No contest
N. M. Rothschild	
Bernard Samuelson	206
<i>Charles Bell</i>	165
<i>Sir C. Eurwicke Douglas</i>	160
Sir G. Stucley, Bart	364
Thomas Cave	331
— <i>Gwyn</i>	302
— <i>Hawkins</i>	262
William Tite	} No contest
Lieut.-Col. James M. Hogg	
Hon. W. O. Stanley	No contest
F. C. Hastings Russell	} No contest
Colonel R. T. Gilpin	
Samuel Whitbread	574
Lieut.-Colonel William Stuart	476
<i>M. Chambers</i>	345
Lieut.-Colonel L. Lindsay	2227
Richard Benyon	2192
Sir Charles Russell, Bart.	2117
<i>John Walter</i>	1813
<i>Lord Uffington</i>	1809
<i>Hon. P. P. Bouverie</i>	1583

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

<i>Berwick-upon-Tweed</i> —Dud. C. Majoribanks W. W. Cargill	
<i>Beverley</i> —Colonel Henry Edwards James Robert Walker	
<i>Bewdley</i> —Sir T. E. Winnington, Bart.	
<i>Birkenhead</i> —John Laird	
<i>Birmingham</i> —William Scholefield John Bright	
<i>Blackburn</i> —William Henry Hornby James Pilkington	
<i>Bodmin</i> —Hon. E. F. Leveson-Gower James Wyld	
<i>Bolton</i> —Lieut.-Colonel William Gray Thomas Barnes	
<i>Boston</i> —Meaburn Staniland John W. Malcolm	
<i>Bradford</i> —Henry W. Wickham William Edward Forster	
<i>BRECKNOCK</i> —Major Hon. G. C. Morgan	
<i>Brecknock</i> —Colonel Lloyd V. Watkins	
<i>Bridgnorth</i> —Henry Whitmore John Pritchard	
<i>Bridgwater</i> —Colonel C. J. K. Tynte Alex. William Kinglake	
<i>Bridport</i> —Thomas Alexander Mitchell Kirkman D. Hodgson	
<i>Brighton</i> —James White Henry Moore	
<i>Bristol</i> —Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley William H. Gore Langton	
<i>BUCKS</i> —Caledon George Du Pré Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli Robert B. Harvey	
<i>Buckingham</i> —Sir Harry Verney, Bart. John G. Hubbard	
<i>Bury (Lanc.)</i> Right Hon. Frederick Peel	
<i>Bury St. Edmunds</i> —Lord Alfred Hervey Joseph A. Hardcastle	
<i>Calne</i> —Right Hon. Robert Lowe	
<i>CAMBRIDGE</i> —Henry John Adeane Hon. Eliot T. Yorke Lord G. J. Manners	
<i>Cambridge</i> —Kenneth Macaulay Francis S. Powell	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Dud. C. Majoribanks	396
Alexander Mitchell	367
W. W. Cargill	295
— Hubback	268
Colonel H. Edwards	689
Christopher Sykes	637
David Keane	495
Sir T. E. Winnington, Bart.	No contest
John Laird	2108
H. M. Jackson	1073
John Bright	} No contest
William Scholefield	
William Henry Hornby	1025
Joseph Feilden	912
James Pilkington	749
— Potter	552
Hon. E. F. Leveson-Gower	263
James Wyld	238
— Webb	114
Lieut.-Colonel William Gray	1022
Thomas Barnes	977
— Pope	863
— Gibb	726
John W. Malcolm	646
Thomas Parry	465
Meaburn Staniland	453
Henry W. Wickham	} No contest
William Edward Forster	
Major Hon. G. C. Morgan	No contest
<hr/>	
John Pritchard	299
Sir John D. Acton	289
Henry Whitmore	288
Henry Westropp	328
Alexander W. Kinglake	257
Sir J. V. Shelley, Bart.	237
Thomas Alex. Mitchell	} No contest
Kirkman D. Hodgson	
James White	3065
Henry Fawcett	2665
Henry Moor	2134
Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley	5296
Sir S. M. Peto, Bart.	5228
T. Fremantle	4269
Caledon George Du Pré	} No contest
Right Hon. Benj. Disraeli	
Robert B. Harvey	} No contest
Sir Harry Verney, Bart.	
John G. Hubbard	} No contest
Robert N. Philips	
Right Hon. Frederick Peel	572
Joseph A. Hardcastle	331
Edward Green	300
Lord A. Hervey	266
Right Hon. Robert Lowe	No contest
Viscount Royston	} No contest
Lord G. J. Manners	
Richard Young	} No contest
William Forsyth	
Francis S. Powell	762
Colonel Torrens	760
W. D. Christie	726
	725

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

*Cambridge* } Right Hon. S. H. Walpole  
*University* } Charles Jasper Selwyn  
*Canterbury*—Right Hon. Lord Ath-  
lumney  
H. A. Butler Johnstone

*Cardiff, &c.*—Lt.-Col. J. F. D. C. Stuart  
CARDIGAN—Lt.-Col. Wm. T. R. Powell

*Cardigan, &c.*—Capt. Ed. Lewis Pryse  
*Carlisle*—Wilfrid Lawson  
Edmund Potter

CARMARTHEN—David Jones  
David Pugh

*Carmarthen, &c.*—William Morris

CARNARVON—Hon. E. G. D. Pennant

*Carnarvon, &c.*—Charles Wynne Finch

*Chatham*—Major-General Sir J. M. F.  
Smith

*Cheltenham*—Colonel F. W. F. Berkeley

CHESTER, *North*—George Cornwall Legh  
Hon. Wilbr. Egerton

„ *South*—Sir P. de M. G. Egerton,  
Bart.  
John Tollemache

*Chester*—Earl Grosvenor  
Philip S. Humberston

*Chichester*—Lord H. G. C. G. Lennox  
John Abel Smith

*Chippenham*—William John Lysley  
Richd. Penruddocke Long

*Christchurch*—Rear-Adm. J. E. Walcott

*Cirencester*—Allen Alex. Bathurst  
Hon. Ashley G. J. Ponsonby

*Clitheroe*—J. Turner Hopwood

*Cockermouth*—John Steel  
Right Hon. Lord Naas

*Colchester*—Taverner John Miller  
Philip O. Papillon

CORNWALL, *East*—Tho. J. Agar Robartes  
Nicholas Kendall

„ *West*—Richard Davey  
John St. Aubyn

*Coventry*—Morgan Treherne  
Henry William Eaton

*Cricklade, &c.*—Ambrose L. Goddard  
Lord Ashley

CUMBERLAND, *E.*—Hon. C. W. G. Howard  
William Marshall

„ *West*—Capt. Henry Lowther  
Hon. P. S. Wyndham

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Right Hon. S. H. Walpole } No contest  
Charles Jasper Selwyn }  
H. A. Butler Johnstone 767  
J. W. Huddlestone 737  
*Major William Lyon* 643  
*Colonel A. S. Adair* 614

Lt.-Col. J. F. D. C. Stuart No contest  
Sir Thomas Lloyd, Bart. 1510

*David Davies* 1149

Capt. Edward Lewis Pryse No contest

W. Nicholson Hodgson 615

Edmund Potter 601

*Wilfrid Lawson* 586

David Jones } No contest

David Pugh }

William Morris No contest

Hon. E. G. D. Pennant No contest

W. B. Hughes No contest

Arthur J. Otway 986

*Admiral G. Elliot* 704

Charles Schreiber 1157

*Col. F. W. F. Berkeley* 1129

George Cornwall Legh } No contest

Hon. Wilbr. Egerton }

Sir P. de M. G. Egerton, } No contest

Bart. }

John Tollemache }

Earl Grosvenor 1372

William H. Gladstone 913

*Henry Cecil Raikes* 574

*William Fenton* 626

Lord H. G. C. G. Lennox } No contest

John Abel Smith }

Sir John Neeld, Bart. 280

Gabriel Goldney 201

*William John Lysley* 172

Rear-Adm. J. E. Walcott 211

*E. H. Burke* 143

Allen A. Bathurst 296

Hon. Ralph H. Dutton 222

*Julian Goldsmid* 172

Richard Fort No contest

John Steel } No contest

Right Hon. Lord Naas }

John Gurdon Rebow 688

Taverner John Miller 647

*Philip O. Papillon* 559

Thomas J. Agar Robartes } No contest

Nicholas Kendall }

Richard Davey } No contest

John St. Aubyn }

Henry W. Eaton 2489

M. Treherne 2401

*Edward F. Flower* 2302

*Mason Jones* 2259

Ambrose L. Goddard 978

Daniel Gooch 879

*Lord Eliot* 772

Hon. C. W. G. Howard } No contest

William Marshall }

Captain Henry Lowther } No contest

Hon. P. S. Wyndham }



## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

<i>Dartmouth</i> .—John Hardy	
DENBIGH—Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart. Colonel R. M. Biddulph	
<i>Denbigh, &amp;c.</i> —Townshend Mainwaring	
DERBY, <i>North</i> —Lord G. H. Cavendish William Pole Thornhill	
„ <i>South</i> —Thomas William Evans William Mundy	
<i>Derby</i> —Michael Thomas Bass Samuel Beale	
<i>Devizes</i> —Christopher Darby Griffith Sir Thomas Bateson, Bart.	
<i>Devonport</i> —William B. Ferrand Thomas Brassey	
DEVON, <i>North</i> —Hon. C. H. R. Trefusis Thomas Dyke Acland	
„ <i>South</i> —Sir Lawrence Palk, Bart. Samuel T. Kekewich	
<i>Dorchester</i> —Richard Brinsley Sheridan Lieut.-Col. Charles N. Sturt	
DORSET—Hon. W. H. B. Portman Henry Gerard Sturt John Floyer	
<i>Dover</i> —Rear-Ad. Sir H. J. Leeke, K.C.B. William Nicol	
<i>Droitwich</i> —Right Hon. Sir John S. Pakington, Bart.	
<i>Dudley</i> —H. Brinsley Sheridan	
DURHAM, <i>North</i> —R. Duncombe Shafto Sir H. Williamson, Bt.	
„ <i>South</i> —Henry Pease James Farrer	
<i>Durham</i> —Right Hon. J. R. Mowbray John Henderson	
ESSEX, <i>North</i> —Rt. Hon. W. Beresford Charles Du Cane	
„ <i>South</i> —Thomas Wm. Bramston J. W. Perry Watlington	
<i>Evesham</i> —Edward Holland Lieutenant-Colonel J. Bourne	
<i>Exeter</i> —Richard Sommers Gard Lord Courtenay	
<i>Eye</i> —Sir E. C. Kerrison, Bart.	
<i>Finsbury</i> —Sir S. Morton Peto, Bart. William Cox	
FLINT—Lord Richard Grosvenor	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

John Hardy	No contest
Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.	} No contest
Col. R. M. Biddulph	
Townshend Mainwaring	No contest
Lord G. H. Cavendish	} No contest
William Jackson	
C. R. Colville	3641
Thomas W. Evans	3617
<i>William Mundy</i>	3617
William T. Cox	1096
Michael Thomas Bass	1063
<i>S. Plimsoll</i>	691
<i>Samuel Beale</i>	608
Christopher Darby Griffith	} No contest
Sir Thomas Bateson, Bart.	
John Fleming	1307
William B. Ferrand	1290
<i>Thomas Brassey</i>	1279
<i>Thomas Phinn</i>	1243
Hon. C. H. R. Trefusis	} No contest
Thomas Dyke Acland	
Sir Lawrence Palk, Bart.	} No contest
Samuel T. Kekewich	
Lieut.-Col. Charles N. Sturt	268
Richard Brinsley Sheridan	255
— <i>Wolf</i>	103
Hon. W. H. B. Portman	} No contest
Henry Gerard Sturt	
John Floyer	} No contest
Major Alexander G. Dickson	
Charles K. Freshfield	1026
<i>Viscount Bury</i>	1012
<i>Thomas Eustace Smith</i>	903
Right Hon. Sir J. S. Paking-	892
ton, Bart.	} No contest
H. Brinsley Sheridan	
<i>F. Wyatt Truscott</i>	509
Sir H. Williamson, Bart.	270
R. Duncombe Shafto	2888
<i>Hon. G. Barrington</i>	2689
Joseph Whitwell Pease	2210
Captain C. F. Surtees	3401
<i>Captain Beaumont</i>	3211
Right Hon. J. R. Mowbray	2925
John Henderson	} No contest
Charles Du Cane	
Sir Thos. B. Western, Bart.	2081
<i>Right Hon. W. Beresford</i>	1931
Henry J. Selwyn	1881
Lord Eustace Cecil	2801
<i>R. B. Wingfield Baker</i>	2695
Lieutenant-Colonel J. Bourne	2347
Edward Holland	175
— <i>Harris</i>	124
Lord Courtenay	29
John D. Coleridge	} No contest
Sir E. C. Kerrison, Bart.	
W. McCullagh Torrens	No contest
Alderman Andrew Lusk	8480
<i>William Cox</i>	7959
— <i>Phillips</i>	5100
— <i>Perfitt</i>	866
Lord Richard Grosvenor	316
	No contest

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

<i>Flint, &amp;c.</i> —Sir John Hanmer, Bart.	
<i>Frome</i> —Lord Edward Thynne	
<i>Gateshead</i> —Right Hon. William Hutt	
GLAMORGAN—Christopher R. M. Talbot	
Henry Hussey Vivian	
GLO'STER, <i>East</i> —Robert Stayner Holford	
Sir M. E. Hicks Beach, Bt.	
„ <i>West</i> —Lt.-Col. R. N. F. Kingscote	
John Rolt	
Gloucester—Hon. C. P. F. Berkeley	
John Joseph Powell	
Grantham—W. E. Welby-Gregory	
Hon. F. J. Tollemache	
Greenwich, &c.—Ald. David Salomons	
William Angerstein	
Great Grimsby—John Chapman	
Guildford—William Bovill	
Guildford Onslow	
Halifax—Rt. Hon. Sir C. Wood, Bart.	
James Stansfeld	
HANTS, <i>North</i> —William W. B. Beach	
George Sclater-Booth	
„ <i>South</i> —Hon. Ralph H. Dutton	
Sir Jerv. C. Jervoise, Bt.	
Harwich—Captain H. J. W. Jervis	
Lieut.-Col. Hon. R. T. Rowley	
Hastings—Frederick North	
Hon. G. Waldegrave Leslie	
Haverfordwest, &c.—J. H. Scourfield	
Helston—John Jope Rogers	
HEREFORD—James King King	
Lord Mont. W. Graham	
Humphrey F. Mildmay	
Hereford—Colonel H. M. Clifford	
George Clive	
HEERTFORD—Sir E. G. E. L. B. Lytton, Bt.	
Abel Smith	
Henry E. Surtees	
Hertford—Right Hon. W. F. Cowper	
Sir W. M. T. Farquhar, Bart.	
Honiton—A. D. R. W. B. Cochrane	
George Moffatt	
Horsham—W. R. S. V. Fitzgerald	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Sir John Hanmer, Bart.	No contest
Major-Gen. Sir H. Rawlinson	206
J. W. D. T. Wickham	183
Right Hon. William Hutt	No contest
Christopher R. M. Talbot	} No contest
Henry Hussey Vivian	
Robert Stayner Holford	} No contest
Sir M. E. H. Beach, Bart.	
Lt.-Col. R. N. F. Kingscote	} No contest
John Rolt	
William P. Price	854
Charles J. Monk	774
A. S. Kennard	726
John Henry Thorold	432
William Earle Welby	404
Hon. F. J. Tollemache	315
Alderman David Salomons	4499
Sir Charles J. Bright	3691
Sir J. H. Maxwell, Bart.	2328
— Langley	190
— Harris	116
John Fildes	571
John Chapman	485
Guildford Onslow	333
William Bovill	318
W. W. Pocock	228
James Stansfeld	} No contest
Edward Akroyd	
William W. B. Beach	1844
George Sclater-Booth	1724
Sir H. Mildmay, Bart.	1493
Sir J. C. Jervoise, Bart.	} No contest
Colonel H. Hamlyn Fane	
Captain H. J. W. Jervis	209
John Kelk	194
M. Wills	117
Fitzjames Stephen	77
Hon. G. Waldegrave Leslie	749
Patrick Francis Robertson	737
Frederick North	725
J. E. Gorst	591
J. H. Scourfield	314
Captain Hon. — Edwardes	222
Adolphus W. Young	154
Major S. M. Grylls	144
James King King	} No contest
Sir Joseph Bailey, Bart.	
Michael Biddulph	
Richard Baggallay	510
George Clive	499
Colonel H. M. Clifford	483
Hon. H. F. Cowper	2537
Sir E. G. E. L. B. Lytton, Bart.	2485
Henry E. Surtees	2478
Abel Smith	2447
Right Hon. W. F. Cowper	} No contest
Sir W. M. T. Farquhar, Bt.	
Fred. D. Goldsmid	171
A. D. R. W. B. Cochrane	140
E. M. Richards	88
Robert H. Hurst	164
W. R. S. V. Fitzgerald	159

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

<i>Huddersfield</i> —Edward A. Leatham	
<i>HUNTINGDON</i> —Edward Fellowes Lord Robert Montagu	
<i>Huntingdon</i> —Lt.-Gen. Rt. Hon. J. Peel Thomas Baring	
<i>Hythe</i> —Baron M. A. de Rothschild	
<i>Ipswich</i> —J. Chevallier Cobbold Hugh Edward Adair	
<i>Kendal</i> —George Carr Glyn	
<i>KENT, East</i> —Sir B. W. Bridges, Bart. Sir E. C. Dering, Bart.	
„ <i>West</i> —Viscount Holmesdale Sir Edmund Filmer, Bart.	
<i>Kidderminster</i> —Lt.-Col. Hon. L. White	
<i>Kingston-on-Hull</i> —James Clay Joseph Somes	
<i>Knaresboro'</i> —Basil Thomas Woodd Thomas Collins	
<i>Lambeth</i> —Frederic Doulton James C. Lawrence	
<i>LANCASTER, North</i> —Col. J. Wilson Patten Marq. of Hartington	
„ <i>South</i> —Hon. A. F. Egerton Wm. John Legh Charles Turner	
<i>Lancaster</i> —Edward M. Fenwick H. W. Schneider	
<i>Launceston</i> —Thomas C. Haliburton	
<i>Leeds</i> —Edward Baines George S. Beecroft	
<i>LEICESTER, North</i> —Lord J. J. R. Manners Ed. Burch. Hartopp	
„ <i>South</i> —Chas. William Packe Viscount Curzon	
<i>Leicester</i> —William Unwin Heygate Peter Alfred Taylor	
<i>Leominster</i> —Gathorne Hardy Hon. C. S. B. H. K. Lennox	
<i>Lewes</i> —Hon. Henry B. W. Brand John George Blencowe	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Lieut.-Col. T. P. Crosland	1019
<i>Edward A. Leatham</i>	787
Edward Fellowes	} No contest
Lord Robert Montagu	
Lt.-Gen. Rt. Hon. J. Peel	} No contest
Thomas Baring	
Baron M. A. de Rothschild	No contest
Hugh Edward Adair	992
J. Chevallier Cobbold	910
<i>H. W. West</i>	904
<i>W. Tidmas</i>	774
George Carr Glyn	No contest
Sir B. W. Bridges, Bart.	3208
Sir E. C. Dering, Bart.	3195
<i>Sir N. Knatchbull, Bart.</i>	2919
Viscount Holmesdale	4133
W. Hart Dyke	4054
<i>Sir John Lubbock, Bart.</i>	3896
<i>William Angerstein</i>	3861
Albert Grant	285
<i>Lieut.-Col. Hon. L. White</i>	270
James Clay	2583
C. M. Norwood	2547
<i>Joseph Somes</i>	1910
<i>Joseph Hoare</i>	1374
Basil Thomas Woodd	156
Isaac Holden	127
<i>Thomas Collins</i>	123
Thomas Hughes	6373
Frederic Doulton	6280
<i>James C. Lawrence</i>	4743
<i>James Haig</i>	514
Colonel J. Wilson Patten	} No contest
Marquis of Hartington	
Hon. Algernon F. Egerton	9171
Charles Turner	8806
Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone	8786
<i>William John Legh</i>	8476
— <i>Heywood</i>	7703
— <i>Thompson</i>	7653
Edward M. Fenwick	713
H. W. Schneider	687
<i>Edward Lawrence</i>	665
Alexander H. Campbell	No contest
George S. Beecroft	3223
Edward Baines	3045
<i>Viscount Amberley</i>	2902
Lord John J. R. Manners	2305
Edward Burch. Hartopp	1854
<i>Charles H. Frewen</i>	1599
Charles William Packe	} No contest
Viscount Curzon	
John Dove Harris	2295
Peter Alfred Taylor	2199
<i>William Unwin Heygate</i>	1945
Arthur Walsh	214
Gathorne Hardy	208
— <i>Hindmarch</i>	137
Hon. Henry B. W. Brand	325
Lord Pelham	324
— <i>Christie</i>	292
<i>Sir Adolphus Slade, Bart.</i>	232



## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

<i>Lichfield</i> —Lord Alfred H. Paget	
Major Hon. A. H. A. Anson	
<i>LINCOLN, North</i> —James Banks Stanhope	
Sir M. J. Cholmeley, Bt.	
„ <i>South</i> —Rt. Hon. Sir J. Trollope, Bt.	
Lieut.-Col. Geo. H. Packe	
<i>Lincoln</i> —Charles Seely	
John Bramley Moore	
<i>Liskeard</i> —Sir Arthur W. Buller	
<i>Liverpool</i> —Thos. Berry Horsfall	
Jos. Christopher Ewart	
<i>London</i> —Sir James Duke, Bt.	
Robert Wygram Crawford	
Baron L. N. de Rothschild	
George Joachim Göschen	
<i>Ludlow</i> —Capt. Hon. G. H. W. W. Clive	
Sir Wm. Aug. Fraser, Bart.	
<i>Lyme Regis</i> —Colonel William Pinney	
<i>Lymington</i> —W. A. Mackinnon, Jun.	
Lord George C. G. Lennox	
<i>Lynn Regis</i> —Right Hon. Lord Stanley	
John Henry Gurney	
<i>Macclesfield</i> —John Brocklehurst	
Edward Christ. Egerton	
<i>Maidstone</i> —William Lee	
Charles Buxton	
<i>Maldon</i> —G. M. Warren Peacocke	
T. Sutton Western	
<i>Malmesbury</i> —Viscount Andover	
<i>Malton</i> —Hon. C. W. W. Fitzwilliam	
James Brown	
<i>Manchester</i> —Thomas Bazley	
James Aspinall Turner	
<i>Marlborough</i> —Lord E. A. C. B. Bruce	
Henry B. Baring	
<i>Gt. Marlow</i> —Lieut.-Col. T. P. Williams	
Lieut.-Col. B. W. Knox	
<i>Marylebone</i> —Lord Fermoy	
Harvey Lewis	
<i>MERIONETH</i> —William W. E. Wynne	
<i>Merthyr Tydvil</i> —Rt. Hon. H. A. Bruce	
<i>MIDDLESEX</i> —Robert Hanbury	
Viscount Enfield	
<i>Midhurst</i> —W. Townley Mitford	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Major Hon. A. H. A. Anson	302
Colonel Richard Dyott	257
<i>Lord Alfred H. Paget</i>	209
James Banks Stanhope	} No contest
Sir M. J. Cholmeley, Bart.	
Right Hon Sir J. Trollope, Bart.	} No contest
Lieut.-Col. G. H. Packe	
Charles Seely	878
Edward Heneage	872
<i>John Bramley Moore</i>	764
Sir Arthur W. Buller	No contest
Thomas Berry Horsfall	7866
Samuel R. Graves	7500
<i>Joseph C. Ewart</i>	7160
George Joachim Göschen	7102
Robert Wygram Crawford	7086
Alderman Lawrence	6637
Baron L. N. de Rothschild	6525
<i>George Lyall</i>	4197
<i>R. N. Fowler</i>	4086
Capt. Hon. G. H. W. W. Clive	236
John Edm. Severne	209
<i>Sir William Yardley, Bart.</i>	137
John Wright Treeby	116
<i>John C. Hawkshaw</i>	107
W. A. Mackinnon, Jun.	192
Lord G. C. G. Lennox	174
<i>Thomas Norton</i>	25
Right Hon. Lord Stanley	445
Sir T. Fowell Buxton	401
<i>Hon. F. Walpole</i>	339
Edward Christ. Egerton	471
John Brocklehurst	469
<i>David Chadwick</i>	421
William Lee	869
James Whatman	867
<i>E. L. Betts</i>	838
<i>J. Wardlaw</i>	801
G. M. Warren Peacocke	461
Ralph A. Earle	420
<i>T. Sutton Western</i>	394
Viscount Andover	157
<i>— Talbot</i>	136
Hon. C. W. W. Fitzwilliam	} No contest
James Brown	
Thomas Bazley	7909
Edward James	6698
<i>Jacob Bright</i>	5562
<i>Alderman Heywood.</i>	4242
Lord E. A. C. B. Bruce	} No contest
Henry B. Baring	
Colonel T. P. Williams	} No contest
Colonel W. B. Knox	
Harvey Lewis	7159
Thomas Chambers	6488
<i>Lord Fermoy</i>	4121
William R. M. Wynne	610
<i>David Williams</i>	579
Right Hon. H. A. Bruce	No contest
Robert Culling Hanbury	} No contest
Viscount Enfield	
W. Townley Mitford	No contest

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

MONMOUTH—Charles Oct. S. Morgan	
Lient.-Col. P. G. H. Somerset	
<i>Monmouth, &amp;c.</i> —Crawshay Bailey	
MONTGOMERY—Charles W. W. Wynn	
<i>Montgomery, &amp;c.</i> —Hon. C. R. D. H. Tracy	
<i>Morpeth</i> —Rt. Hon. Sir G. Grey, Bart.	
<i>Newark</i> —Grosvenor Hodgkinson	
John Handley	
<i>Newcastle-under-Lyme</i> —William Jackson	
William Murray	
<i>Newcastle-</i> } Rt. Hon. T. E. Headlam	
<i>on-tyne</i> } Som. Arch. Beaumont	
<i>Newport,</i> } Robert William Kennard	
<i>I. of Wight</i> } Philip L. Powys Lybbe	
NORFOLK, <i>East</i> —Lt.-Col. Hon. W. C. W.	
Coke	
Edward Howes	
„ <i>West</i> —George W. P. Bentinck	
Brampton Gurdon	
<i>Northallerton</i> —W. Battie Wrightson	
NORTHAMPTON } Lord Burghley	
<i>North</i> } George Ward Hunt	
„ <i>South</i> —Sir R. Knightley, Bart.	
Col. Henry Cartwright	
<i>Northampton</i> —Charles Gilpin	
Lord Henley	
NORTHUMBER- } Earl Percy	
LAND, <i>North</i> } Sir M. W. Ridley, Bart.	
<i>South</i> —Wentw. B. Beaumont	
Hon. Hen. G. Liddell	
<i>Norwich</i> —Edward Warner	
Sir William Russell, Bart., C.B.	
NOTTING- } Lord Robert R. P. Clinton	
HAM, <i>North</i> } Rt. Hon. J. E. Denison	
„ <i>South</i> —William Hodgson Barrow	
Lord Stanhope	
<i>Nottingham</i> —Charles Paget	
Sir Robert J. Clifton, Bart.	
<i>Oldham</i> —John Morgan Cobbett	
John T. Hibbert	
OXFORD—Right Hon. J. W. Henley	
Lient.-Col. J. Sidney North	
Lient.-Col. John W. Fane	
<i>Oxford</i> —Right Hon. Edward Cardwell	
Charles Neate	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Charles Oct. S. Morgan	} No contest
Colonel P. G. H. Somerset	
Crawshay Bailey	No contest
Charles W. W. Wynn	No contest
Hon. C. R. D. H. Tracy	436
<i>Captain T. L. Hampton</i>	371
Right Hon. Sir G. Grey, Bt.	No contest
Grosvenor Hodgkinson	} No contest
Lord A. P. Clinton	
William S. Allen	520
Edmund Buckley	494
— <i>Wise</i>	166
Alderman J. Cowen	2941
Right Hon. T. E. Headlam	2477
<i>Som. A. Beaumont</i>	2060
C. W. Martin	309
Robert W. Kennard	307
<i>Hon. A. W. Herbert</i>	230
Edward Howes	3100
Clare S. Read	2985
<i>Sir Thomas Beauchamp</i>	2150
<i>Lt.-Col. Hon. W. C. W. Coke</i>	1994
William Bagge	2710
Hon. Thomas de Grey	2611
<i>Sir W. Jones, Bart.</i>	2123
<i>Brampton Gurdon</i>	2088
Charles H. Mills	239
— <i>Johns</i>	190
Lord Burghley	} No contest
George Ward Hunt	
Sir R. Knightley, Bart.	2206
Colonel Henry Cartwright	2091
<i>Lord Frederick Fitzroy</i>	2054
Lord Henley	1269
Charles Gilpin	1250
— <i>Holroyd</i>	1029
— <i>Stopford</i>	950
Sir M. W. Ridley, Bart.	} No contest
Lord Henry Percy	
Wentw. B. Beaumont	} No contest
Hon. Henry G. Liddell	
Sir William Russell, Bt. C.B.	1844
Edward Warner	1837
<i>A. Goldsmid</i>	1442
<i>R. E. C. Waters</i>	1372
Right Hon. J. E. Denison	} No contest
Lord Edw. Pelham Clinton	
William Hodgson Barrow	} No contest
Lord Stanhope	
Samuel Morley	2393
Sir Robert J. Clifton, Bart.	2352
<i>Charles Paget</i>	2327
<i>A. G. Marten</i>	2242
John T. Hibbert	1104
John Platt	1075
<i>John Morgan Cobbett</i>	899
— <i>Spinks</i>	846
Right Hon. J. W. Henley	} No contest
Lient.-Col. J. Syd. North	
Lient.-Col. John W. Fane	} No contest
Right Hon. E. Cardwell	
Charles Neate	

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

*Oxford University* } Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone  
Sir William Heathcote, Bart.

PEMBROKE—George Lort Phillips  
*Pembroke, &c.*—Sir Hugh O. Owen, Bart.

*Penryn & Falmouth*—Thomas G. Baring  
Samuel Gurney

*Peterboro'*—Thomson Hankey  
George Hammond Whalley

*Petersfield*—Rt. Hn. Sir W. G. H. Jolliffe, B.

*Plymouth*—Sir R. Porrett Collier  
Walter Morrison

*Pontefract*—H. C. E. Childers  
Samuel Waterhouse

*Poole*—G. Woodroffe Franklyn  
Henry D. Seymour

*Portsmouth*—Sir J. D. H. Elphinstone, Bt.  
Rt. Hon. Sir F. T. Baring, Bt.

*Preston*—Charles Pascoe Grenfell  
Sir Thomas G. Hesketh, Bart.

RADNOR—Sir John B. Walsh, Bart.

*New Radnor*—Richard Green Price

*Reading*—Sir F. H. Goldsmid, Bart.  
George J. Shaw Lefevre

*Reigate*—G. W. G. Leveson-Gower

*East Retford*—Viscount Galway  
Francis J. S. Foljambe

*Richmond*—Marmaduke Wyvill  
Sir Roundell Palmer

*Ripon*—John Greenwood  
Reg. Arthur Vyner

*Rochdale*—Thomas B. Potter

*Rochester*—Philip W. Martin  
Serjeant John A. Kinglake

RUTLAND—Hon. Gerard J. Noel  
Hon. G. H. Heathcote

*Rye*—William Alexander Mackinnon

*St. Ives*—Henry Paull

*Salford*—John Cheetham

*Salisbury*—Lieut.-General E. P. Buckley  
Matthew Henry Marsh

*Sandwich*—E. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen  
Lord Clarence E. Paget

*Scarboro'*—Sir J. V. B. Johnstone, Bart.  
John Dent Dent

*Shaftesbury*—George Grenfell Glyn

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Sir William Heathcote, Bart. 3236

Gathorne Hardy 1904

*Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone* 1724

George Lort Phillips No contest

Sir Hugh O. Owen, Bart. 668

— *Hardwick* 304

Thomas G. Baring } No contest

Samuel Gurney 340

George Hammond Whalley 320

Thomson Hankey 303

*William Wells* Rt. Hon. Sir W. G. H. Jolliffe, Bt. No contest

Sir R. P. Collier 1299

Walter Morrison 1218

*R. Stuart Lane* 1147

H. C. E. Childers 359

Samuel Waterhouse 330

*William MacArthur* 288

Henry D. Seymour 258

Charles Waring 248

*S. Lewin* 178

William H. Stone 2164

Serjeant Stephen Gaselee 2103

*Sir J. D. Elphinstone* 1677

*Hon. J. Bruce* 1559

Sir Thomas G. Hesketh, Bart. } No contest

Captain F. A. Stanley } contest

Sir John B. Walsh, Bart. No contest

Richard Green Price No contest

Sir F. H. Goldsmid, Bart. 727

George J. Shaw Lefevre 717

*Stephen Tucker* 414

G. W. G. Leveson-Gower 473

*Hon. E. J. Monson* 276

*G. Gibson Richardson* 11

Viscount Galway } No contest

Francis J. S. Foljambe } No contest

Sir Roundell Palmer } No contest

Hon. John C. Dundas } No contest

Right Hon. Sir C. Wood, Bart. 216

Captain Robert Kearsley 189

*John Greenwood* 173

Thomas B. Potter No contest

Philip W. Martin 855

Serjeant J. A. Kinglake 792

*Alfred Smee* 414

Hon. Gerard J. Noel } No contest

Hon. G. H. Heathcote } No contest

Captain L. B. Mackinnon 180

— *Macdonald* 172

Henry Paull 233

— *Vivian* 177

John Cheetham No contest

Matthew Henry Marsh 367

E. W. T. Hamilton 312

*John Chapman* 252

E. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen 494

Lord Clarence E. Paget 477

*C. Capper* 413

Sir J. V. B. Johnstone, Bart. 932

John Dent Dent 674

*G. J. Cayley* 441

George Grenfell Glyn No contest



## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

<i>Sheffield</i> —John A. Roebuck George Hadfield	
<i>South Shields</i> —Robert Ingham	
<i>New Shoreham, &amp;c.</i> —Stephen Cave Sir Percy Burrell, Bt.	
<i>Shrewsbury</i> —George Tomline Henry Robertson	
<b>SHROPSHIRE</b> , <i>North</i> —Hon. Rowl. C. Hill J. R. Ormsby Gore	
„ <i>South</i> —Sir B. Leighton, Bt. Col. Hon. P. E. Herbert	
<b>SOMERSET</b> , <i>East</i> —Sir William Miles, Bt. Lt. Col. W. F. Knatchbull	
„ <i>West</i> —Sir A. B. P. F. A. Hood, Bt. W. H. P. Gore Langton	
<i>Southampton</i> —William Digby Seymour Alderman W. A. Rose	
<i>Southwark</i> —John Locke Austen H. Layard	
<b>STAFFORD</b> , <i>North</i> —Right Hon. C. B. Adderley Viscount Ingestre	
„ <i>South</i> —Henry J. W. H. Foley William Orme Foster	
<i>Stafford</i> —Thomas Salt Alderman Thomas Sidney	
<i>Stamford</i> —Viscount Cranbourne Sir S. H. Northcote, Bart.	
<i>Stockport</i> —John Benjamin Smith Edward W. Watkin	
<i>Stoke-on-Trent</i> —Ald. Wm. T. Copeland Henry R. Grenfell	
<i>Stroud</i> —George Poulett Scrope Right Hon. Edward Horsman	
<b>SUFFOLK</b> , <i>East</i> —Lord Henniker Sir FitzRoy Kelly	
„ <i>West</i> —Maj. Windsor Parker Lord A. H. C. Hervey	
<i>Sunderland</i> —Henry Fenwick Wm. Schaw Lindsay	
<b>SURREY</b> , <i>East</i> —Thomas Alcock Hon. P. J. Locke King	
„ <i>West</i> —John Ivatt Briscoe George Cubitt	
<b>SUSSEX</b> , <i>East</i> —John George Dodson Viscount Pevensey	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

John A. Roebuck	3410
George Hadfield	3348
<i>Hon. J. F. Stuart Wortley</i>	2626
<i>T. Campbell Foster</i>	1576
Robert Ingham	No contest
Stephen Cave	972
Sir Percy Burrell, Bart.	891
<i>James Hannen</i>	592
George Tomline	} No contest
William James Clement	
J. R. Ormsby Gore	} No contest
Major Hon. C. H. Cust	
Robert Jasper More	1837
Colonel Hon. P. E. Herbert	1678
<i>Sir B. Leighton, Bart.</i>	1399
R. Nevill Grenville	} No contest
Richard H. Paget	
Sir A. B. P. F. A. Hood, Bt.	} No contest
W. H. P. Gore Langton	
Russell Gurney	1565
George Moffatt	1527
<i>Alderman W. A. Rose</i>	1422
<i>T. M. Mackay</i>	1388
<i>W. D. Seymour</i>	447
John Locke	} No contest
Austen H. Layard	
Edward M. Buller	4628
Right Hon. C. B. Adderley	4416
— <i>Visc. Ingestre</i>	4053
Henry J. W. H. Foley	} No contest
William Orme Foster	
Michael A. Bass	1090
Walter Meller	657
<i>Alderman Pochin</i>	575
Viscount Cranbourne	} No contest
Sir S. H. Northcote, Bart.	
Edward W. Watkin	733
John Benjamin Smith	661
— <i>Tipping</i>	595
A. J. Beresford-Hope	1463
Henry R. Grenfell	1373
— <i>Melly</i>	1277
Right. Hon. Edward Horsman	687
George Poulett Scrope	685
<i>Hon. A. J. G. Ponsonby</i>	287
Lord Henniker	} No contest
Sir FitzRoy Kelly	
Major W. Parker	} No contest
Lord A. H. C. Hervey	
Henry Fenwick	1826
James Hartley	1355
<i>John Candlish</i>	1307
Hon. P. J. Locke King	3495
Charles Buxton	3424
— <i>Peek</i>	3333
— <i>Brodrick</i>	3226
John Ivatt Briscoe	} No contest
George Cubitt	
John George Dodson	2821
Lord E. Cavendish	2647
<i>W. Burrell</i>	2463
<i>R. Abbott</i>	2316

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

<b>SUSSEX, West</b> —Cap. Hon. H. Wyndham Col. Walter B. Barttelot	
<b>Swansea, &amp;c.</b> —Lewis L. Dillwyn	
<b>Tamworth</b> —Right Hon. Sir R. Peel, Bt. John Peel	
<b>Taunton</b> —Arthur Mills Geo. A. Cave Bentinck	
<b>Tavistock</b> —Sir J. S. Trelawny, Bart. Arthur J. E. Russell	
<b>Tewkesbury</b> —James Martin John R. Yorke	
<b>Thetford</b> —Hon. A. Hugh Baring Lord Frederick J. Fitzroy	
<b>Thirsk</b> —Sir W. P. Gallwey, Bart.	
<b>Tiverton</b> —Viscount Palmerston Hon. Geo. Denman	
<b>Totnes</b> —John Pender Alfred Seymour	
<b>Tower Hamlets</b> —Acton Smee Ayrton Chas. S. Butler	
<b>Truro</b> —Augustus Smith Frederick M. Williams	
<b>Tynemouth</b> —Richard Hodgson	
<b>Wakefield</b> —Sir John C. D. Hay, Bart.	
<b>Wallingford</b> —Richard Malins	
<b>Walsall</b> —Charles Forster	
<b>Wareham</b> —John S. W. S. E. D. Drax	
<b>Warrington</b> , Gilbert Greenall	
<b>WARWICK, North</b> —Charles N. Newdegate W. Davenport Bromley	
„ <b>South</b> —Evelyn P. Shirley Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bart.	
<b>Warwick</b> —George William J. Repton Edward Greaves	
<b>Wells</b> —Right. Hon. Sir W. G. Hayter, Bt. Captain H. H. Jolliffe	
<b>Wenlock</b> —Right Hon. G. C. W. Forester James Milnes Gaskell	
<b>Westbury</b> —Sir Massey Lopes, Bart.	
<b>Westminster</b> —Sir John V. Shelley, Bart. Lieut.-Gen. Sir De L. Evans	
<b>WESTMORELAND</b> —Hon. H. C. Lowther Earl of Bective	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Hon. Henry Wyndham	} No contest
Colonel Walter B. Barttelot	
Lewis L. Dillwyn	No contest
Rt. Hon. Sir R. Peel, Bart.	416
John Peel	287
W. T. S. Daniel	103
Alexander C. Barclay	478
Lord W. Montagu Hay	470
E. W. Cox	292
A. Austin	260
A. J. E. Russell	330
Joseph D'A. Samuda	179
Samuel Carter	119
F. Rummins	93
William Edward Dowdeswell	190
John R. Yorke	182
James Martin	150
R. J. H. Harvey	193
Hon. A. Hugh Baring	137
Alderman Dakin	69
Sir W. P. Gallwey, Bart.	No contest
John W. Walrond	220
Hon. G. Denman	217
Alfred Seymour	210
John Pender	204
Lieut.-Col W. G. Dawkins	162
Com. Bedford Pim, R.N.	147
Acton Smee Ayrton	} No contest
Charles S. Butler	
Capt. Hon. J. C. W. Vivian	} No contest
Frederick M. Williams	
George Otto Trevelyan	494
Richard Hodgson	438
William H. Leatham	507
Sir John C. D. Hay, Bart.	457
Sir Wentworth Dilke, Bart.	158
Richard Malins	132
Charles Forster	No contest
J. Hales M. Calcraft	125
Jn. S. W. S. E. D. Drax	109
Gilbert Greenall	No contest
Charles N. Newdegate	3159
W. Davenport Bromley	2873
Frederick Muntz	2408
Henry Christ Wise	1585
Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bart.	1517
Viscount Duncan	1321
George William J. Repton	342
Arthur W. Peel	315
Edward Greaves	297
Captain H. H. Jolliffe	} No contest
Captain A. D. Hayter	
Rt. Hon. G. C. W. Forester	} No contest
Jas. Milnes Gaskell	
Sir Massey Lopes, Bart.	No contest
Captain Hon. R. W. Grosvenor	4534
John Stuart Mill	4525
William Henry Smith	3824
Hon. H. C. Lowther	} No contest
Earl of Bective	

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

<i>Weymouth &amp; Melc. Regis</i>	Robert Brooks	
	Visc. Grey de Wilton	
<i>Whitby</i>	Harry S. Thompson	
<i>Whitehaven</i>	George Lyall	
<i>Wigan</i>	Major-Gen. Hon. Jas. Lindsay	
	Henry Woods	
<i>Wight, Isle of</i>	C. Cavendish Clifford	
<i>Wilton</i>	Edmund Antrobus	
<i>WILTS, North</i>	Walter Long	
	Lord Charles Bruce	
„ <i>South</i>	Lord Henry F. Thynne	
	Lieut.-Col. F. T. A. H. Bathurst	
<i>Winchester</i>	John Bonham Carter	
	Thomas W. Fleming	
<i>Windsor</i>	William Vansittart	
	Col. R. H. R. Howard Vyse	
<i>Wolverhampton</i>	Rt. Hon. C. P. Villiers	
	T. Matthias Weguelin	
<i>Woodstock</i>	Lord A. S. Churchill	
<i>WORCESTER</i>	Hon. F. H. W. G. Calthorpe	
	<i>East</i> Harry F. Vernon	
„ <i>West</i>	Fred. Winn Knight	
	Hon. Fred. Lygon	
<i>Worcester</i>	Osman Ricardo	
	Richard Padmore	
<i>Wycombe</i>	Martin Tucker Smith	
	John Remington Mills	
<i>Great Yarmouth</i>	Sir E. H. K. Lacon, Bt.	
	Sir H. Josiah Stracy Bart.	
<i>YORK, N. Riding</i>	Hon. W. E. Duncombe	
	Wm. J. S. Morritt	
„ <i>E. Riding</i>	Lord Hotham	
	R.-Adm. Hon. A. Duncombe	
„ <i>W. Riding</i>	Sir J. W. Ramsden, Bart.	
	Sir Francis Crossley, Bart.	
<i>Fork</i>	J. Proctor B. Westhead	
	Col. John George Smyth	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Robert Brooks	381
Captain H. G. Gridley	378
<i>Lord Grey de Wilton</i>	28
<i>H. Edwards</i>	14
Charles Bagnall	305
<i>Harry S. Thompson</i>	282
George C. Bentinck	No contest
Major-Gen. Hon. J. Lindsay	No contest
Henry Woods	No contest
Sir John Simeon, Bart.	810
<i>Sir Charles Locock</i>	727
Edmund Antrobus	No contest
Lord Charles Bruce	2151
Richard P. Long	1911
<i>Sir G. J. Jenkinson, Bart.</i>	1373
Lord Henry F. Thynne	1576
Thomas Fraser Grove	1427
<i>Lt.-Col. F. T. A. H. Bathurst</i>	1270
John Bonham Carter	459
William B. Simonds	367
<i>T. W. Fleming</i>	336
Sir H. A. Hoare, Bart.	324
Henry Labouchere	323
<i>William Vansittart</i>	291
<i>Col. R. H. R. Howard Vyse</i>	251
Right Hon. C. P. Villiers	1623
T. Matthias Weguelin	1519
<i>Major Thornecroft</i>	47
Henry Barnett	143
<i>Mitchell Henry</i>	119
Hon. F. H. W. G. Calthorpe	No contest
Harry F. Vernon	No contest
Frederick Winn Knight	No contest
Hon. Frederick Lygon	No contest
Alex. C. Sherriff	1255
Richard Padmore	1033
<i>James Levick</i>	977
John Remington Mills	No contest
Hon. C. Carington	No contest
Sir E. H. K. Lacon, Bart.	828
James Goodson	784
<i>Philip Vanderbyl</i>	634
<i>Alexander Brodgen</i>	589
Fred. Aeclom Milbank	6585
Hon. W. E. Duncombe	6362
<i>William J. S. Morritt</i>	5889
Lord Hotham	No contest
R.-Adm. Hon. A. Duncombe	No contest
<i>Northern Division W. Riding</i>	
Sir Francis Crossley, Bart.	No contest
Lord F. C. Cavendish	No contest
<i>Southern Division W. Riding</i>	
Viscount Milton	7258
Henry F. Beaumont	6975
— <i>Denison</i>	6884
— <i>Stanhope</i>	6819
James Lowther	2079
George Leeman	1854
<i>J. P. B. Westhead</i>	1792



SCOTLAND—53 *Members.*

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

ABERDEEN—William Leslie	
<i>Aberdeen</i> —Col. William Henry Sykes	
ARGYLL—Alex. Struthers Finlay	
AYR—Sir James Fergusson, Bart.	
<i>Ayr, Irvine, &amp;c.</i> —Edw. Hen. J. Craufurd	
BANFF—Robert William Duff	
BERWICK—David Robertson	
BUTE—Hon. W. G. Boyle	
CAITHNESS—George Traill	
CLACKMAN. & KINBOSS—William Patrick Adam	
DUMBARTON—Patrick Boyle Smollett	
DUMFRIES—J. J. Hope Johnstone	
<i>Dumfries, &amp;c.</i> —William Ewart	
<i>Dundee</i> —Sir John Ogilvy, Bart.	
EDINBURGH—Earl of Dalkeith	
<i>Edinburgh</i> —Adam Black	
Right Hon. J. Moncreiff	
ELGIN & NAIRN—Major C. L. C. Bruce	
<i>Elgin, Banff, &amp;c.</i> —Mountst. E. G. Duff	
<i>Falkirk, &amp;c.</i> —James Merry	
FIFE—Sir R. Anstruther, Bart.	
FORFAR—Hon. Charles Carnegie	
<i>Glasgow</i> —Walter Buchanan	
Robert Dalglish	
<i>Greenock</i> —Alexander M. Dunlop	
HADDINGTON—Lord Elcho	
<i>Haddington, &amp;c.</i> —Sir H. R. F. Davie, Bt.	
INVERNESS—Henry James Baillie	
<i>Inverness, &amp;c.</i> —Alexander Matheson	
<i>Kilmarnock, &amp;c.</i> —Rt. Hon. E. P. Bouverie	
KINCAIDINE—Gen. Hon. H. Arbuthnott	
<i>Kirkcaldy, &amp;c.</i> —Roger S. Aytoun	
KIRKCUDBRIGHT—James Mackie	
LANARK—Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart.	
<i>Leith, &amp;c.</i> —William Miller	
LINLITHGOW—Major W. F. Hamilton	
<i>Montrose, &amp;c.</i> —William Edward Baxter	
ORKNEY & SHETLAND—F. Dundas	
<i>Paisley</i> —Humphrey E. C. Ewing	
PEEBLES—Sir G. G. Montgomery, Bart.	
PERTH—William Stirling	
<i>Perth</i> —Hon. Arthur F. Kinnaid	
RENFREW—Sir Michael R. S. Stewart, Bt.	
ROSS AND CROM.—Sir Jas. Matheson, Bt.	
ROXBURGH—Sir William Scott, Bart.	
SELKIRK—Lord H. J. M. D. Scott	
<i>St. Andrew's, &amp;c.</i> —Edward Ellice	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

William Leslie	No contest
Col. William Henry Sykes	No contest
Alexander Struthers Finlay	No contest
Sir James Fergusson, Bart.	No contest
Edward Henry J. Craufurd	567
— <i>Oswald</i>	501
Robert William Duff	No contest
David Robertson	No contest
James Lamont	203
— <i>Hon. W. G. Boyle</i>	192
George Traill	No contest
William Patrick Adam	No contest
Patrick Boyle Smollett	574
— <i>J. Stirling</i>	574
Major George G. Walker	No contest
William Ewart	540
— <i>Colonel Clark Kennedy</i>	384
Sir John Ogilvy	No contest
Earl of Dalkeith	No contest
Duncan McLaren	4354
Right Hon. J. Moncreiff	4148
— <i>Adam Black</i>	3797
— <i>Miller</i>	3721
Major C. L. C. Bruce	No contest
Mountst. E. Grant Duff	No contest
James Merry	683
— <i>Halliday</i>	419
Sir R. Anstruther, Bart.	No contest
Hon. Charles Carnegie	No contest
W. Graham.	8171
Robert Dalglish	6713
— <i>J. Ramsay</i>	5832
Alexander M. Dunlop	No contest
Lord Elcho	216
— <i>Hope</i>	119
Sir H. R. F. Davie, Bart.	No contest
Henry James Baillie	336
— <i>Grant</i>	297
Alexander Matheson	
Rt. Hon. E. P. Bouverie	No contest
James D. Nicol	490
— <i>Sir Thomas Gladstone, Bart.</i>	288
Roger S. Aytoun	No contest
James Mackie	No contest
Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart.	No contest
William Miller	No contest
Peter McLagan	No contest
William Edward Baxter	No contest
Frederick Dundas	No contest
Humphrey E. C. Ewing	No contest
Sir G. G. Montgomery, Bt.	No contest
William Stirling	No contest
Hon. A. F. Kinnaid	No contest
Arch. Alexander Speirs	938
— <i>Sir M. R. S. Stewart, Bart.</i>	836
Sir James Matheson, Bart.	No contest
Sir William Scott, Bt.	No contest
Lord H. J. M. D. Scott	227
— <i>Hon. William Napier</i>	196
Edward Ellice	No contest

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

STIRLING—Peter Blackburn	
<i>Stirling &amp;c.</i> —James Caird	
SUTHERLAND—Right Hon. Sir D. Dundas	
<i>Wick, &amp;c.</i> —Right Hon. Viscount Bury	
WIGTON—Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.	
<i>Wigton, &amp;c.</i> —George Young	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Vice-Admiral J. E. Erskine	726
<i>Peter Blackburn</i>	692
Lawrence Oliphant	No contest
Right Hon. Sir D. Dundas	No contest
Samuel Laing	No contest
Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.	484
<i>Lord Garlies</i>	456
George Young	No contest

## IRELAND—105 Members.

ANTRIM—Lieut.-Col. T. H. Packenham	
Edward O'Neill	
ARMAGH—Sir William Verner, Bart.	
Sir James M. Stronge, Bart.	
<i>Armagh</i> —Joshua W. M'G. Bond	
<i>Athlone</i> —John Ennis	
<i>Bandon</i> —Col. Hon. H. B. Bernard	
<i>Belfast</i> —Sir H. M'Calmont Cairns	
Samuel G. Getty	
CARLOW—Henry Bruen	
Captain D. W. P. Beresford	
<i>Carlow</i> —Sir J. E. D. Acton, Bart.	
<i>Carrickfergus</i> —Robert Torrens	
<i>Cashel</i> —John Lanigan	
CAYAN—Lieut.-Col. Hon. J. P. Maxwell	
Lieut. Col. Hon. H. Annesley	
CLARE—Colonel C. M. Vandeleur	
Sir Colman O'Loughlen, Bart.	
<i>Clonmel</i> —John Bagwell	
<i>Coleraine</i> —Sir Henry H. Bruce, Bart.	
CORK—Vincent Scully	
Nicholas Philpot Leader	
<i>Cork</i> —Francis Bernard Beamish	
Nicholas D. Murphy	
DONEGAL—Thomas Conolly	
Viscount Hamilton	
DOWN—Lord A. E. Hill Trevor	
Lieut.-Col. William B. Forde	
<i>Downpatrick</i> —David Stewart Ker	
<i>Drogheda</i> —James M'Cann	
DUBLIN—Lieut.-Colonel T. E. Taylor	
Ion Trant Hamilton	
<i>Dublin</i> —Sir Edward Grogan, Bart.	
John Vance	
<i>Dublin Uni-</i> } Anthony Lefroy	
<i>versity</i> — } Right Hon. J. Whiteside	
<i>Dundalk</i> —Sir George Bowyer, Bart.	
<i>Dungannon</i> —Major Hon. Wm. S. Knox	

Edward O'Neill	} No contest
Rear-Adm. G. H. Seymour	
Sir William Verner, Bart.	} No contest
Sir James M. Stronge, Bart.	
Stearne B. Miller	184
<i>William Kirk</i>	169
Denis Joseph Reardon	107
<i>John Ennis</i>	60
<i>Hon. George Handcock</i>	21
Colonel Hon. H. B. Bernard	111
— <i>Shaw</i>	106
Sir H. M'Calmont Cairns	1822
Samuel G. Getty	1728
<i>Lord John Hay</i>	991
Henry Bruen	} No contest
Captain D. W. P. Beresford	
Osborne Stock	176
— <i>Rochfort</i>	108
Robert Torrens	498
<i>Col. White</i>	285
James L. O'Beirne	86
<i>John Lanigan</i>	49
Lieut.-Col. Hon. H. Annesley	} No contest
Edward Saunderson	
Colonel C. M. Vandeleur	} No contest
Sir Colman O'Loughlen, Bt.	
John Bagwell	No contest
Sir Henry H. Bruce, Bart.	No contest
George R. Barry	7581
Nicholas Philpot Leader	6972
<i>Vincent Scully</i>	2291
John Francis Maguire	} No contest
Nicholas D. Murphy	
Thomas Conolly	} No contest
Viscount Hamilton	
Lord A. E. Hill Trevor	} No contest
Lieut.-Col. Wm. B. Forde	
David Stewart Ker	No contest
Benjamin Whitworth	291
— <i>Brodigan</i>	80
Lieut.-Col. T. E. Taylor	2100
Ion Trant Hamilton	2083
<i>Hon. Capt. Charles White.</i>	1646
Benjamin Lee Guinness	4739
Jonathan Pim	4653
<i>John Vance</i>	4073
Right Hon. J. Whiteside	1213
Anthony Lefroy	1042
— <i>Ball, LL.D.</i>	542
Sir George Bowyer, Bart.	No contest
Major Hon. Wm. S. Knox	No contest

## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

<i>Dungarvan</i> —John Francis Maguire	
<i>Ennis</i> —Captain William Stacpoole	
<i>Enniskillen</i> —Hon. John L. Cole	
<i>FERMANAGH</i> —Capt. M. E. Archdall	
Lieut.-Col. Hon. H. A. Cole	
<i>GALWAY</i> —Sir T. J. Burke, Bart.	
William Henry Gregory	
<i>Galway</i> —John Orrell Lever	
Lord Dunkellin	
<i>KERRY</i> —Right Hon. Henry A. Herbert	
Right Hon. Visc. Castlerosse	
<i>KILDARE</i> —William H. F. Cogan	
Right Hon. R. M. O'Ferrall	
<i>KILKENNY</i> —Hon. L. G. F. Agar-Ellis	
Captain John Greene	
<i>Kilkenny</i> —Michael Sullivan	
<i>KING'S CO.</i> —John Pope Hennessy	
Sir Patrick O'Brien, Bart.	
<i>Kinsale</i> —Sir George C. Colthurst, Bart.	
<i>LEITRIM</i> —Dr. John Brady	
William R. Ormsby Gore	
<i>LIMERICK</i> —Right Hon. William Monsell	
Lieut.-Col. Sam. A. Dickson	
<i>Limerick</i> —Francis William Russell	
Major George Gavin	
<i>Lisburn</i> —Edward Wingfield Verner	
<i>LONDONDERRY</i> —Robert Peel Dawson	
Sir F. W. Heygate, Bt.	
<i>Londonderry</i> —William McCormick	
<i>LONGFORD</i> —Colonel Fulke S. Greville	
Major M. W. O'Reilly	
<i>LOUTH</i> —Right Hon. C. S. Fortescue	
Tristram Kennedy	
<i>Mallow</i> —Robert Longfield	
<i>MAYO</i> —Roger W. H. Palmer	
Lord John T. Browne	
<i>MEATH</i> —Mat. Elias Corbally	
Edward MacEvoy	
<i>MONAGHAN</i> —Colonel Charles P. Leslie	
Sir George Forster, Bart.	
<i>New Ross</i> —Lieut.-Col. C. G. Tottenham	
<i>Newry</i> —Peter Quinn	
<i>Portarlington</i> —Capt. L. S. W. D. Damer	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Charles R. Barry	112
— <i>Palliser</i>	94
Captain William Stacpoole	97
— <i>Malony</i>	36
Hon. John L. Cole	117
— <i>Collum</i>	107
Colonel A. Cole	3
Captain M. E. Archdall	} No contest
Lieut.-Col. Hon. H. A. Cole	
Lord Dunkellin	} No contest
William Henry Gregory	
Michael Morris	885
Sir R. Blennerhasset, Bart.	627
John Orrell Lever	291
— <i>Stubber</i>	22
Right Hon. H. A. Herbert	} No contest
Right Hon. Visc. Castlerosse	
W. H. F. Cogan	} No contest
Lord Otho Fitzgerald	
George Leopold Bryan	2784
Hon. L. G. F. Agar-Ellis	2609
Captain John Greene	835
Sir John Gray	No contest
John G. King	2192
Sir Patrick O'Brien, Bart.	1246
John Pope Hennessy	1240
Sir G. C. Colthurst, Bart.	62
Eugene Collins	56
W. R. Ormsby Gore	1374
Dr. John Brady	1000
Colonel Tenison	891
Right Hon. William Monsell	} No contest
Edmund J. Synan	
Major George Gavin	1002
Francis William Russell	836
— <i>Spaight</i>	658
Edward Wingfield Verner	134
John D. Barbour	69
Robert Peel Dawson	} No contest
Sir F. W. Heygate, Bart.	
Lord C. J. Hamilton	379
Samuel M. Greer	331
Colonel Fulke S. Greville	} No contest
Major M. W. O'Reilly	
Right Hon. C. S. Fortescue	628
Tristram Kennedy	607
Frederick Forster	8
John McClintock	6
Serjeant Edward Sullivan	No contest
Lord John T. Browne	} No contest
Lord Bingham	
Mat. Elias Corbally	} No contest
Edward MacEvoy	
Colonel Charles P. Leslie	2551
Hon. Vesey Dawson	2397
Sir George Forster, Bart.	2211
Edward James Stanley	3
Lieut.-Col. C. G. Tottenham	No contest
Arthur Charles Innes	267
— <i>Kirk</i>	235
James A. Lawson	46
Captain L. S. W. D. Damer	35



## THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

QUEEN'S CO.—Michael Dunne	
Lt.-Col. Fran. P. Dunne	
ROSCOMMON—Right Hon. Col. F. French	
C. O. O'Connor ( <i>O' C. Don</i> )	
SLIGO—Sir R. G. Booth, Bart.	
Charles William O'Hara	
<i>Sligo</i> —Francis Macdonogh	
TIPPERARY—Laurence Waldron	
Charles Moore	
<i>Tralee</i> —Daniel O'Donoghue ( <i>The O'Donoghue</i> )	
TYRONE—Right Hon. H. T. L. Corry	
Lord Claud Hamilton	
WATERFORD—John Esmonde	
Hon. W. Cecil Talbot	
<i>Waterford</i> —Mich. Dobbyn Hassard	
John Aloysius Blake	
WESTMEATH—Sir R. G. A. Levinge, Bt.	
William Pollard-Urquhart	
WEXFORD—Patrick McMahon	
John George	
<i>Wexford</i> —John Edward Redmond	
WICKLOW—William W. Fitzw. Dick	
Right Hon. Lord Proby	
<i>Youghal</i> —Isaac Butt	

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Lieut.-Col. F. P. Dunne	1803
Right Hon. J. W. Fitzpatrick	1321
— <i>McDonald</i>	947
Colonel Fitzst. French	} No contest
C. O. O'Connor ( <i>O' C. Don</i> )	
Sir R. G. Booth, Bart.	} No contest
Edward Henry Cooper	
Serjeant Richard Armstrong	165
<i>Francis Macdonogh</i>	153
Charles Moore	2722
John Blake Dillon	2662
<i>Peter Gill</i>	838
Daniel O'Donoghue ( <i>The O'Donoghue</i> )	} No contest
Right Hon. H. T. L. Corry	
Lord Claud Hamilton	} No contest
John Esmonde	
Earl of Tyrone	} No contest
John Aloysius Blake	
Sir H. W. Barron, Bart.	529
— <i>Barrington</i>	516
W. Pollard-Urquhart	341
Alg. W. F. Greville	} No contest
John George	
Sir James Power, Bart.	3809
<i>Patrick McMahon</i>	2623
Richard J. Devereux	1744
<i>John Edward Redmond</i>	153
W. W. Fitzw. Dick	107
Right Hon. Lord Proby	} No contest
Joseph N. McKenna	
<i>Isaac Butt</i>	125
	30

## SHERIFFS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES.

## ENGLAND.

(Excepting Cornwall and Lancashire.)

BEDFORDSHIRE—Lionel Ames, of East Hyde, Esq.
BERKSHIRE—Benjamin Buck Greene, of Midgham House, near Newbury, Esq.
BUCKS—Nathaniel Grace Lambert, of Denham Court, Esq.
CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE—John Hall, of Ely, Esq.
CHESHIRE—Wilbraham Spencer Tollemache, of Dorfold Hall, Esq.
CUMBERLAND—William Postlethwaite, of the Oaks, Esq.
DERBYSHIRE—John Broadhurst, of Foston, Esq.
DEVONSHIRE—Baldwin John Pollexfen Bastard, of Kitley, Esq.
DORSETSHIRE—John Brymer, of Ilington, Esq.
DURHAM—William Peareth, of Usworth House, Esq.
ESSEX—Sir Thomas Barrett Lennard, of Belhus, Bart.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE—John Altham Graham Clarke, of Frocester, near Stonehouse, Esq.
HEREFORDSHIRE—Sir Henry Geers Cotterell, of Garnoons, Bart.
HERTFORDSHIRE—Foster Alleyne M'Geachy, of Shenley Hill, Barnet, Esq.
KENT—Robert Rodger, of Hadlow Castle, near Tonbridge, Esq.
LEICESTERSHIRE—Frederick Palmer, of Witheote Hall, Oakham, Esq.
LINCOLNSHIRE—John Lewis Fytche, of Thorpe Hall, Louth, Esq.
MONMOUTHSHIRE—Arthur Davies Berrington, of Panty-Goitre, Esq.
NORFOLK—William Henry Trafford, of Wroxham, Esq.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE—Richard Aubrey Cartwright, of Edgcott, Esq.
NORTHUMBERLAND—John Errington, of High Warden, Esq.
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—William Frederick Webb, of Newstead Abbey, Esq.
OXFORDSHIRE—William Melliar Foster-Melliar, of North Aston, Esq.

RUTLAND—William Gilford, of North Luffenham, Esq.  
 SHROPSHIRE—Francis Harries, of Cruckton, Esq.  
 SOMERSETSHIRE—Sir John Henry Greville Smyth, of Ashton Court, Bart.  
 SOUTHAMPTON, COUNTY OF—Sir Archibald Keppel Macdonald, of Woolmer Lodge, Bart.  
 STAFFORDSHIRE—Smith Child, of Stallington Hall, Esq.  
 SUFFOLK—John Page Reade, of Stutton, Esq.  
 SURREY—John Bradshaw, of Knowle, Guildford, Esq.  
 SUSSEX—Sir Percy Florence Shelley, of Boscombe, Christchurch, Hants, Bart.  
 WARWICKSHIRE—Henry Townshend Boulton, of Springfield, Esq.  
 WESTMORELAND—Arthur Shepherd, of Shaw End, near Kendal, Esq.  
 WILTSHIRE—Thomas Henry Allen Poynder, of Hartham Park, near Chippenham, Esq.  
 WORCESTERSHIRE—Albert Hudson Royds, of Crown East, near Worcester, Esq.  
 YORKSHIRE—Francis Watt, of Bishop Burton Hall, near Beverley, Esq.

## WALES—NORTH AND SOUTH.

ANGLESEY—George Higgins, of Red Hill, Esq.  
 BRECONSHIRE—H. Gwynne, Vaughan, of Yscirfechan, Esq.  
 CARDIGANSHIRE—Lieut.-Colonel John Lewes, of Llanilar.  
 CARMARTHENSHIRE—Edward Morris Davies, of Upland, near Carmarthen, Esq.  
 CERNARVONSHIRE—Charles Millar, of Penrhos, Esq.  
 DENBIGHSHIRE—John Lloyd Wynne, of Coed Coch, Abergele, Esq.  
 FLINTSHIRE—Bryan G. Davies Cooke, of Colomendy, Esq.  
 GLAMORGANSHIRE—Thomas William Booker, of Velindra, Esq.  
 MERIONETHSHIRE—Richard Meredyth Richards, of Caerynwch, Esq.  
 MONTGOMERYSHIRE—Robert Simcocks Perrott, of Bronhyddon, Esq.  
 PEMBROKESHIRE—Thomas Henry Davis, of Clareston, Esq.  
 RADNORSHIRE—Thomas William Higgins, of Cwm Llanyre, Esq.  
 DUCHY OF CORNWALL—John Michael Williams, of Caerhayes Castle, Esq.  
 DUCHY OF LANCASTER—William Preston, of Ellet Grange, and of Rock House, Esq.

## UNIVERSITY HONOURS.

## OXFORD.—CLASS LISTS.

Term. Pasch. 1865.

*In Literis Humanioribus.*

## CLASSIS I.

Addis, William, Balliol.  
 Awdry, William, Balliol.  
 Bramston, John T., New College.  
 Crawley, Richard, University.  
 Hookham, George Lincoln.  
 Ogle, Harman C., Magdalen.  
 Pearson, Charles J., Corpus.  
 Raper, Robert W., Trinity<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ridley, Matthew W., Balliol<sup>2</sup>.  
 Shadwell, John E. L., Ch. Ch.  
 Tyssen, Amherst D., Merton.  
 Wood Joseph, Balliol<sup>3</sup>.  
 Woods, Henry G., Corpus<sup>4</sup>.

## CLASSIS II.

Daman, Henry, Magdalen.  
 Escott, Thomas H. S., Queen's.  
 Ker, David, Wadham.

<sup>1</sup> Fellow of Queen's.<sup>3</sup> Fereday Fellow of St. John's.*In Scientiis Math. et Phys.*

## CLASSIS I.

Balleine, George O., Queen's.  
 Evans, Howard H., Lincoln.  
 Hughes, Henry, Ch. Ch.  
 Miles, William, Oriel.

## CLASSIS II.

Williams, David, Jesus.

<sup>2</sup> Fellow of All Souls.<sup>4</sup> Fellow of Trinity.

Kibble, James, Ch. Ch.  
 Lester Joseph D., Jesus.  
 Ley, Augustine, Ch. Ch.  
 Morris, Rupert H., Jesus.  
 Park, Mungo T., Lincoln.  
 Platten, Thomas E., Lincoln.  
 Prickard, Arthur O., New College.  
 Shephard, Horatio H., Balliol.  
 Slipper, Robert G., Ch. Ch.  
 Wordsworth, John, New College.

## CLASSIS III.

Bush, James W., Queen's.  
 Clive, Charles M. B., Balliol.  
 Cope, Charles H., Lincoln.  
 Morrison, Allan, Balliol.  
 Morson, James C. F., Jesus.  
 Overton, Edmund S., Pembroke.  
 Pugh, Henry B., Balliol.  
 Sealy, Evan M., Trinity.  
 Sharpe, Lancelot L., St. John's.

## CLASSIS IV.

Bennett-Webb, Robert, Pembroke.  
 Jenkyns, Richard, Trinity.  
 Rumsey, Robert F., Brasenose.  
 West, Melbourne R., Queen's.  
 Wigram, Lewis, New College.

---

One hundred and three others passed.

*Examiners.*

A. Watson.  
 T. Fowler.  
 W. C. Sidgwick.  
 D. B. Monro.

*In Scientia Naturali.*

## CLASSIS I.

## CLASSIS II.

Heap, William E., Brasenose.

## CLASSIS III.

## CLASSIS IV.

Slipper, Robert G., Ch. Ch.

---

One other passed.

*Examiners.*

G. Griffith.  
 W. S. Church.  
 H. G. Madan.

## CLASSIS III.

Morson, James C. F., Jesus.

## CLASSIS IV.

Ullathorne, Percy, Exeter.

---

Seventy-one others passed.

*Examiners.*

H. J. S. Smith.  
 D. Thomas.  
 W. Esson.

*In Jurisprudentia et Hist. Mod.*

## CLASSIS I.

Hubbard, Egerton, Ch. Ch.  
 Michell, Edward B., Magdalen.

## CLASSIS II.

Carmichael, Chas. H. E., Trinity.  
 Downe, Viscount, Ch. Ch.  
 Follett, Edward C., Balliol.  
 Taylor, Thomas, Corpus.

## CLASSIS III.

Bathe, Stephen, B. Balliol.  
 Byron, Edmund, Ch. Ch.  
 Smith, Constantine M., Balliol.

## CLASSIS IV.

Gillam, John, St. Mary Hall.  
 Smith, Spencer F. A., University.  
 Webb, Robert B. Pembroke.

---

Fifty-three others passed.

*Examiners.*

W. Stubbs.  
 S. J. Owen.  
 K. E. Digby.



Term. Mich. 1865.

*In Literis Humanioribus.*

## CLASSIS I.

Balleine, George O., Queen's.  
 Barratt, Alfred, Balliol.  
 Courthope, William J., New Coll.  
 Hall, Sydney P., Pembroke.  
 Henderson, Patrick A., Balliol.  
 Jeune, Francis H., Balliol.  
 Morley, Earl of, Balliol.  
 Oddie, John W., Wadham.  
 O'Hanlon, Hugo F., Brasenose.  
 Robinson, Richard, Worcester<sup>5</sup>.  
 Sanday, William, Corpus.  
 Stennett, John H., Merton.  
 Talbot, Edward S., Ch. Ch.

## CLASSIS II.

Athorpe, Marmaduke, Corpus.  
 Auchmuty, Arthur C., Lincoln.  
 Bazely, Henry C. B., Brasenose.  
 Bernard, Edward R., Exeter.  
 Churton, Henry N., University.  
 Craufurd, Alexander H. G., Oriel.  
 Creed, John A., Corpus.  
 Dobell, Joseph, Wadham.  
 Draper, Henry M., Lincoln.  
 Gardiner, Robert B., Wadham.  
 Hogarth, Oswald H., Queen's.  
 Marshall, Thomas O., New College.  
 Mitchell, Richard A. H., Balliol.  
 Moore, William, New College.  
 Pesterre, William A., Merton.  
 Robins, Leopold G. G., Trinity.  
 Sutton, Edmund, Trinity.  
 Thomson, George O. L., Exeter.  
 Walker, Hyde E., Worcester.  
 Warren, Frederic E., St. John's.  
 Wood, William, Oriel.

## CLASSIS III.

Acland, Charles T. D., Ch. Ch.  
 Baynes, Francis H., New College.  
 Boycott, Richard H., Ch. Ch.  
 Cobham, Claude D., University.  
 Jollye, Henry C., Merton.  
 Jones, John, Jesus.  
 Lewis, Alfred M., Jesus.  
 Maberley, Alexander C., Queen's.  
 Makgill, Arthur, University.  
 Moore, George, Exeter.  
 Rendell, Leigh T., Balliol.  
 Rogers, John H., Wadham.  
 Routh, Cuthbert, Queen's.  
 Sampson, Desmond H. W., Magdalen.  
 Sells, William, Queen's.  
 Sotheby, Walter E. H., Balliol.  
 Stafford, Charles E. F., New College.  
 Withers, George H., Exeter.

## CLASSIS IV.

Mayne, Robert D., Balliol.  
 Morris, Herbert H., Queen's.

*In Scientiis Math. et Phys.*

## CLASSIS I.

Daman, Henry, Magdalen.  
 Tyssen, Amherst D., Merton.  
 Warne, Ernest J., Pembroke.

## CLASSIS II.

## CLASSIS III.

## CLASSIS IV.

<sup>5</sup> Fellow of Queen's.

Mure, Reginald J., Ch. Ch.  
Swainson, John G., Ch. Ch.  
Tadman, James, University.

Seventy-six others passed.

*Examiners.*

J. M. Wilson.  
C. P. Chretien.  
A. Watson.  
T. Fowler.

*In Scientia Naturali.*

CLASSIS I.

Corfield, William H., Pembroke.  
Ferguson, George B., Magdalen Hall.  
Girdlestone, Arthur G., Magdalen.  
Wyndham, Thomas H. G., Oriol.

CLASSIS II.

Norman, George A., Lincoln.  
Traill, Henry D., St. John's.  
Whittington, Watkin P., Jesus.

CLASSIS III.

Ram, Abel J., Corpus.

CLASSIS IV.

One other passed.

*Examiners.*

G. Griffith.  
W. S. Church.  
H. G. Madan.

Seventy-two others passed.

*Examiners.*

H. J. S. Smith.  
D. Thomas.  
W. Esson.

*In Jurisprudentia et Hist. Mod.*

CLASSIS I.

Dermer, Edward C., St. John's.  
Horner, John F. F., Balliol.  
Hughes, Reginald, St. John's.  
Robinson, William G., Oriol.  
Smith, Baldwin M., Lincoln.

CLASSIS II.

Barnett, Samuel A., Wadham.  
Bill, Charles, University.  
Freeman, Frederick, Wadham.  
Freeman, Thomas A., Ch. Ch.  
Lambert, Frederick F., Corpus.  
Maude, Arthur, Ch. Ch.  
Tooke, William A., Ch. Ch.  
Wiggin, Edward H. R., Brasenose.  
Willis, Frederick W., Corpus.

CLASSIS III.

Day, John A., Exeter.  
Galland, Basil A., Lincoln.  
White, Thomas H., Oriol.

CLASSIS IV.

Fifty-one others passed.

*Examiners.*

W. Stubbs.  
C. W. Boase.  
K. E. Digby.

Term. Pasch. 1865.

*In Litt. Gr. et Lat.*

I.

Allen, John B., New College.  
Black, Arthur, Ch. Ch.  
Brookes, William, Ch. Ch.  
Case, Thomas, Balliol.  
Dear, Robert C., St. John's.  
Fremantle, Stephen J., Balliol.  
Jacob, Edgar, New College.  
James, Herbert A., Lincoln.  
Jayne, Francis J., Wadham.  
Kensington, Theodore, New College.

*In Disc. Math.*

I.

Dale, Reginald F., Queen's.  
Reinold, Arnold W., Brasenose.

Moberly, Robert C., New College.  
 Nash, Thomas, Balliol.  
 Percival, Francis W., Brasenose.  
 Phillimore, Walter G. F., Ch. Ch.  
 Sainsbury, George E. B., Merton.  
 Selfe, William L., Corpus.  
 Thompson, Clement, Brasenose.  
 Tucker, Charles C., University.  
 Williams, Morris F., Jesus.

## II.

Acworth, Herbert S., Ch. Ch.  
 Baker, George B., Corpus.  
 Banning, Henry T., Trinity.  
 Carlile, James W., Balliol.  
 Collins, Clifton W., Magdalen.  
 Comyn-Macfarlane, W. A., St. John's.  
 Cornish, Walter, Exeter.  
 Dale, Reginald F., Queen's.  
 Donkin, Horatio B., Queen's.  
 Doyle, John A., Balliol.  
 Emra, William H. A., Exeter.  
 Hilbers, George C., Exeter.  
 Holland, Francis M., New College.  
 Kerry, Earl of, Balliol.  
 Oakley, Charles S., Corpus.  
 Peile, Walter O., Magdalen.  
 Stewart, Alan, Ch. Ch.  
 Teesdale, Frederick D., New College.

## III.

Anderson, Arthur, Balliol.  
 Bandinel, James J. F., Oriel.  
 Barrow, Edwin P., Oriel.  
 Birchall, Oswald, Brasenose.  
 Bolton, Charles N., New College.  
 Brackenbury, Edmund B., Exeter.  
 Bullock, Edward D., Exeter.  
 Friend, Martin T., Queen's.  
 Garrett, Alfred W., Balliol.  
 Gibson, Herbert F., Exeter.  
 Greenhow, Edward, Lincoln.  
 Gwyn-Jeffreys, Howel, Balliol.  
 Hull, Robert B., Brasenose.  
 Kennedy, George R., Brasenose.  
 Law, Benjamin, Queen's.  
 Macdowall, William, University.  
 Morris, David M., Jesus.  
 Northcote, Walter S., Balliol.  
 Pitman, William D., Exeter.  
 Prothero, John E., Jesus.  
 Skrine, Henry M., Balliol.  
 Wakefield, Charles C., Magdalen.  
 Whittuck, Edward A., Oriel.  
 Wood, Samuel T., Ch. Ch.

## II.

Dodd, Cyril, Merton.  
 Gwyn-Jeffreys, Howel, Balliol.  
 Harris, William A., Balliol.  
 Kensington, Theodore, New College.  
 Nash, Thomas, Balliol.  
 Walker, Edward, Exeter.

## III.

Doyle, John A., Balliol.

*Moderators.*

LITT. GR. ET LAT.	DISC. MATH.
G. Marshall.	F. Ashpitel.
J. Riddell.	C. J. Faulkner.
J. R. King.	E. Moore.
C. H. Daniel.	

Term. Mich. 1865.

*In Litt. Gr. et Lat.*

## I.

Cross, Joseph, Corpus.  
 Fisher, Charles T., Brasenose.  
 Fyffe, Charles A., Balliol.  
 Gent, John, Trinity.

*In Disc. Math.*

## I.

Abbay, Richard, Exeter.  
 Cundy, John W., Magdalen.  
 Evans, Henry F., Corpus.  
 Heath, Christopher H. E., Pembroke.



Hand, Herbert R., St. John's.  
 Jennings, Richard E., Brasenose.  
 Lyall, Charles J., Balliol.  
 Milne, John B., Brasenose.  
 Moore, Charles R., Corpus.  
 Spooner, Henry M., Balliol.  
 Wharton, Edward R., Trinity.  
 Wylie, James H., Pembroke.

## II.

Aldhouse, Fred. S., Magd. Hall.  
 Banks, Edward G., Worcester.  
 Beadon, Robert J., Exeter.  
 Bissill, Henry J. G., Pembroke.  
 Boyle, Courtenay E., Ch. Ch.  
 Browne, Charles G., Balliol.  
 Coghlan, Charles L., University.  
 Eaglesim, Thomas A., Worcester.  
 Evans, Henry F., Corpus.  
 Foss, Edward W., Pembroke.  
 Freeling, Arthur C., Ch. Ch.  
 Freshfield, Douglas W., University.  
 Goldney, Charles, Lincoln.  
 Hill, Melsup S., Wadham.  
 Hull, William B., Pembroke.  
 Loch, Willie W., Balliol.  
 Lucas, William O., Exeter.  
 Markheim, Henry W. G., University.  
 Mayo, Charles H., Lincoln.  
 Mylne, John E., Corpus.  
 Newbolt, William C. E., Pembroke.  
 Newman, William M., Balliol.  
 Ormerod, George T., Balliol.  
 Paterson, Noel H., St. John's.  
 Pickford, John, Brasenose.  
 Powell, Arthur C., Brasenose.  
 Rose, Daniel, Balliol.  
 Russell, Edward W., Ch. Ch.  
 Symonds, Arthur G., Corpus.  
 Walker, Herbert S., Oriel.  
 Walter, John B., Ch. Ch.  
 Wardroper, John T., Ch. Ch.  
 Webb, John E. J., New College.  
 Yeld, George, Brasenose.

## III.

Cooper, Winfield, Wadham.  
 De Montmorency, M. S., Wadham.  
 Foster, William H., Merton.  
 Heath, Christopher H. E., Pembroke.  
 Hensley, Charles E., University.  
 McCausland, Robert F., Wadham.  
 Marshall, Joseph H., Worcester.  
 Meredith, John, Jesus.  
 Monnington, George J., Queen's.  
 Popham, Edward W. L., Queen's.  
 Price, Walter Ll., Jesus.  
 Price, Hugo P., Oriel.  
 Sealy, Thomas H., Trinity.  
 Tinne, John E., University.  
 Trower, John, Exeter.  
 Willes, George, Ch. Ch.  
 Wood, Charles P., Jesus.  
 Young, James C., Pembroke.

## II.

Cox, Cecil W., Magdalen.  
 Dyer, William T. T., Ch. Ch.  
 Loring, Arthur M., Brasenose.

## III.

Fyffe, Charles A., Balliol.

*Moderators.*

LITT. GR. ET LAT.	DISC. MATH.
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J. Riddell.	C. J. Faulkner.
N. Pinder.	E. Moore.
J. R. King.	

## CAMBRIDGE.

## LIST OF HONOURS AT THE BACHELOR OF ARTS' COMMENCEMENT.

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George Richardson, M.A., St. John's College.

## EXAMINERS.

William Walton, M.A., Trinity College.

Michael Marlow Umfreville Wilkinson, M.A., Trinity College.

\*.\* *In all cases of equality the names are bracketed.*

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Ds. Strutt, Hon. J., Trinity.	23 Rendell, Trinity.
2 Marshall, John's.	{ Carlos, Trinity.
3 Taylor, Trinity.	{ Griffiths, John's.
4 Mitchell, C. T., Caius.	26 Isherwood, John's.
5 Ashton, Sidney-Sussex.	27 Cartmell, Christ's.
6 Wood, John's.	{ Smith, John's.
7 Cumming, Trinity.	{ Waugh, Jesus.
8 Watson, Trinity.	30 Metcalfe, E. P., Christ's.
9 Blanch, John's.	31 Roach, John's.
10 Caldwell, Corpus.	32 Sutton, John's.
11 Levett, John's.	{ Hammond, Trinity.
{ Bray, Trinity.	{ Wilson, Jesus.
{ Grimley, Peter's.	35 Hall, Peter's.
{ Taylor, Clare.	{ Gibson Craig, Trinity.'
15 Walker, Clare.	{ Peachell, John's.
16 Pitts, Emmanuel.	{ Webster, Trinity.
17 Coutts, John's.	{ Hopkinson, St. Catharine's.
18 Beebee, John's.	{ Mathews, Caius.
19 Browne, Trinity.	{ Gray, Queens'.
{ Davis, Sidney-Sussex.	{ Huntly, John's.
{ Perkins, Christ's.	{ Shackleton, John's.
22 Russell, John's.	44 Brown, Trinity.

## SENIOR OPTIMES.

Ds. Finney, Caius.	58 Longley, Magdalene.
46 Jones, Sidney-Sussex.	{ Bensted, Sidney-Sussex.
{ Banham, Trinity.	{ Bichnell, Trinity.
{ Masheder, Sidney-Sussex.	{ Sergeant, St. Catharine's.
{ Cope, John's.	{ Howard, H. B., Trinity.
{ Robson, Downing.	{ Sanderson, Jesus.
51 Lyon, Clare.	{ Wright, Clare.
52 Masefield, John's.	65 Hallowes, Caius.
53 Whitelaw, Trinity.	66 Booth, St. Catharine's.
{ Rendel, Trinity.	67 Vawdrey, John's.
{ Wilcox, Emmanuel.	68 Edwardes, Jesus.
56 Blakiston, Peter's.	69 Morris, Downing.
57 Mills, John's.	

## JUNIOR OPTIMES.

Ds. Meaby, Queens'.	76 Wilson, Pembroke.
71 Beale, Trinity.	{ Baring Gould, Corpus.
72 Gadsby, Emmanuel.	{ Yeld, John's.
73 Locke, Corpus.	79 Clarke, John's.
74 Lawson, Caius.	80 Smith, Clare.
75 Swaffield, Trinity.	81 Evans, E., Caius.

82 Clay, Trinity.  
 83 Selby, John's.  
 84 Trotter, Christ's.  
 85 Wilson, John's.  
 86 Dobbs, Trinity.  
 87 Heaven, Peter's.  
 88 Turner, Magdalene.

	{	Archer, Corpus.
	{	Walker, Jesus.
91		Foster, Peter's.
92		Hyde, Queens'.
93		Hodges, John's.
94		Woolley, Queens'.
95		Allsopp, Trinity.
96		Longman, Trinity.

Ægr. Shaw, St. Catharine's.

#### CLASSICAL TRIPOS.

Durnford, R., King's.  
 Image, J. M., Trinity.  
 Collins, R. H., Downing.  
 Austen Leigh, W., King's.  
 Arbuthnot, R. C., Trinity.  
 Cobbold, F. T., King's.  
 Wiseman, H. J., St. John's.  
 Cust, A., St. John's.  
 Dale, C. C. M., Jesus.  
 Philpotts, S. B., King's.  
 Collyer, W. R., Caius.  
 South, A. W., Trinity.  
 Tovey, D. C., Trinity.  
 Bennett, R. D., Trinity Hall.  
 Dalton, C. N., Trinity.  
 Thelwall, S., Christ's.  
 Taylor, H. B., Magdalene.

Fisher, F. L., Jesus.  
 Wright, W. S., Trinity.  
 Coulcher, G. B., Corpus.  
 Swainson, A. J., Jesus.  
 Watson, J. T., St. John's.  
 Cunningham, C. H., Caius.  
 Whitaker, A., Queens'.  
 Ingle, E., Trinity.  
 Rowlandson, W. H., Corpus.  
 Oldknow, A. H., Jesus.  
 Hooper, W. H., St. John's.  
 Platt, T. E., Trinity.  
 Johnson, E., Trinity.  
 Gleadowe, T. S., Magdalene.  
 Barlow, S. B., St. John's.  
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